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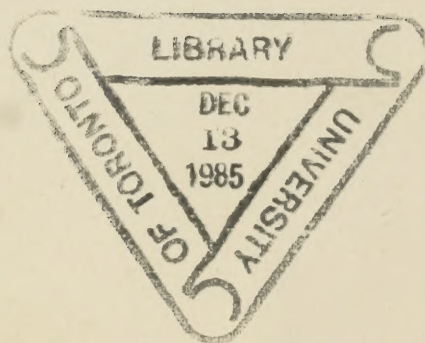


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# The Independent

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## Just a Word

We broke our own record of "the swiftest news and picture service" in reporting the Republican Convention in The Independent of June 19-26. Only four days after the convention had nominated Senator Harding The Independent, with the candidate's portrait in colors on the cover, was in the hands of its readers. Inside the magazine were more pictures of Senator Harding, of Governor Coolidge, of the convention in session, and of its foremost figures. The leading article gave a first-hand account of the entire convention proceedings; the nomination and the platform were discussed at length in the editorial pages; the platform was published plank by plank; and the results of the balloting were summarized in The Story of the Week. This Convention Number of The Independent "scooped" the Sunday newspapers as well as the other weekly news magazines by several days. Charles Phelps Cushing wrote in *If You Don't Write Fiction*, a recently published book of advice to authors, "You should have tried The Independent, which makes a specialty of getting hot stuff into circulation before it has time to cool." The June 19-26 issue adds considerably to our reputation in that respect.

## New Plays

*Nightshade*. An American drama by an unnamed author which makes the most desperate efforts to be tragical but just misses it somehow. (Garrikk Theater.)

*Seeing Things*, a highly amusing farce by Margaret Mayo and Aubrey Kennedy. Frank McIntyre, a ouija-board and a jealous redhaired wife furnish the fun. Laughs and chaffs at Spiritualism. (The Playhouse Theater.)

## Remarkable Remarks

ETHEL BARRYMORE—I don't like New York. I do like Philadelphia.

SENATOR JONES—The nomination of Harding was a brilliant stroke.

QUEEN MARIE OF RUMANIA—Whatever I do I do naturally without effort.

GOV. HENRY J. ALLEN—We stand for justice for the submerged nine-tenths.

LUKE MCLUKE—What has become of the old-fashioned girl who used to think.

MRS. WARREN G. HARDING—I cannot see why anyone should want to be President.

CHICK EVANS—The picture of a man measuring a missed two foot putt is full of meaning.

HORATIO BOTTOMLEY—Let the United States be formally notified that, whether she comes into the League of Nations or

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not, she must have no shipbuilding program not approved by the Allied States.

VICE-PRESIDENT MARSHALL—I wouldn't take the Presidential nomination on a silver platter.

WARREN G. HARDING—If we must have anarchy in the land or hateful autocracy, I choose autocracy.

M. L. BLUMENTHAL—Your idea of an elderly person is one who is twenty years older than yourself.

CHOLLY KNICKERBOCKER—For the first time in many years Southampton, the summer resort de luxe, will eclipse Newport.

NORMA TALMAGE—I have a bathing suit at home that is guaranteed to raise a laugh—a loving glowing red with the cunningest shoes to match and a red cap with perky bows.

## John Citizen Telegrams

Director of the Census:

You forgot to count enough of me stop sure my town has more than you reckon stop

JOHN CITIZEN.

\*\*\*

Governor Calvin Coolidge:

Congratulations to best vice president candidate since Roosevelt stop remember 1924 stop

JOHN CITIZEN.

\*\*\*

Herbert Hoover:

Of whom the world was not worthy stop Hebrews eleven thirty-eight stop

JOHN CITIZEN.

\*\*\*

Senator Harding:

May you prove a pleasant disappointment to my expectations stop

JOHN CITIZEN.

\*\*\*

Major-General Wood:

Congratulations on your manliness and dignity in disappointment shown again as before when you could not get to France stop all America respects you stop

JOHN CITIZEN.

\*\*\*

Blasco Ibanez:

Good work reporter stop go to San Francisco and do it again stop

JOHN CITIZEN.

\*\*\*

Ex-Senator Elihu Root:

What did you mean by your plank stop cable my expense stop no end curious stop

JOHN CITIZEN.



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# The Independent

July 3, 1920

## Land of the Pilgrims' Pride

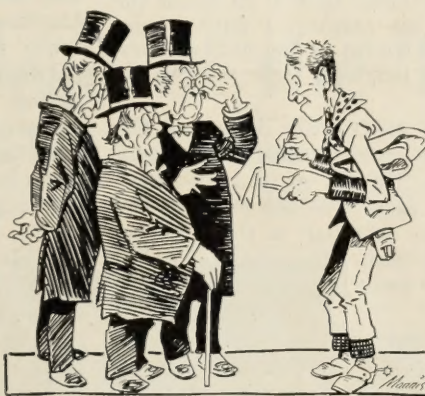
A Wild Westerner's Impressions of "The Home of the Bean and the Cod,  
Where the Cabots Speak Only to Lowells, and Lowells Speak Only to God"

By Chester T. Crowell

**A**BOUT thirteen years ago when I was a cub reporter on the San Antonio, Texas, *Express*, penniless and happy, eager, earnest, filled with the desire to know more about this wonderful world, a party of very distinguished men from Boston "appeared in our midst," so to speak, and I was assigned to interview them. In those days San Antonio was struggling to develop its tourist trade, there was a boom in Southwest Texas lands, and it seemed to me appropriate to ask the Bostonese for their impressions of San Antonio. Nearly everyone I had ever confronted with a similar question had proved eager for a first page headline by saying nice things about San Antonio. But not the Bostonese! One by one they cleared their throats, selected their words with great care, looked at me over their spectacles in a manner that indicated I was an interesting foreigner and expressed their all too frank opinion of "our beautiful city." Since we did not print that particular sort of opinion my afternoon was wasted.

They told me the streets were too narrow, which was true. San Antonio

simply grew up from a Mexican village. They called my attention to the fact that the streets were very crooked. That was also true. Many of the streets had originally followed the banks of little creeks or the cow trails leading to those creeks. They told me the streets were dirty, which was also true. That fact was especially disagreeable because the wind would blow dust around those streets in a most annoying manner. We were



As a cub reporter in San Antonio I was assigned to interview some distinguished visitors from Boston as to what they considered interesting about our beautiful city

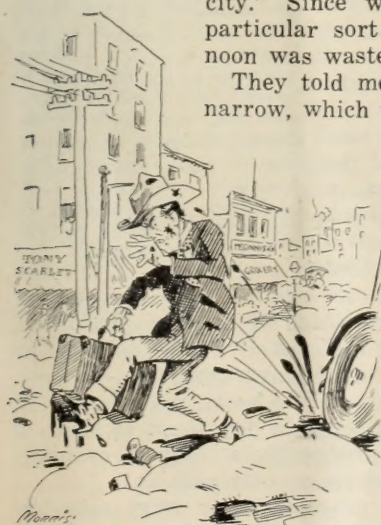
having a dry winter. I have forgotten some of the numerous other disagreeable things they said about San Antonio, but most of them were painfully obvious.

In the years which have intervened San Antonio has changed nearly all of those conditions. The streets have been widened and straightened at tremendous cost. For several years those streets have been spotless. I could rave on for pages and pages about the beauties of San Antonio,

but I forbear, because this is an article not about San Antonio or Texas but about Boston.

From that interview—and more from the bearing than the words of those Bostonese—I gathered the impression that Boston was a very beautiful city. Last February and again in March I visited Boston. Imagine my astonishment on discovering that Boston is more like the San Antonio of thirteen years ago than any other city I have ever seen. The streets are narrow and crooked, and at that time they were filthy beyond what would be possible in the dry climate of San Antonio. Snow was piled three to five feet deep in the outlying districts and had not been cleared away for a month or more. In the business section of the city, frozen slush was a foot deep and on top of that was an inch to four inches of mud that splashed from under the wheels of every passing vehicle. Almost nothing was being done to remedy this condition, which I learned had existed nearly all winter. Boston Common does not compare with San Antonio parks, nor is Boston any richer in historic interest.

At the hotel where I stopped my room number was two-hundred-and-something, but I was on the fourth or fifth floor. I had a key that I needed a wheelbarrow to carry. This reminded me of the City of Mexico. Mexican door keys are always enormous, clumsy things. Also it would be like a Mexican to have the rooms numbered two hundred on some other than the second floor. I looked and looked and looked again for some persons like the Bostonese I [Continued on page 28]



Thirteen years ago a party of Bostonese highbrows visited, and passed judgment, on San Antonio. Its streets are too narrow, too crooked, too dirty, said they. Last winter I visited Boston. Imagine my astonishment on discovering that Boston is more like the San Antonio of thirteen years ago than any other city I have ever seen



# Harding Keeps His Eye on the Ball

By Donald Wilhelm

**N**OW, in the leafy month of June, comes the Republican bridegroom, Mr. Harding. He speaks a mellifluous tongue and stands a goodly six-foot tall, with a pleasant and forceful big hand extended. He says the Grand Old Party has honored him, etc., and you wonder a little whether it was the Grand Old Party so much as the Grand Old Guard. He says that he will serve the Grand Old Party faithfully. And you wonder if that implies he will serve the Grand Old Guard faithfully. For he is a party man. Not long before he was nominated he said:

I am not unmindful of the criticism that I have no specific platform. It is the truth. I have no personal ends to serve in platform-making. No one man can make a party platform. The covenant of our party must be the deliberate and harmonized convictions of representative Republican thought, digested in national councils. I am vastly less concerned about who is to be nominated than I am about the party victory so essential to the country. I have a confidence in the representative judgment of the national convention and shall accept its judgment and support its choice.

Such gracious homage to party rule describes the Senator as a party man. He would speak to his own hurt in defense of his party. He did so in 1912—Progressives, some of them now factors in the move of the Committee of Forty-eight to establish a third party, recall the day. He is a party man. His pride is that—that and his quiet and rather droll insistence, "I am an

Ohio Republican." And doubtless to many voters it is restful to know just "where he stands!" He is a modest man. His friends say that his paper, the *Marion Star*, has never printed a line to advance his political ambitions. Senator Harding's own record in the Congressional Directory in point of word places him as about the fifth most modest Senator. It states briefly:

Senator Harding was born in Blooming Grove, Morrow County, Ohio, November 2, 1865; has been a newspaper publisher since 1884; is married; was member of the Seventy-fifth and Seventy-sixth Ohio General Assemblies as Sena-

tor from the thirteenth district, 1899-1903, and Lieutenant Governor of Ohio in 1904 and 1905; elected to the United States Senate November 3, 1914. His term of service will expire March 3, 1921.

His colleagues like him for his modesty, no doubt, and for his graciousness, and personal charm. "He is," one of them said, too, "good to look upon, and is one of the best speakers on the floor." His enemies are few. Ohio pretty generally loves him—he has spoken in all but one of its eighty-eight counties and in many of those counties many times. Doubtless if he is elected the nation will consider how pleasant a figure as President he will prove to be, and doubtless will love him for his big stature and slow stride, for his simplicity and his kindness, for his appeal to steady-going confidence. There is no probability that he will be a Richelieu, or a Roosevelt, or a Wilson, in his study—or on his horse—alone. He will not be the solitary statesman. His appeal, rather, it may be surmized, will be that of a constitutional statesman who endeavors to express in finely-cut but conservative phrase the political creed of his party.

The Senator is a publisher. He has performed about every activity in that profession, called by dint of the resourcefulness required in it, the newspaper game. Perhaps the Senator's newspaper experience enhanced in his mind the benefits of heeding and of adjusting himself to public opinion, which figures imperiously, of course, in the counting-room. And public opinion, of course, is the opinion of the average man—"a cool, common person, with considerate heart, with figures in his mind, with his own business to attend to, with a set of ordinary notions arising from study of ordinary life. He can't bear novelties or originalities."

That experience may prove in many ways valuable. For good or ill the phenomenon of political representation of economic groups—which you can describe as the essence of Bolshevism, if you like—has come into existence in our National life. And in some respects its manifestations will affect the Senator's opportunity predictably. In short, it is foolish to imagine that the ballot is king. For there are ways to get behind the ballot. There are many groups, most of them economic, getting behind the ballot. Party lines were never so



Underwood & Underwood

Senator Harding's favorite sport is golf; he likes dogs and reveres Roosevelt. He would make honesty the first requisite attribute to every man entering public service. "We can never hope properly to raise the public standard until we elevate the individual standard," he has said. "The main thing is to get honest men. . . . There is no end to the reformation honesty will work. It exalts men and commands confidence. Colonel Roosevelt was a fine example. The American worship of Colonel Roosevelt is founded on the popular belief in his absolute honesty"



Underwood & Underwood

Warren G. Harding, the Republican nominee for President, is editor and proprietor of the *Marion, Ohio, Star*. An eloquent orator, he has the reputation of conducting whirlwind campaigns. At present junior Senator from Ohio, he was Lieutenant Governor of his home state in 1904-5 and was defeated in the race for Governor in 1910. Mrs. Harding, before her marriage in 1891, was Miss Florence Kling, daughter of a leading business man of Marion, where the Hardings still have a home



uncertain. For years capital exercised its economic prowess politically. It got behind the press and in other elemental ways got behind the voters. In 1913—and thereafter—the National Woman's party decisively demonstrated its new prowess politically, as a group largely economic, along with other less aggressive groups of women. The Adamson law was important historically because, along with other laws, it was the product of political action achieved by the labor group. In the present campaign, now, what is the situation?

Capital, of course, has made its demands known. Its prowess is exercised in both parties, however. It exercises great influence in both parties. You hear it said that it controls both parties. But that contention is far-fetched nowadays.

For labor has come of age in the last half-dozen years. Its huge army is disciplined. Its leaders know the game. Whereas the Senator never has risen above party, and probably never will, labor puts its aims above party. It has approximately 50,000 local-union and other non-partizan committees at work. It has been utilizing non-partizan prowess since 1881, but that

prowess was negligible as compared to the present year. Now, with railroad organizations and all others, the ranks of labor are well above five millions, not counting wives, sisters or other womanfolk.

There are groups, and cliques, and these huge numbers are not all subject to the desires of the American Federation of Labor by any means. But recalling to mind that in 1912 the total vote cast for Presidential electors was only 15,031,169 and in 1916 only 18,528,743, and assuming, let us say, that labor is dissatisfied with the Republican party, or Mr. Harding, and you can see the significance of this huge group vote.

And as a matter of fact not only is it fairly established that labor cannot expect much from the Republican party, but it is a matter of record that out of a total of twenty-seven opportunities during the last three Congresses, Mr. Harding voted favorably to labor only seven times, unfavorably ten times, was paired unfavorably once, did not vote at all in nine other instances.

He voted for the National Suffrage Amendment three times. But, at that, [Continued on page 26]

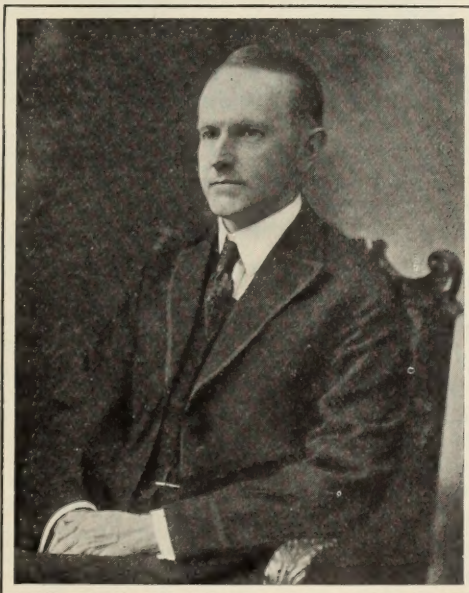
# The Real Head of the Ticket

By John Clair Minot

Literary Editor of the Boston Herald

ONE night during a Massachusetts political campaign several years ago Calvin Coolidge, not then Governor of the commonwealth but undeniably on the road to that office, dropped into the Boston *Herald* editorial rooms for a social call. He was sitting in as easy a chair as the sanctum boasted, reading a newspaper, when a mouse, rambling around in friendly fashion after the way of newspaper office mice from time immemorial, scampered directly over his outstretched feet. Did he start suddenly and perhaps emit an exclamation more emphatic than elegant? Most of us would have done just that thing, but sudden starts and unpremeditated remarks are not Coolidge characteristics. With the utmost deliberation he laid the newspaper down in his lap and said with a drawl, "That seemed to be a mouse!" He resumed his reading and spoke no more for another ten minutes.

So it has been and will continue to be. Governor Coolidge is long on caution and slow on speech. Slow and sure is his way—not too slow, but always absolutely sure. Silence and circumspection are virtues that he inherited from his ancestors, silent, square-jawed Vermont farmer folk. His father still lives in the Green Mountain state and the neighbors will tell you that the Massachusetts Governor is "a chip of the old block." Some may get the impression that he has a suspicious nature, but that is hardly a fair interpretation of the painstaking thoroughness with which he studies both those with whom he deals and



Paul Thompson

Calvin Coolidge, Governor of Massachusetts, is not what you would call an orator. He does not use verbal smoke screens to conceal his thoughts or to cover the lack of definite, positive views. He talks only when he has something to say and when he has well considered how he will say it. But he is a patient, self-controlled public servant, a silent, modest, conscientious Governor, courageous and as firm as the granite of his native hills

every problem set before him for solution. There are very few men in whom he confides, very few things that he takes for granted without a personal investigation.

Calvin Coolidge is not the good mixer that the man who succeeds in political life is popularly supposed to be. Neither in college nor in the twenty-five years that have passed since Amherst gave him his degree has he become a member of any fraternal organization. He says it is because he has not had time, but a more socially-inclined man in his position would have managed to find the time. His home—where he and Mrs. Coolidge have two fine sons—and his work have absorbed his interest. And on Sundays he has always been a regular attendant at the Congregational church of his Puritan ancestors.

If Governor Coolidge makes any enemies in the coming campaign it will be an utterly new experience for him. In his career from councilman and then mayor of the little city of Northampton to the governorship he has never made enemies in the usual sense of the

term or been opposed on personal grounds. He has had few critics. He has made few promises—certainly none that he ever broke. Yet he is not what you would call a tactful man, for his habitual reserve leaves him open to misunderstandings and misinterpretations. He has actually avoided the newspaper publicity that men seeking office commonly court with much zeal. And he has constantly given the impression of being indifferent to his own political fortunes—certainly he has

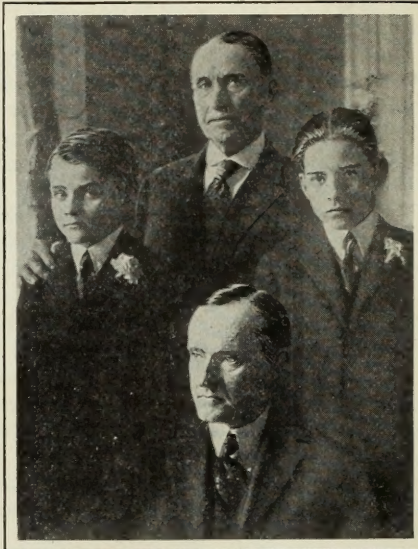


never neglected the job at hand to give time to plans for political advancement. It was so when he became Lieutenant-Governor and Governor; it was so during the progress of the Chicago convention.

He has not the ready smile and cordial manner that we usually associate with the candidate for office. The line of his mouth is too straight and his lips are too tightly pressed. Yet he radiates confidence rather than coldness. He has a whimsical sense of humor and his eyes readily light with a friendly twinkle. He enjoys a joke and has no false sense of dignity that prevents him from making one, but it is unthinkable that he would use his sense of humor to entertain a crowd or to win votes—life is too serious with him for that sort of thing. He talks only when he has something to say and when he has well considered how he will say it. He is a first class listener. Once a committee visited him to get his opinion of a proposed plank in the platform on which he was to run for Governor. The chairman of the delegation explained the plank and asked him what he thought of it. He remained as silent and as motionless as the Sphinx. The chairman repeated his question. The Governor remained silent, but slowly swung his swivel chair so that he could look out of the window, and he kept his mouth closed and his gaze out of the window till the committee retired from the room. It was not hostility or the display of "an odd streak." He simply had not considered the matter long enough to have formed an opinion and until he had something to say

he kept silent. That is his way. He does not use verbal smoke screens to conceal his thoughts or to cover the lack of definite, positive views.

When things were reaching a crisis in the Boston police strike and the city was under the anxious eye of the whole country, Governor Coolidge kept silent so long that the emissaries of chaos thought that they had frightened him. Police Commissioner Curtis was bearing the burden of the fight and providing the stiff backbone on which everything depended. Then the Governor spoke and to the trenchancy of his utterance—"There is no right to strike against the public safety by anybody, anywhere, any time"—there was corresponding vigor of action in backing up the police commissioner. From that day the country has been



Underwood & Underwood

Sprung from sure, silent farmer folk, Governor Coolidge was born at Plymouth, Vermont, in July, 1872. His mother died when he was twelve years old but his father, John Coolidge (standing behind him) still lives in the Green Mountains. The third generation is represented by Calvin, Jr. (left), and John, Governor Coolidge's young sons

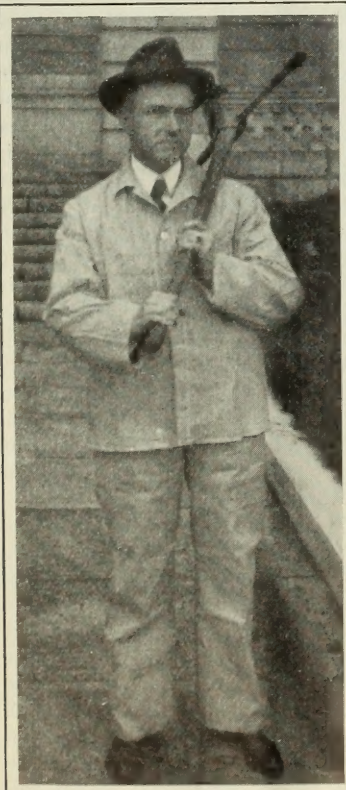
watching this patient, self-controlled public servant, this silent, modest, conscientious Governor, who is as firm as the granite of his native hills when he is convinced that the side he takes is that of right and justice and the public interest.

Granted his absolute integrity, his fearlessness and his devotion to a square deal for all, is he to be classed as too conservative to satisfy progressive Republicans and the independents? Let the unqualified support that he has had from Massachusetts Republicans and independents of every shade and degree be one answer to that. For whatever office he has been a candidate he has unfailingly run many thousands ahead of his ticket. There is perhaps another answer in his advice to the

Massachusetts Senate when he was elected to preside over it: "Expect to be called a standpatter, but don't be a standpatter. Expect to be called a demagog but don't be a demagog. Don't hesitate to be as revolutionary as science. Don't hesitate to be as reactionary as the multiplication table. Don't expect to build up the weak by pulling down the strong. Don't hurry to legislate. Give administration a chance to catch up with legislation."

Over and over again in his public addresses you will find the note of spiritual appeal. The material triumphs of our civilization are all right so far as they go, but they are only a part of the story. "Man," he said to the Massachusetts legislature, "has a spiritual nature. Touch it and it must respond as the magnet responds to the pole. To that, not to selfishness, let the laws of the commonwealth appeal. Recognize the immortal worth and dignity of man."

When Governor Coolidge received the degree of doctor of laws from Amherst a year ago President Meiklejohn complimented him on teaching the lesson of "adequate brevity" in his [Continued on page 27]



Underwood & Underwood

Governor Coolidge has no false sense of dignity. He is not too proud to wear overalls and he enjoys a joke, his eyes readily lighting up with a friendly twinkle. His own particular brand of humor is very dry

### Some of Governor Coolidge's Remarkable Remarks

Do the day's work.

Expect to be called a stand-patter, but don't be a stand-patter. Expect to be called a demagog, but don't be a demagog.

Don't hesitate to be as revolutionary as science.

Don't hesitate to be as reactionary as the multiplication table.

We need more of the office desk and less of the show window in politics.

Let men in public life substitute the midnight oil for the limelight.

The man who builds a factory builds a temple; the man who works there worships there.

Men do not make laws; they do but discover them.



Fourth article in The Independent's Industrial Series on the big plants that are finding a successful answer to the problems of labor unrest

# Why the Leitch Plan Makes Good

By Professor John R. Commons, of the University of Wisconsin

In collaboration with A. P. Haake, O. F. Carpenter, Malcom Sharp, Jennie McMullin Turner, Ethel B. Dietrich, Jean Davis, John A. Commons

**T**HE Packard Piano Company had won the strike in 1912. But the workers who came back were sullen, production was low, harmony gone. In the midst of this distressing situation the president of the company, Albert S. Bond, chanced to hear John Leitch deliver a lecture on industrial democracy.

Leitch is an industrial evangelist. He converted Mr. Bond. Bond saw the error of his ways. He had been a salesman but he had not applied the psychology of salesmanship to his employees. He had been "driving" them, not "selling" them the Packard piano. Forthwith he changed his character and attitude toward labor. He accepted at once the four corner stones of Leitch's Industrial Democracy—Justice, Coöperation, Economy, Energy and the capstone, Service.

Next he induced Leitch to come over and convert his workmen. Mass meetings were held on company time. At first the men were cold and skeptical. They wondered what the management was trying to "put over." But after a few meetings they too were converted. When the psychological hour arrived, Leitch offered his resolution and it was adopted:

"We, the employees, officers and directors of the Packard Piano Company, recognizing that Justice is the greatest good and Injustice the greatest evil, do hereby lay, and subscribe to, as the first Corner Stone of our Policy, this greatest of all good."

We talked with Mr. Bond and thirty or more employees. They have unbounded faith in Industrial Democracy. They speak the common language of Justice. The firm that makes the best men will make the best pianos. The great end of Justice is "to construct broader character as individuals," as the foundation of "broader commerce as an institution."

Coöperation was the second corner stone laid by John Leitch. Coöperation is the way to obtain Justice. In the other Leitch plants which we visited we found the whole machinery of representative democracy according to the Constitution of the United States—a Cabinet, a Senate, a House of Representatives. But the Packard company did not find it necessary to have representative bodies for a force of less than 300. So everybody attends the meetings.

In the beginning they held a meeting every week; now about once a month. Factory problems are discussed and decided by the Committee of the Whole. If an investigation is necessary, a special committee of five, three elected by the employees and two appointed by the management,



John Leitch, industrial evangelist, whose plan of establishing coöperation between employees and employers is an outstanding feature in the solution of labor troubles today

make the investigation and report to the next meeting.

The factory was hard hit in 1914, following the outbreak of the World War. A cabinet maker arose in the Committee of the Whole and suggested that they work three days a week and spread the unemployment over the entire force instead of concentrating it. The foremen volunteered to reduce their own salaries twenty-five per cent. The Committee of the Whole agreed to operate three days a week, but the management was able to assure them four days.

A backmaker is stated to have told how coöperation worked in his department. "When I started in this week," he said, "it took two men ten hours to make six backs. That's the same as one man working ten hours to make three backs—or a back every three and a third hours. Now one man can complete a back in an hour, and the work is much easier than it ever was in the past. How did we do it? Well, it was because the Packard

Piano Policy got us to do it. The men at the head said to us, 'Now, boys, we all want to do our best, and sometimes doing our best doesn't mean working our heads off. The easier our work becomes, the better specialists we become—so try to see if there aren't better ways of doing things.' And what I have told you about this department shows what coöperation can do."

While we sat in the president's office, several workers came to the door, which is kept open without any sign, "Private." The workers halted when they saw us. In every case Mr. Bond excused himself and gave priority to the workers. These interviews cover every subject—shop problems, domestic, financial problems. It is the latter that give to the president his opportunity to win the confidence of the workers.

Economy is the third corner stone. The "Collective Economy Dividend" is John Leitch's inducement to economy. "I take the cost of a unit of production in the period preceding the introduction of Industrial Democracy," says Leitch, "and compare that cost with results after Democracy has gone into effect. If there is a saving, then one-half that aggregate saving is the amount of the economy dividend for the period and is paid to the men as an added percentage to wages."

In the Packard Piano Company it is simplified as follows: Three hundred pianos a month are the standard. If the factory turns out 300 pianos, the employees

get 5 per cent. dividend added to their wages; and 2½ per cent. additional for every 25 in excess of 300. The dividend is paid the first pay day in the following [Continued on page 32]

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Next Month—Can the Leitch Plan Fall Down?

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# Are We Backsliding?

# A Message from the British Nation to the American People

By the Rt. Hon. C. A. McCurdy, K. C., M. P.

## British Food Controller

THE month of May marked another milestone for Great Britain in the history of the war. The Liberal Party by a large majority at the Party Federation held at Leamington has resolved that the necessity for a war-time coalition of political parties no longer exists, and that the continuance of any such coalition is contrary to Liberal principles. The decision of the Liberal Federation was not altogether unexpected. We are now a long way from the war-time spirit which covered England with potato plots, largely increased the wheat harvest, and linked English and Irish, Conservatives and Radicals, in temporary bonds of closest coöperation and friendship. I am afraid that as a nation we are what the Methodists are falling away from grace, I imagine we are by no means the of whom the same thing might

The war was won by the closest and most loyal coöperation of men and women of all classes and of all parties, of all races and of all colors, of a great number of different peoples and of several continents. In the fire of war we were all welded into a white heat of single endeavor. At that time it seemed perfectly natural to suppose that whatever happened when the war was over never again could we come back to the party strife, to the racial hatreds, to the continental rivalries of what seemed a far distant past. It seemed impossible to doubt that the war which must change the map of Europe so profoundly would change no less profoundly the spirit and outlook of mankind. President Wilson's great speeches on the necessity for a League of Nations that should make forever impossible any repetition of the horrors of war struck a responsive chord in every English heart.

Up to the present we have not weakened very perceptibly upon the League of Nations ideal. We are still looking to the League of Nations as our best hope for the international future of the world, but the British Liberal Party has made the first definite step toward a break-away from war-time coöperation at home. I was present at the Liberal Federation meeting when this important decision was arrived at. At the same time the Liberal Party circulated among the delegates a statement of its continued belief in the desirability and necessity of a League of Nations. It seems a somewhat inconsistent decision to insist that the time has come when the French and Belgians ought to forget all the wrongs from which they have suffered so deeply and be prepared to take the hand of Germany as a friend and partner in a world league of associated peoples, but at the same time to insist that the time has come when there is no longer any necessity for



*London Passing Show*  
**Trying to keep his balance**

friendship or coöperation between political parties in this country.

I think it was Labriola, the Italian economist, who once pointed out that the progress of humanity is never in a straight line; it always moves in circles. From the earliest stages of recorded history there is no measured march of progress from barbarism to civilization, from chaos to law; always recurring circles in which mankind toils painfully up the slope, it may be for centuries or for thousands of years, always to fall back again until a new cycle of progress is commenced.

During the great war it appeared to most of us that surely mankind was now moving at terrific speed either to the de-

struction of the existing civilization in Europe, or to the commencement of some new and better stage in the human history. There can be no doubt that the pace of human affairs had been quickened. But already we can perceive the movement of reaction. To-day everyone is saying that the war is over; everyone is impatiently asking when we shall get back to pre-war prices, to pre-war politics. We are no longer dreaming dreams of the new world which peace was to usher in, we are content with the humbler and easier ideal of getting back as rapidly as possible to the old state of things. Most of them seem to be forgotten as soon as peace comes in sight.

In the action which the Liberal Party machine has taken it is only following at a respectful distance the action which the Labor Party took immediately the armistice was signed, when, as I explained in my last article, they at once called their men out of the Coalition Government and refused any assistance in the national work of reconstruction.

The motives of the Labor Party in taking that course, if not very creditable, were at least easy to understand. They are preparing for the great day when they expect to overwhelm all other political parties and assume the reins of government for Great Britain. This is a big job, and they were so impatient to get at it that they could not wait even for the soldiers to be demobilized before launching their new political campaign.

But the Liberal Party can entertain no such ambitions at the present time. The independent section of the Liberal Party, which is alone responsible for the Leamington resolution, numbers less than thirty members of the British House of Commons. The last twelve months of by-elections, with all their varied fortunes, have not added one to the number of the independent Liberal Party. They cannot, therefore, reasonably expect to capture the constituencies without friends or allies, at any rate in the near [Continued on page 31]





The American Red Cross has made its transition from a war to a peace time basis and is now busy carrying on its part of the work pertaining to after-war problems, which includes instruction in first aid, which it gives to miners, loggers, firemen, policemen and industrial workers



With a junior membership of 14,000,000—as well as an adult membership of 10,000,000—the American Red Cross is now making a special effort to eliminate the ravages due to disease. This class in home nursing is being held at a New York City High School



In Europe, the war caused widespread race suicide, even in Germany a comprehensive movement being started to train child-welfare visitors in order to conserve the lives of the few war babies. This baby is American

# Your Red Cross

A Message from the  
United States Government

By Frederick C. Munroe

General Manager of the American  
Red Cross



Photos by American Red Cross  
Frederick C. Munroe

**I**T is the purpose of the American Red Cross, as its contribution to the work of reconstruction, to apply to after-war problems the *service* which it rendered during the war. One of the chief lessons taught by the greatest war of all time was that all individuals and agencies, public and private, must work together in order that the world of the future might be a better place to live in than it was before the assault in force on civilization. And so the confronting problems involve not only the readjustment of affairs from a military to a peace basis, but the improvement of health, the elimination of preventable disease and the raising of standards of living. Experience crowded into a few years has taught, not alone that improved domestic and social conditions will immeasurably strengthen the national life, but that there are practical means at command for removing many of the ills heretofore regarded as inevitable—notably the ravages due to disease.

The American Red Cross, which embraced a membership of a few hundred thousand before the United States entered the World War, has had its transition from the war organization stage and is now organized on a peace basis, with a membership of ten million—and a Junior membership of fourteen million—to carry on its part of the work pertaining to after-war problems. In accordance with its previously assumed obligations, the first duty of the Red Cross is to the men who were called to the colors in defense of the country. This duty, in addition to assistance in restoring disabled fighting men to health and strength, involves help in straightening our allotment and compensation claims and "Home Service" in matters of domestic concern that have been [Continued on page 29



Besides establishing tuberculosis dispensaries and hospitals in France, the American Red Cross has sent food and clothing to the Near East and is now emphasizing a comprehensive health campaign in Eastern Europe. It has branches at Geneva, Athens and Rome



Before the war steady progress was being made against disease—but during the war tuberculosis increased, malaria returned, the "cootie" spread typhus, sewage caused typhoid and an influenza pandemic twice encircled the globe. Work for the American Red Cross!



Beginning March, 1917, Red Cross work in France developed until it was perhaps the largest relief work ever undertaken. Today little is left to be done with the Allied armies so the Red Cross has turned its attention to the care of the convalescent



# Great Men and Great Work

By Preston Slosson

"**H**OW big was Alexander, Pa?" Was he bigger than his job or not so big? It is very hard to measure historic greatness because a man of mediocre quality may by chance find his hand on the levers of power in some world crisis and be unable to escape the greatness thrust upon him. On the other hand, there are historical characters whose concrete achievements seem the least important thing about them. That is what makes biography fascinating. By getting a close glimpse at the hero when he is off duty we can guess whether he borrows distinction from his position in life or lends distinction to it.

Of the great men who seem to be fully represented, or over-represented, in their achievements we may perhaps distinguish four types. There is, first, the quite unimportant person in an important position. Charles the Fifth looms as the most dominating figure of the international politics of the sixteenth century and his successor, Philip the Second, occupies a place in history scarcely less important. But if he had been born in a country town instead of to the throne, Charley Habsburg would have been barely adequate to run a grocery store and his degenerate son Phil would scarcely have been competent to be its clerk. Nine out of ten "great" hereditary rulers are of very commonplace timber. But an occasional king shows qualities which would have made him a marked figure even had he been born among the poorest of his subjects.

**T**HEN we have the type of man whose talents are unquestionable, but whose personality does not seem to extend to deeper insights and higher reaches of thought than are evident in his work. Anthony Trollope must have been a great man or he could not have invented Mrs. Proudie, but we are much more interested in Mrs. Proudie than in Anthony Trollope. The best of him is already on paper. Again, Ludendorff was a great general, as we know to our cost, but his memoirs show clearly that when he turned from military subjects to politics or anything else he was rather stupider than the average German. In this class belong all those men who are specialists, but outside their specialty just average human material.

The third sort of great man, who is known to be such only because of what he has accomplished, is represented perfectly by Shakespeare. Shakespeare may have had a most wonderful attractiveness in private life; it might have been a greater privilege to hear him talk for an hour than to read all his works. But we do not know that this was so. The man has vanished in the mists of the forgetful past and has left no monument to his great soul save his poems and plays. He is known to this generation, at least, only as the man who wrote "Shakespeare's works," and some would deny him even that! Perhaps the only other poet who can be compared with Shakespeare on an equal plane, the anonymous author of the book of *Job*, stands in the same class of the unknown great whose achievements all men know.

Finally, there is a sort of great man with most marked individuality, but whose life is lived on such narrow lines as to be a less successful expression of himself than his work. Such was Immanuel Kant and such was Herbert Spencer. To know these sages in their books would be to know the mind of the archangels; to know them personally would be to know two upright but rather fussy and eccentric pedants.

But there are other great men whose personality seems to overtop their work. An institution is said to be the lengthened shadow of a man, but some men have cast

shadows that extend beyond any institution. Monroe seems adequately represented to us by his remarkable message embodying the "Monroe Doctrine." But we do not think of Lincoln merely as the author of the Emancipation Proclamation. We get his unique quality as distinctly from the most trivial anecdote as from his most momentous public act. Had he lived and died in obscurity in Illinois he would still have been the sagest, kindest, most prophetic spirit of his time. Roosevelt was as great a man in his letters to his children, in his private hobbies, in his tilts with literary friends as when he made peace between Japan and Russia or launched the Progressive Party.

This incandescence of personality, this blazing originality of life, can alone explain why some men have so deeply impressed themselves on history. Luther was but one of many religious reformers; he was not so clear a thinker as either Calvin or Erasmus. What he excelled in was a certain titanic energy and enthusiasm which concentrated all the searchlights of the world on his burly personality. Doctor Johnson never wrote anything of first rate literary merit; his books are ponderous, prejudiced and often dull. But no one can read Boswell's report of his daily life and conversation without seeing why Johnson's name has been one to conjure with. Socrates never did anything in his life more important than to walk about the market place, buttonhole his friends and drop into easy converse with them. There have been scores of generals with as much military technique as Garibaldi, Joan of Arc or Chinese Gordon; but they have left no legends. There can be no question but that some of the men and women who have affected humanity most strongly regarded books and laws and battles as mere by-products. They were careless of fame and interested only in the adventure of life. But fame has come to them more than to others, for it clings about their lives instead of merely registering their deeds.

This is most notably true of the Founder of Christianity. A mere biographical outline of the story of the Gospels would sound meager and almost blasphemous. A working carpenter who spent three years or so in field preaching; who left not one written word to embody His teaching; who died in His youth with only twelve avowed disciples and only a few score followers to mourn His memory—is that the record of the greatest Life that was ever lived on earth? Yes, it is. For all our calendars are dated from His birth; all our institutions are modified by His teaching; all our ideas and ideals owe what is best in them to the few words which tradition has handed down from His day to ours. It is not when men put forth the greatest achievements but when their great achievements bear witness to still greater minds and hearts that human life most nearly approaches the stature of the divine.

## Sculduggery

"**T**HE League of Nations," says the very convalescent man in the White House, "lies too deep to permit of any political sculduggery." He has defined the situation exactly and with all his oldtime sharpness and wit. But a former President, in a very different connection, did still better. Can any one read the League of Nations plank in the Chicago platform without murmuring to himself something about "pussyfooting" and the "weasel words" prepared by some "Byzantine logothete"? After all, "it is a condition and not a theory that confronts us," and the politicians who take refuge in the gentle art of evasion will sooner or later be "relegated to innocuous desuetude." We can hear another President murmuring at the "bumble-





# Who's Who This Week

Giovanni Giolitti (left), who undertakes the office of Italian Premier since the fall of Signor Nitti, was one of the most powerful politicians of Italy before the war. On the outbreak of the war he urged that Italy remain neutral, which was at first a favor to France since it enabled all the French forces to be concentrated on the Belgian front, but which later caused him to be regarded as a pro-German when France wanted Italy to enter the war

© Keystone View



© Wide World

For the sixth time Mrs. Quentin F. Feitner, of the South Shore Club, Long Island, has won the Women's Metropolitan Golf championship. Mrs. Feitner's game is remarkable in its long strokes—her drives and brassie shots often go well over 200 yards



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"Dynamite" Wilson broke all records for a parachute drop from an aeroplane by a descent of 19,800 feet recently near Kelly Field, Texas. "Dynamite" is known officially as Lieut. John H. Wilson

Plenty of tennis enthusiasts award William M. Johnston (left) the honor of being the world's greatest tennis player. The young Californian holds the American championship, and he won in both the singles and doubles at the recent tournament in London. Johnston was defeated by the British veteran, J. C. Parke, on June 22 in the All-England Championship tournament at Wimbledon, his only defeat

The War Department has added a new feature to its work in the appointment of Mrs. Olive Ross (right) as director of welfare service. Mrs. Ross is to look after the health, housing, recreation, etc., of employees of the War Department



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Dr. Konstantin Fehrenbach, former president of the German National Assembly, is likely to be chosen Chancellor or Premier when the new Government is formed provided the Majority Socialists do not upset the present plans. He is a leader of the Center or Roman Catholic party, having been trained for the priesthood before becoming a lawyer. He is now sixty-eight years old. Before the war he was an opponent of German militarism and during the war he favored the movement for peace negotiations



© Harris & Ewing, from Paul Thompson



puppy" indulged in by the managers of his party. Moreover, if "a house divided against itself shall not stand," can we say more for a platform? Not by the mouth of Wilson alone is the egg dance at Chicago to be condemned, but equally by the words of Roosevelt, Cleveland, Taft and Lincoln and of every other honest President who ever faced an issue squarely.

### The Morning After

*The President of Our Largest University*—A motley group of stock gamblers, oil and mining promoters, munition makers and other like persons seized upon General Wood and with reckless audacity started out to buy for him the presidential nomination.

*Our Most Distinguished Major-General*—The statement is a vicious and malicious falsehood. . . . it is necessary in this instance to brand a faker and to denounce a lie.

### The Paramount Issue

SENATOR Harding, are you for the League of Nations as it now exists, or for the League of Nations with the Lodge reservations, or for the League of Nations with some other reservations, or against the League of Nations?

## Getting at the Truth About Russia

By Norman Hapgood

FOR two and a half years various types of Americans have asked me how they could get information about Russia. They feel helpless in the grip of rumor and propaganda, but they know not how to break thru toward the truth. I have steadily replied that to follow all sources in several languages could be expected only of specialists, and that for the ordinary reader the *Manchester Guardian*, even its weekly edition, if read habitually, would cover fully and truthfully the Russian news. For facts about the economic situation the fairest single source easily available has been the *Russian Coöperator* of London. The opposing political standpoints can be followed weekly in *Soviet Russia* and in Mr. Bakhmetev's organ, *Struggling Russia*.

There has now been accomplished by the League of Free Nations Association a work of much value. That Association has realized from the beginning of its existence that the League of Nations would never be really started successfully on its course until it included Russia, as well as Germany and the United States. How can either it or the League to Enforce Peace keep out of the presidential campaign, while remaining true to its purpose, if the campaign results in a square issue on the essentials of the League? I have already indicated to the readers of The Independent that in my opinion Mr. McAdoo showed his usual political genius and courage when he came out flat-footed for trade with Russia and against any sort of interference with her. As these words leave my typewriter no other public man of prominence in this country has spoken with such comprehensiveness and lack of fear. This question of what will be done in the campaign by associations which exist for the purpose of helping to bring a League into being has, however, nothing to do with the purpose of the League of Free Nations Association in getting out its recent volume of Russian documents, *Russian-American Relations*, published by Harcourt, Brace & Howe. This purpose is entirely to give information, not to state conclusions. With unbiased and well-informed editorship the Association has put out a book made up of official documents tracing the relations of our Government to Russia since the revolution of March, 1917. Anybody who reads them carefully will find himself much better able to check off a good part of the material that is sent over by routine correspondents from Paris or decked up as special cor-

respondence from Washington. As long as the Poles keep up their offensive the statements prepared for the Washington correspondents by Mr. Bakhmetev and by some of his assistants in the Department of State will be indistinguishable from the stories put out during the Kolchak, Denikin, and Judenich enterprises.

The volume of the League of Free Nations Association will support the thesis, I believe, that President Wilson is not directly responsible for those parts of the American policy and propaganda that have been the discouragement of liberal elements abroad. On the other hand it will show that when he was acting personally he was expressing an enlightened policy. His views have been disregarded much as the sound plans of Mr. Lloyd George have been thwarted in London and Paris. A recent issue of the *Manchester Guardian*, reviewing the dismal obstacles to peace raised by obscure forces in the entente, treats the Polish adventure as the most serious of all the crimes of intervention. It makes a charge against the United States: "It is known that the Poles have the use of considerable American material—tho America has 'withdrawn' from European affairs—and the help of American airmen." The *Guardian* might have added that not only have we "withdrawn," but that we are not even "blockading" Soviet Russia, merely preventing free-born American citizens from sending things there, while permitting them to do what they like with Russia's enemies. Semyonov, the distinguished bandit chief, has declared himself the supreme ruler of Siberia. As Kolchak is dead, and Yudenitch and Denikin as good as dead, I presume Mr. Bakhmetev represents Semyonov. His influence and the nature of his propaganda must mean that he represents somebody beside himself and Mr. Sazonov. Why should we not have the courage to become an open ally of Poland and Semyonov? If we lack the decision to stop interfering with the course of Russian events, we might at least be thoro in our meddling.

### Recognizing Soviet Russia

WELL, why not? One recognizes an onion even if one doesn't like the odor.

### What the Old Guard Thinks

IF a man votes right it makes no difference whether he votes with enthusiasm or simply as a duty to the party; it counts as just one vote in either case.

## The Woman's Club and the Church

By Shailer Mathews

CHRISTIANITY is no longer a religion of a single institution. The Christian life finds expression in countless forms. Red Cross Societies, Juvenile Protective Leagues, Social Hygiene Societies are illustrations of this fact. The unity of Christianity is not to be sought in the church, but in the spirit of service that endeavors to make Jesus the teacher of social life. Institutions will increase in number as the opportunities to apply and organize the Christian spirit multiply. Ultimately every need will find its own ministering institution. The church will not be outgrown, but it will be more highly and more intelligently organized to perform its own particular function of spiritual inspiration and moral education.

The danger of rivalry is, however, imminent. Institutions which ought to coöperate are liable to compete. And it is difficult for any of us to serve heartily competing masters.

Particularly is this true of the Woman's Club and the local church. In these days when women are rapidly gaining rights too long denied, it is fortunate that they are to be found in the churches. To an extent every political convention helps us understand, women are potent in our



changing world. They have discovered admirable ability in organization; they do not fear being idealists; they are masters of publicity; they are indefatigable in the pursuit of their aims. In comparison with a Woman's Missionary Society, a Layman's Missionary Movement looks amateur.

The Woman's Club is an embodiment of this efficiency. There is no organization of men in the country that so persistently and intelligently considers matters of fundamental importance to nation and municipality. The program of a local, state, or national Federation furnishes a liberal education in things worth while.

Will the club compete or coöperate with the church? Any student of society will recognize the importance of the question. Hitherto the church has been the main sphere of women's social interests. They have made up the bulk of its congregations, they have been the support of its finances and its good fellowship. They have found in it not only the comforts of religion, but the outlet of their gifts of organization and leadership.

At the present time the same women who are active in church work are likely to be found in the Woman's Club. Some sort of coöperation between the two would, therefore, seem to be easy. At all events the church and club ought to plan certain work together. The club should have classes in Biblical literature and history of religions. Another field of study is the religious aspects of English literature. The philanthropic work of the club should be coördinated with that of the churches. In such a combination the churches will gain as well as the clubs. The clubs will be a laboratory of interdenominational effort, and the churches will become more significant as they appropriate the wider results of the Woman's Club work.

There is obvious danger that such coöperation may not always be present. The Woman's Club, because of its more complete organization and social prestige, sometimes monopolizes the attention of the more active women of the church. There is no remedy for this unless the church itself undertakes tasks as significant as those of the Woman's Clubs. When once coöperation between the two organizations is intelligently organized, women of leadership will have their proper recognition in the thought and activity of the church and community.

### Direct Primaries

Who directs them?

#### Hoover

HE might have had five million supporters in the country at large, but he could command only five votes in the convention.

### Labor and the League

THE American Federation of Labor in its annual convention has declared the Covenant of the League of Nations "the nearest approach to perfection that ever has been devised for prevention of war." We wonder if those sapient politicians who are so certain that the "people" do not want the treaty ratified and that the League of Nations is a "conspiracy of international bankers" really think that the American Federation is composed of bankers and contains in its ranks no "people"?

### The Parties Reverse rôles

THE Democratic party clings with tenacity to the policy of no expansion beyond the confines of the American continent, and cherishes the splendid isolation, geographically the portion of the United States, as a valued possession not to be lightly bartered away. The Republican party believes that the developments of the twentieth century have inevitably narrowed the confines of the civilized world and made the United States, whether it will or no, a

world power, with responsibilities and opportunities for service far beyond its continental borders."—The Independent, July 3, 1916.

## Absolutist Communism

By Franklin H. Giddings

WE offer our radical friends a phrase: brief, accurate and dynamic.

Since the French Revolution radicals have been trying to know what they want, and to define their objective. Vaguely most of them have known that their ideas have been vague. The others, Marxian Socialists, and theoretical anarchists, that have subscribed to creeds as dogmatic as Calvin's Institutes of Theology, have been unable to agree. Motor impulses to "do something," unresolved Freudian complexes, and emotional turbulences have driven them forward—the dogmatic ones no less than the temperamental ones—faster than they could think. They haven't known where they were going, but they have been grimly glad to be on the way.

Events that have driven and directed them have now informed them. Uncertain no longer and no longer clouded, their objective is revealed to themselves and to all the world.

Known or not, for what it is, absolutist communism has been the objective of the confluent streams of radicalism for a century. Now the flood, at sea level, is sweeping out upon the featureless ocean of equality, into the depths of which no light reaches, and the bitter waters of which offer only delirium and death to those that drink.

Absolutist communism, that is the objective, that is the end. The phrase is ours. The authoritative proclamation and description we take from Leon Trotzky. Readers that wish to check us up and satisfy themselves that we are not lying to them will find it in his proclamation converting the Soviet army into a labor militia, published in Pravda, March 16. Communism, he says, is the object and end of the revolution. For that all sacrifices have been made. To that all loyalty is requisitioned, all service must be rendered. Imperatives are its essence: it is no voluntaristic, or go as you please experiment. As an organization for production it is an army. Tasks are assigned, and discipline is military in character and in severity. The proletariat dictates. A supreme command gives orders. Here are the words:

As the militia has the object of preparing the gradual transformation of the Russian people into an armed communist nation, the militia in its organization should retain the character of a dictatorship of the working class.

A thousand questions suggest themselves concerning the reactions of joy or of consternation by the motley procession of Socialists, anarchists, social democrats, and radical industrial workers that is sweeping on to this objective, but the facts are few and simple. Those that protest, and those that rejoice, are alike powerless to turn back. Bureaucratic and parliamentary socialism have been left behind. Voluntaristic communism and voluntaristic syndicalism are forgotten as childish things.

The proof is that all radical writers and speakers, all radical journals, and pseudo-pacifists daily betray their sympathy with the Russian plan and purpose. Those that apologize for doing so explain that no other outcome of the social revolution is possible. Short of communism there is no stopping place and communistic society, it appears, must (like that abhorrent "State" which they have anathematized) have power and use its power to maintain itself against enemies without and rebels within.

It would be interesting also to analyze the psychology of this fateful drift, but here again the essential facts are few and simple.

There are only three possible ways in which human



# "Ships and the Sea—There's Nothing Finer Made"



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## THE VANITIE

For beauty everyone concedes first place to the New York Yacht Club's boat, the "Vanitie," with her gleaming bronze hull and huge white sails. But in point of speed it is a close question whether she can keep up to the "Resolute"



Levick

## THE RESOLUTE

With the America's Cup races taking their pre-eminent place once more in summer sport the famous Herreshoff yacht "Resolute" is competing with the bronze sloop "Vanitie" in a series of test races to decide which shall sail against the "Shamrock IV." The photograph above shows the "Resolute," sailed by Charles Francis Adams, near the victorious finish of a test race



Levick

This race came very near turning into a tragedy when the "Resolute's" mast snapped off, burying a couple of her crew in the water under the enormous sail. The photographer's launch saved the men by cutting thru the sail



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They say that there are very few thrills equal to those of sailing on a cup defender. And the crew more than earns its thrills. The "Resolute," for instance, won her first elimination race not only by the skill of the skipper and the design of the ship, but by the efficiency with which this crew broke out the sails



The British challenger of the America's cup, Sir Thomas Lipton's "Shamrock IV" (right), crossed the ocean under her own sail before the war. Above are the men who hope to sail her to victory on July 4 against the American defender: Captain W. P. Burton and Navigator Claude A. Hickman





society can be organized for defense or for achievement.

Men of superior ability may happen to be alert, strong and resourceful enough to get and exercise control. In that case we have government by aristocracy and for aristocracy.

Men of inferior ability by direct action, or by outnumbering votes, may obtain control. In that case we have a proletarian dictatorship, and it proclaims that the relatively incompetent who, it is assumed, are so because of no fault of their own, must be taken care of by the competent, who, it is assumed, are so as beneficiaries of luck or of injustice. Therefore production and distribution must be communistic. But inasmuch as the proletariat is unskilled in any but severely simple modes of administration, complex matters must be turned over to personal dictators (subject to recall or assassination) to organize the community on those military lines which uninstructed men can understand. Therefore a working communism must be absolutist.

The third and only other possible organization of society is the democratic. Democracy is comprehensive. It includes the competent and the incompetent. It ascertains the will of the majority and thru representative parliamentary bodies it governs in deference to public opinion. Denying the divine right of minority dictatorships, it is of all forms of human society the most detested by crooks and morons: by unscrupulous clever men who would amass wealth by exploiting the multitude, and by incompetent men who would live by enslaving ability.

## Ohio

THE Republican party has only twice elected a President born outside of Ohio; Lincoln and Roosevelt. Ohio was the birthplace of Grant and Harrison and both birthplace and residence of Hayes, Garfield, McKinley and Taft. Hence Harding.

## The Passing of Divine Right

By R. J. Caldwell

THE divine right of employers to rule industry is a thing of the past as surely as is the divine right of kings. But this change does not inaugurate the divine right of labor to rule either industry or the public.

Mr. Gompers in his recent published statement in answer to Governor Allen's question of what rights the public have in a dispute between capital and labor and what means organized labor would vouchsafe to the public for the protection of those rights declared that the public had no rights which are superior to the rights of labor. It might as truthfully be said that labor and capital have no rights paramount to the public interest, and we would be no nearer an answer than before.

Despite all the signs of the times, capital still grudgingly concedes to labor only that which it must. It thereby invites and receives from labor retaliation in kind, and labor is compelled to accept a condition of strife, as it can get recognition by no other means. Employers are as much responsible for strikes as workingmen, and the consequences fall heavily on the heads of both. While the great majority of employers deal with labor in terms of expediency instead of justice it is idle to expect anything but ill feeling on the part of labor, and it is equally idle under such circumstances to lay emphasis on the instances in which the ill will of labor takes the form of violating agreements. The highest authority in labor union circles has testified that "there are as many employers who have violated their agreements with them as there are employee bodies which have failed to abide by their agreements with employers." So long as both labor and capital attempt to exercise divine rights no solution is in sight.

It is stated that there were six thousand strikes during the war and that there have been four thousand since. This ceaseless warfare cannot continue, and should not be permitted to continue. Labor, in its own interest, should be the first to recognize the advantage to be gained by it in the substitution of a saner weapon than the strike, which injures vast numbers who have no direct concern in the issue and whose natural sympathy for labor thus becomes alienated.

The Kansas Industrial Court is based on the theory, derived from practical experience, that the disputants of industry cannot amicably settle their own affairs, but have to have them settled for them, and on the further theory that the innocent bystander should not suffer the penalty for the quarrels of others. The conclusion thus reached in respect to industrial affairs is no different from the conclusion reached long ago by all civilized nations in civil affairs, which resulted in our civil and criminal courts.

When criminal courts were first established in the West there were many protests of the usurpation of individual rights by the courts, but few today would abandon them after having lived under their jurisdiction, and it is difficult to see why results should be less satisfactory when orderly process of law under the administration of such courts as the Kansas Industrial Relations Court replaces the violence of strikes. Under the Sullivan Act it is not permissible in New York for any one to carry weapons on his person, and yet how infinitesimal is the damage done from the use of weapons in the hands of a few compared with the widespread ruin instituted by strikes. If one-hundredth part of the effort and expense incurred by labor in conducting strikes or negotiating industrial disputes were devoted to representing their interests before an Industrial Relations Court the results would be a hundred times more satisfactory to labor itself than the present crude, antiquated and altogether intolerable system of strikes, which visit their first cost on fellow workers and their families.

Since labor comprizes a great part of the public, it pays a corresponding part of the cost of strikes. Labor does not seem to understand that increased wages can only be paid out of the additional output of wealth derived from increased production. Otherwise, the cost of higher wages comes back on the public in the form of higher prices and the worker loses in high prices what he gained from high wages. It is a popular fallacy that increased wages can be taken out of capital. Lord Leverhulme determined that if all the income of Great Britain derived from interest, rent and profit from the use of capital were divided equally among all the people of Great Britain it would give but twenty-five cents a day to each man, woman and child.

The public good is not served by annihilating the capitalists, but by regulating them. It is true that capital has set labor a most unenviable example, but taking conditions as we find them we may reasonably ask that, if the Kansas Industrial Relations Court, is the wrong way for settling industrial differences, labor suggest a better way.

## Campaign Funds

WHAT does it profit to spend millions of dollars on a pre-convention campaign? General Wood or Governor Lowden might have won had they not been so eager to win.

## Coolidge

ONE good thing the Republican Convention did was to nominate a Vice-President fit to be President and thus break an evil tradition that the second place on the ticket is merely a consolation prize to be given to some inoffensive party hack. Indeed we have heard the Republican ticket this year called the Kangaroo ticket—biggest in the rear!



# The Story of the Week

## The Voice of Labor

THE American Federation of Labor has held its fortieth annual meeting and has declared itself clearly on many of the issues of the hour. The meeting was held at Montreal and more than five hundred delegates attended. It is somewhat unusual for a meeting of American labor unionists to take place on foreign soil, but the American Federation regards Canada as "one of the family," as many Canadian workingmen are affiliated with its organizations. President Samuel Gompers was reelected for the thirty-ninth time with little opposition. He dominated the convention with his usual skill, and very few resolutions were carried which had not received his approval.

The two resolutions which caused the warmest debate favored the League of Nations and the government ownership of railroads. Immediate ratification of the Treaty with Germany without reservations to the League of Nations Covenant was the policy approved in spite of the opposition of a few Irish members, who feared that Article X might prove in some way an obstacle to Irish independence. The resolution, as adopted, declared of the Covenant:

It is not a perfect document, and perfection is not claimed for it. It does, however, mark the nearest approach to perfection that ever has been devised for prevention of war. It must meet with the unqualified approval and support of the American working people.

In defending this resolution Mr. Gompers made the point that organized labor had never failed to place itself on record in favor of international peace.

Government ownership of railroads was approved in spite of the opposition of President Gompers; it was, in fact, the most serious defeat which he suffered during the course of the convention. The railroad workers themselves favored the resolution and were joined by the miners and the metal workers. The building trades, on the other hand, opposed government ownership in principle. 29,058 votes

were recorded in favor of the resolution to 8348 opposed. It read:

That the Executive Council be, and are hereby, instructed to use every effort to have the Transportation Act of 1920 repealed and legislation enacted providing for Government ownership and democratic operation of the railroad systems and necessary inland waterways.

A very significant step taken by the American Federation was the passage of a resolution requesting affiliated unions to abolish the "color line" and admit negroes to full rights of membership. The question was raised in connection with the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, whose charter limited the privileges of membership to white men.

All forms of anti-strike laws and compulsory arbitration tribunals were condemned. The labor planks in the Republican platform were criticized as unsatisfactory, and it was determined to bring pressure on the San Francisco convention in hope of better results from the Democrats. The jail for profiteers and amnesty for "political prisoners" was urged on the Government. With respect to foreign policy, non-intervention in Mexico was favored and Irish independence approved, but all attempts to secure any sort of approval of Russian Bolshevism were defeated by overwhelming majorities. In fact, Bolshevism has rarely been so severely denounced in any discussion as it was in the fortieth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor.

## Wilson Talks Politics

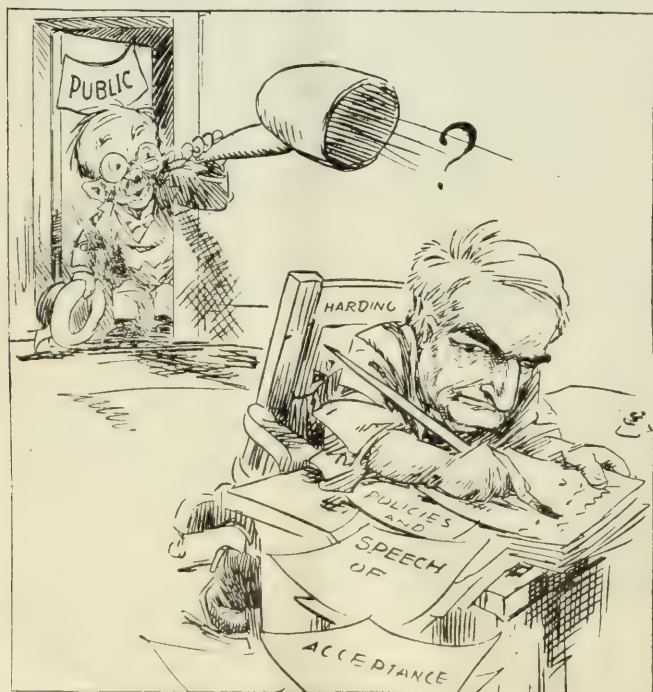
THERE is one point on which no one can get a word from President Wilson: the name of the man whom the Administration is backing for the nomination. This has given rise to rumors that President Wilson would seek a third term, in spite of the fact that no evidence whatever has appeared to support such a statement. Others believe that he will indicate the candidate on whom his mantle is to fall when the Democratic convention meets, and still others take him at his word that he has no particular nominee in mind and is concerned solely with the issues of the campaign.

Candidates apart, President Wilson has spoken freely on politics since his partial recovery from the illness which prostrated him for so many weeks. He was particularly frank in the recent interview which he gave to Mr. Louis Seibold of the *New York World*. He insisted that the paramount issue must be the League of Nations in spite of the efforts of the Republicans to becloud the issue by attacks on the Administration:

I am extremely confident that the Democratic Convention at San Francisco will welcome the acceptance by the Republican party of my invitation to make the League of Nations the issue of the campaign. I am even more confident that the American people desire it above anything that a political party may now provide, and that they will condemn the Republican policy of denying them the consummation of their hopes. No one will welcome a referendum on that issue more than I.

He made an effective point by showing that President McKinley had advocated a League of Nations "more than fifteen years before I became impressed with its tremendous importance." Senator Burton, of Ohio, and Senator Lodge were also quoted by President Wilson as having advocated the principles embodied in the Covenant. In view of these facts he denied to the Republicans the credit of sincerity in their attacks on the Covenant and declared that the party policy on that question was "wholly political in intent and purpose."

President Wilson defended the continuation of the Lever Food Control Act after the cessation of hostilities as a de-



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There's a gentleman waiting to be introduced



fense against profiteering. He insisted that the Espionage Act had not been used oppressively and he denied "that the rights of a single citizen have been unjustly invaded," a statement which will astonish the radicals. He declared that all the war measures would have come to an end months ago if the treaty had been promptly ratified, as it should have been. He professed complete ignorance as to the status of Mr. Root in establishing an international court.

He appealed for the support of the progressives on the ground that "the Republican convention was the apotheosis of reaction." He hoped that the attitude of the San Francisco convention would be different in every respect and that it would provide a platform "sufficiently broad, progressive, liberal, just and thoroly Democratic." He declared with reference to the nomination: "I have not raised my hand or voice to aid in the promotion of any ambition for the Democratic presidential nomination and I shall not do so."

## McAdoo Too Poor to Run

**W**ILLIAM G. McAdoo, former Secretary of the Treasury and the "favorite" for the Democratic nomination, has once again refused to enter the race for the Democratic nomination, and with such emphasis that he is now generally considered as out of the running, and his friends in the party (who are many) are busily engaged in looking over their lists of second choices. Mr. Jouett Shouse, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury and a vigorous leader of the progressive wing of the Democratic party, urged Mr. McAdoo to let his name go before the San Francisco convention, assuring him that he could be both nominated and elected. Mr. McAdoo replied that the same reasons which compelled him to resign his position in the Cabinet compelled him also to decline any other opportunity to reënter political life until he could "have a reasonable opportunity to rehabilitate my private affairs." "A presidential campaign," he declared, "imposes upon a candidate unavoidable expenses which I am unable to assume and which I do not want my friends to assume."

Mr. McAdoo added that victory would be certain if the Democratic platform were "straightforward, unequivocal, unevasive, honest and liberal," and if the candidate put forward could "command public confidence." He insisted that "we must stand squarely for ratification of the League of Nations without debilitating reservations, and we must be direct and explicit on the important domestic issues."

## On to 'Frisco!

**T**HE Democratic Convention meets this year in a mist of uncertainty. Candidates for the presidential nomination are quite as numerous as they were at Chicago, but their booms are not so definitely shaped. It is difficult to tell of any Democrat of national prominence whether he is seriously a candidate or simply "talked of" by his personal friends. Primary contests have been few, and it is estimated that of the 1096 delegates at least 775 are wholly without instructions. The refusal of Mr. McAdoo to enter the race, Mr. Hoover's refusal to let himself be considered as a Democrat, and President Wilson's attitude have added to the uncertainty of the situation.

Two issues dominate the convention: the League of Nations and prohibition. Friends of the Administration are chiefly concerned to secure the nomination of a candidate favorable to the League on an unequivocal platform. Senator Reed, the most truculent opponent of the Covenant within the Democratic party, was reëlected by a Kansas City district after the Missouri State Convention had rejected him. The National Committee, according to Chairman Cummings, will sustain the State Convention against the district and refuse the Senator a place in the National



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Yes, but lots of times they don't pay any attention

Convention. Senator Shields has been instructed by the State Convention of Tennessee to abandon his opposition to the League and support the foreign policy of the Administration, but he has refused to do so.

Mr. Bryan will be a center of the fight on both issues. While not positively hostile to the League of Nations Covenant in the same sense as Senators Reed and Shields, he is willing to accept such reservations as the Senate may desire rather than compel the Democratic party to wage the campaign on an issue of foreign policy. He is much more interested, however, in the prohibition issue. Here he has a double battle on his hands. He must block the attempt of the Tammany delegates to insert a "beer and wine" plank in the Democratic platform and he must prevent the nomination of a foe of prohibition. Governor Edwards, of New Jersey, has made his campaign for the nomination almost wholly on the one issue of nullifying the eighteenth amendment to the Constitution by legislation which would permit the sale of liquors of moderate alcoholic content. Governor Cox, of Ohio, has also been placed on the blacklist of the Anti-Saloon League as a "wet" or at least a "damp," altho he is not a man of one issue and is supported rather because of his great strength and popularity in the same doubtful state that produced the Republican candidate than because of his advocacy of a "beer and wine" law.

There would seem to be three main groups within the Democratic Convention. First, there is the "Administration" phalanx, supported by all the prestige of President Wilson and in control of the National Committee and of the "organization" generally. Hitherto it has tended to support Mr. McAdoo, but now it is without any particular candidate and is ready to support any good Democrat who is sound on the ratification of the treaty "without nullifying reservations." This group probably represents a majority of the party and of the convention, but in Democratic conventions a two-thirds vote is essential to control the nomination. Second in importance is the Tammany group, controlling under the unit rule the entire vote of New York and finding allies in New England, New Jersey and Illinois. This group wishes to keep the League issue in the background and to make the campaign on the issue of "the



right to drink," favors recognition of Irish independence, and, for strategic reasons, upholds the unit rule binding the vote of states and the two-thirds vote required for nominations. Its support appears to be divided between Governor Edwards of New Jersey, Governor Smith of New York, Vice-President Marshall of Indiana, and Governor Cox of Ohio. Finally, there is a small but very zealous group under Mr. Bryan's leadership which is out of sympathy with the Administration on questions of foreign policy but is determined above all things to uphold prohibition. Upon the wars and alliances of these contending forces depends the outcome of the San Francisco convention.

## Echoes of Chicago

SENATOR Harding's friends say that he is another McKinley. In one respect at least he will follow the example of his predecessor from Ohio: he is to conduct a porch campaign. Instead of careering around the country in a special train, following the fashion set by Mr. Bryan and since followed by Presidents Roosevelt, Taft and Wilson, the candidate will address delegations of pilgrims to Marion, Ohio. Chicago will be the Republican headquarters and Chairman Hays of the National Committee will be the chief director of the campaign. Senator Harding has been busily engaged ever since his nomination in polishing up his speech of acceptance and in holding conferences with the party chiefs on the strategy of the coming campaign.

Most of the liberal and radical Republicans, tho confessedly disappointed over nearly everything that happened at Chicago, have decided that the party should receive their loyal support. Senator La Follette may leave the Republican ranks to ally himself with some third party, but apparently all of the other men who received votes in the Republican convention have become reconciled to the result. Senator Johnson has not led a "bolt," tho he has not yet actively interested himself in the campaign. Mr. Hoover, while declaring himself "greatly disappointed over some tendencies that were apparent at Chicago," thought that nothing prevented the possibility of "a forward-looking interpretation" of the Republican platform. He reiterated his belief in the two-party system and pointed out that a government resting on a coalition of small groups would not work well under a constitution such as ours, which sharply separates the legislative and executive branches. This means that he rejects in advance any invitation to head or ally himself with a third party ticket.

The conservatives of the party are not only reconciled but enthusiastic, even the men whose own ambitions were blighted in the convention. President Butler, of Columbia University, congratulated the party on having discouraged the use of money in pre-convention campaigns by defeating



Thomas in Detroit News

### A question!

Major-General Wood. This drew forth a sharp reply from the General, the one indication of bad feeling, aside from the attitude of the Wisconsin delegates, which has developed within the party since the nomination. President Butler later "took it all back" and harmony once more reigned supreme.

In quite another quarter the Chicago convention has left the legacy of a quarrel. "President" De Valera, of the Irish Republic, was sharply criticized by some of his Irish-American supporters for spending funds raised by the sale of Irish bonds in attempting to insert a plank in the Chicago platform in favor of Irish independence and for failing, after all, to secure such a plank. De Valera replied that the money raised by the sale of Irish bonds was "subscribed for all legitimate governmental purposes" and that "there is no purpose so urgent as that of securing recognition." He insisted that he could consistently demand nothing short of complete recognition of Irish independence and that he could not work for a compromise plank such as was supported by Judge Cohalan and other influential Irish-American politicians. De Valera, having failed at Chicago, will now attempt to secure better results from San Francisco.

## Changes at Washington

THE Government has recently lost two valuable servants, General John J. Pershing, late commander of the American forces in Europe, and Mr. Frank L. Polk, Under-Secretary of the Department of State. General Pershing declared that it had "long been my desire to return to civil life," and that since the war was over and his present duties were not very exacting, he could relinquish them without detriment to the service." His resignation will only take effect after the reorganization of the military service according to the recent act of Congress, and in any case he stands ready to resume active duties should the necessity arise. It is very typical of this energetic man that in his letter of resignation he should complain that his present work was not sufficient to require more than a portion of his time and that he wished to "be free to engage in something more active."

Mr. Polk was corporation counsel of the city of New York at the time when he entered the Federal service. He filled the position of counsellor to the Department of State and later of Under Secretary. During the later days of the Peace Conference, after President Wilson, Secretary Lansing and Colonel House had returned to the United States,

### Ballots in National Conventions Since 1856

Republican		Democratic
1.....	1856.....	17
3.....	1860.....	*57
1.....	1864.....	1
1.....	1868.....	22
1.....	1872.....	1
7.....	1876.....	2
36.....	1880.....	2
4.....	1884.....	2
8.....	1888.....	1
1.....	1892.....	1
1.....	1896.....	5
1.....	1900.....	1
1.....	1904.....	1
1.....	1908.....	1
*1.....	1912.....	46
3.....	1916.....	1
10.....	1920.....	?

\*Party split followed vote.



Mr. Polk acted as head of the American Peace Commission, in conjunction with General Bliss and Mr. White. Those who served under him in Paris know with what great skill he conducted negotiations on the treaties with Austria and Bulgaria and maintained the prestige of the United States at the difficult hour when the Senate turned against the treaty with Germany. His successor as Under Secretary of State is Norman H. Davis, who acquired a reputation in the Treasury Department and was one of the most valued experts on reparations and financial affairs at the Peace Conference.

## Mob Law in America

THE National Association for the Advancement of Colored People held its eleventh annual convention at Atlanta early in June. Five hundred delegates from forty-three states were present to represent this widespread organization and to hear discussions on such problems as lynching, discriminatory laws and the movement of the negro population to northern cities. It was pointed out that during the year 1919, 84 persons were lynched in the United States, of whom 78 were negroes. Three-fifths of all the lynchings took place in the four states of Georgia, Mississippi, Arkansas and Alabama. For the whole thirty-year period of 1889-1918 there were 3224 mob murders in the United States, with 2522 negro and 702 white victims.

Instead of putting a stop to lynchings and race riots the spread of the negro population over the country has but increased the area of lawlessness. On June 15 the city of Duluth, Minnesota, was disgraced by the hanging of three negroes by a large mob which met with no effective resistance from the local authorities. There has also been a rather mysterious race riot in Chicago, in which "red" politics seems to have been involved as well as the usual color line between blacks and whites. A crowd of negroes belonging to an "Abyssinian" association, said to have for its object the colonization of Abyssinia with American negro emigrants, held a demonstration on the night of June 20. One feature of this demonstration was the burning of an American flag. A party of sailors and several of the police interfered at this point and there was an exchange of shots, for the "Abyssinians" had taken the precaution of going armed. An American sailor and a cigar store keeper were killed and a negro policeman was seriously wounded.

## Big Cities

"THE cities are full of pride, Challenging each to each," as Kipling said in his tribute to his native city of Bombay. Perhaps the proudest of them all is Los Angeles, which is now the most populous place in the western half of

North America and has left her rival, San Francisco, well in the rear. With a present population of 575,480 and an increase in the last ten years of more than 80 per cent, Los Angeles smiles with pity at her rival on the Golden Gate with but 508,410 inhabitants. Whether it is her much advertised perfect climate or her still more advertised monopoly of the moving picture industry that is responsible for the triumph of Los Angeles the census man does not tell us.

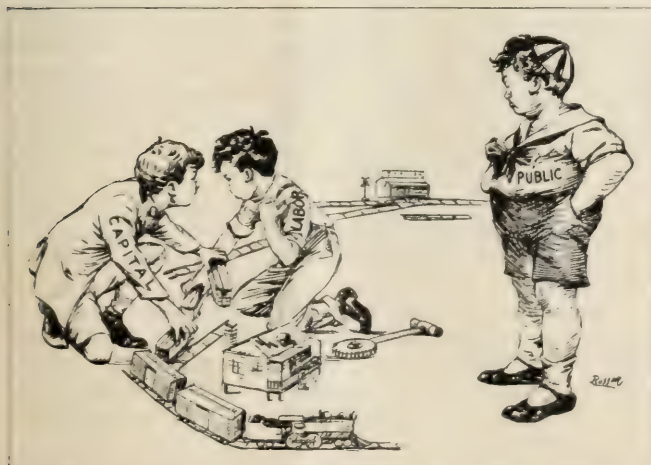
Probably the second proudest city in the United States just now is Detroit, Michigan, which has become the fourth city of the Union in population. With a population of 993,739, Detroit would be even prouder if 6261 more persons had moved to town in time to be counted and thus brought the city over the million limit. However, it is much for so large a city to have more than doubled its population within the decade. Perhaps those of us who own automobiles can guess why Detroit has been so greatly favored. Cleveland, Ohio, now ranks immediately after Detroit, with a population of nearly 800,000 and an increase of more than 40 per cent since 1910. Chicago has done fairly well and retains her place as the second city in the United States with 2,701,212 inhabitants and good hope for three millions by the next census.

The Census Bureau places the ten largest cities of the United States in the following order: New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, Cleveland, St. Louis, Boston, Baltimore, Pittsburgh and Los Angeles. By the census of 1910 the cities ranked: New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Boston, Cleveland, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Detroit and Buffalo.

## The New German Government

ALTHOUGH the late election went to extremes in both directions, the net result is to put the middlemen in power. The former cabinet was in the control of the moderate or Majority Socialists but many of their party, dissatisfied with the slow progress made by the Government in the socialization of industries, went over to the Independent or radical wing of the Socialist party. The Majority Socialists also lost to the opposite side and the combined socialist vote fell from 14,000,000 in the previous election to 11,500,000 in this. So a bourgeois coalition Government had to be formed in which the Socialists declined to participate. The coalition cabinet will be composed of the Center, the People's and the Democratic parties and as such is expected to command 199 votes in the Reichstag. The Majority Socialists will not oppose it unless it should antagonize labor, in which case the two Socialist factions could combine against it and together would muster 190 votes. These in conjunction with other opposition parties would suffice to overthrow the Government. But the important thing now is to fix up some sort of government to receive the approval of the new Reichstag that meets on June 26 and to negotiate with the Allies at Spa immediately after in regard to the execution of the treaty.

The Center or Christian People's party as it is now called is the old Clerical or Roman Catholic party. Its support comes largely from the country districts and its chief aims are the strengthening of the Church, the maintenance of religious instruction in the schools, the strict regulation of public morals and the promotion of peasant proprietorship. The German People's party is the heir to the old National Liberal party. This was the party thru which Bismarck worked to make Germany the foremost industrial nation of Europe. It was the party of tariff and trusts and commercial expansion. Before the war it was being crushed out between the Socialists on one side and the militarists on the other, but is now again coming to the front to undertake the reconstruction of ruined Germany. It will give the country what is called in America a "business men's administration." The Democrats



Russell in New York Times

Labor to Capital: "Supposin' they are his toys, don't let's have that guy butt in!"





Wide World

## THE BOURGEOIS BOLSHEVIK

The Soviet Republic has sent as its first representative in England Gregory Krassin, a prominent Russian manufacturer who has had charge of trade and transportation under the Bolshevik regime. He brought with him a large staff of financial and technical experts and has rented an office building in the commercial center of London. He has been called in conference with Premier Lloyd George and the Cabinet and is now working out plans with them for the restoration of commercial relations between Russia and the members of the League of Nations. He wants to buy agricultural machinery, railroad material, shoes, seed, clothing, medical supplies and manufactured articles of all sorts and has \$20,000,000 in gold to pay for them. Italy and Belgium are, like England, eager to lift the blockade and engage in trade with Russia, but France objects on the ground that the gold is stolen property and that it should be paid to the holders of Russian bonds, most of whom are French.

correspond in a way to the old Progressive party in the United States in that they are less conservative than the Center and People's parties, but are not socialistic. Their chief concern is lest their associates in the new Government should turn it in the direction of a monarchy.

## Big Business in German Politics

THE leader, or, rather, the ruling power of the new German People's party, is Hugo Stinnes, whose picturesque career reminds one of Charles Schwab in America and Lord Northcliffe in England. Like the former, he began in coke and steel and showed remarkable genius in combining and coördinating differences. He found that he could not run steel mills successfully without control of the iron mines. Then he had to make his own coke and this led to the acquisition of coal mines. But this involved the acquisition of the means of communication, so he built his own railroads and fleet, and finally secured control of most of the internal waterways of Germany and of the Hamburg-American and other oceanic lines. The manufacture of coke involved the production of gas, which had to be sold to the cities for light and power. This led naturally to electricity, and Stinnes was one of the first to use electric power for coal mining operations. Thru his possession of electric plants he acquired the controlling interests in the street railways of many German cities. Lately he has followed in the footsteps of Northcliffe by going into the newspaper business on a large scale. He now owns a chain of sixty papers and, applying here also his policy of controlling the necessary raw material, he has bought several paper mills. He was worth 30,000,000 marks before the war, but now his fortune is estimated at a billion marks, tho it must be remembered that the mark is worth less than a tenth of what it used to be. The recent anti-profiteering law requires the surrender to the state of all money made during the war in excess of 200,000 marks, but it remains to be seen how the law can be enforced in a case such as this, where the money is continuously invested in new enterprises.

## Riots in Londonderry

LONDONDERRY, an Ulster town of about 40,000 inhabitants, is divided between Unionists and Nationalists, and here party feeling has often risen to the pitch of violence. On the night of May 15 there was fighting between the factions that resulted in the death of a policeman and the wounding of several civilians. On June 19 disorder again broke out in Londonderry and for three days the rival mobs waged war on one another in the streets and on the water front. On the 21st shops and schools were closed and the streets deserted except for the armed bands of Irishmen hunting one another thru the town and the British troops trying to suppress both. The mail and telegraph service was suspended. The streets were barricaded at strategic points with sandbags by the soldiers and armored cars patrolled the place. The Unionists charged the Nationalist quarter with songs and yells, but were repulsed by heavy volleys from the houses, and then the Nationalists took the offensive in turn. There were eight persons killed and over a hundred wounded. Among the wounded was a baby girl. One of the murdered men was an American named Price who went over to enlist in the ambulance corps early in the war and was about to return to the United States.

Military authority in Ireland is weakening because the railroad men frequently refuse to handle trains carrying soldiers or munitions. Premier Lloyd George asserts that he will brook no interference with the military movements of the Government by private persons under any pretext, and that if the union men persist in their attitude he will shut down all the Irish railroads. The troops are now being transported by warships and motor buses.

In a large part of Ireland the King's Government is no longer acknowledged and the people bring their disputes before the Sinn Fein courts instead of the established authorities. Taxes are paid to the republican leaders instead of the Government officials. Tax papers and official documents have been destroyed in many places by the burning of the record buildings. During the first four months of 1920 there were 1237 cases of murder, assault and incendiarism charged to the Sinn Feiners.

## The War in Turkey

WHILE the Allies are attempting to force the helpless Government of Constantinople to sign the treaty proposed by them the rival Government of Angora is becoming the real power in what is left of the old Ottoman Empire. Both the French and the British troops have been forced to retreat to the coast and to negotiate with the Nationalist commanders to secure the safety of their soldiers. A French battalion was cut off by the Nationalists at Bozano near Adana in Cilicia and obliged to surrender in a body, the officers and 550 men. After this the French command obtained an armistice with the Nationalists on condition of withdrawing from the interior.

On the British front a company of Indian troops from the Punjab was similarly surrounded near Ismid by a superior force of Nationalists. The British officer in command secured permission from the Nationalists to withdraw unharmed but as the British were marching away the Turks fired upon the rearguard wounding thirty men and capturing a British officer.

The British still hold the towns of Ismid and Scutari on the Asiatic shore opposite Constantinople but the Nationalists have reached both the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles and are only kept from gaining control of the entire coast by the guns of the British battleships. The Turkish airplanes have shelled the British trenches.

The entire British Mediterranean fleet has been ordered to concentrate in Turkish waters and the British troops stationed at Malta have been despatched to Constantinople.



The present British force about Constantinople is said to number 30,000, of whom 10,000 are white. The Nationalist army is supposed to number some 60,000, but is largely composed of Turkish peasants impressed into the service who prefer farming to fighting. Several German officers are said to have flown over in an airplane to join them.

The Nationalist Government has received recognition and support from the Russian Soviet and the Bolshevik Foreign Minister Tchitcherin is acting as mediator between the Armenians and the Nationalists. He is said to have almost reached an agreement on condition that the boundary line between the Armenian republic and Turkish Anatolia shall be drawn as nearly as possible on the line dividing the two races and afterward isolated groups of Turks enclosed in Armenian territory be transferred to the Turkish side and vice versa. The Nationalist Assembly that met at Angora last February adopted the principle of self-determination proclaimed by the Bolsheviks on their accession to power in 1917.

The Armenians are apparently coming to look upon the Bolsheviks as their only friends, for the French troops have withdrawn from Cilicia leaving the Armenians to be massacred by the Turks, the British have withdrawn from the Caucasus leaving the Armenians to be attacked on one side by the Georgians and on the other by the Tatars, and the American Senate refuses to listen to the appeal of the Armenians for an American mandate. Even if President Wilson were to draw the boundaries of Armenia the treaty would so limit them that the verdict would disappoint the ambitions of the Armenians.

## Greeks and Turks

NEITHER the British nor the French can now afford the troops necessary to put down the Turkish Nationalists under Mustapha Kemal, who now controls almost the whole of Asia Minor. But there is one country on the spot that is only too eager to undertake the job, and that is Greece.

When the French and British Premiers met at Hythe, England, on June 20 to discuss the Turkish situation, Premier Venizelos, altho uninvited to the conference, put in an appearance to urge again that he be allowed to advance against the Nationalists with the Greek forces at Smyrna. He said that he had six divisions of 15,000 men each at Smyrna and four more divisions in Thrace, besides three divisions in reserve. Field Marshals Foch and Wilson, who were at the Hythe conference, looked doubtfully at the project, for they thought that the Greeks underestimated the dangers and difficulties of

such a campaign, but Premiers Millerand and Lloyd George, seeing no prospect of aid from any other quarter, were willing to give the Greeks a chance.

Greece is now, as Venizelos pointed out, a greater country than the Ottoman Empire, as it has been cut down by the treaty. He seems very much afraid that Great Britain, faced by the growing rebellion of the Nationalists under Mustapha Kemal and by the threat of rebellion of all the Mohammedan subjects of the British Empire, will weaken on the treaty and withdraw part of the Turkish territory that had been ceded to Greece. Consequently he is anxious to substantiate the Greek claims by actual possession and by demonstrating the ability of the Greeks to make a stand against the Turks as the British and French have failed to do.

But the British and especially the French have hitherto been reluctant to give the Greeks a free hand because the Greeks were known to covet Constantinople and because they had not behaved themselves in an exemplary manner when they were empowered by the Allies to restore order in Smyrna after the armistice. When the Greek troops were landed at Smyrna a year ago last May they met with no armed resistance, but they treated the Turks with brutality and they penetrated into the interior far beyond the limits of the Smyrna district that they were authorized to occupy. The rumors of these outrages caused the appointment of a commission of investigation composed of a British, French and Italian general and Admiral Bristol for America. The report of the commission has never been published in full in England or America, but has appeared in Paris and Constantinople. The commission found that the landing at Smyrna and the occupation of Aidin were instigated by false information as to the danger of the Christian population; that the Greek military authorities were responsible for the atrocities at Smyrna and the massacre of the Moslems at Menemen; and that the Greek "occupation, far from appearing as a mission of civilization, immediately assumed the aspect of a conquest and a crusade." If now the Greeks again invade the hinterland of Smyrna it is feared by the Allies that the expedition will assume a similar aspect and that if it is victorious the Greeks will insist upon annexation of extensive areas of Turkish territory instead of being content with the temporary and provisional administration of Smyrna that the pending treaty grants them. But since neither the French nor British can spare forces for the subjugation of Mustapha Kemal they have empowered a Greek commander to open a campaign.



THE BOUNDARIES OF ARMENIA

President Wilson has accepted the invitation of the Allies to define the western and southern boundaries of Armenia, but the pending treaty with Turkey specifies that he must not go outside the beaded line on the above map. But the Armenians claim all the territory within the heavy dashed line which would give an extensive coast on both the Mediterranean and the Black Seas. The territory actually under the control of the Government of the Armenian republic is restricted to the stippled area about Erivan in the old Russian province of Trans-Caucasia. The infant republics of Georgia and Azerbaijan are now in the power of the Bolsheviks. The British hold Batum and Mosul. The French have evacuated the region north and east of Alexandretta leaving the Armenians exposed to massacre by the Turkish Nationalists who control all the country from Erzerum west to the Bosphorus



# A Little of Everything



## Are We Happy? Well I Guess!

By Ada Patterson

**A**N hour out of Chicago a unique experiment in education is being made. Mooseheart, which has been called the city of childhood, is proving that orphans can be reared and educated without the brand of an institution upon them. The Loyal Order of Moose has established there a home and school and town for the children of its deceased members. It is sending out healthy, highly individualized boys and girls who are equipped to earn their own living by head or hands. It guarantees that it furnishes good future citizens because the children have already been trained in the functions of citizenship.

Mooseheart is a children's republic. It is the only town in the world that is governed by children. Every child has a vote and voice in its affairs. In the students rests the administrative power of the town wherein live 800 of their own number and 200 of their elders.

At five o'clock on five afternoons a week the children meet in the Assembly hall to discuss matters of municipal importance. They are divided according to age into two branches. The wise seniors are the body of students of twelve years and older. The juniors are those between five and twelve years.

It is confession time and penalty time. Superintendent Matthew P.

Adams presides. The Mooseheart band begins and ends the meeting. Two students sit at a table on the superintendent's left. They have been elected town clerks. The children sit in groups in the amphitheater. The group living in each cottage or dormitory sit in a body. Each group has a clerk. That clerk is the spokesman of the group. The clerk rises. Each young offender rises and reports the mistakes of his day to the clerk, who in stronger tones reports them to the assemblage. The town clerks make a note of the offense and of its usual penalty. One demerit mark for being tardy. Two demerits for being rude to the matron. Three demerits for fighting, unless the assembly determines that the fight was a justifiable one, for which the motive was self-defense or the protection of another. The offender may appeal to the assembly, protesting against punishment and arguing his own case. Each child has this right and it is fre-

quently exercised. After the matter has been discussed the nature, the kind and amount of the punishment is fixed.

There is also a students' council which is to the assembly what the Senate is to the House of Representatives of the United States. It was the students' council that determined the one expulsion from Mooseheart.

Dr. Albert Bushnell Hart, professor of government at Harvard, drafted the course of study at Mooseheart. "You



No child is afraid at Mooseheart. A small boy once arrived from New Jersey with war-like eyes and a brick in the pocket of his too large coat. Shortly the brick sank in the waves of the small lake on the grounds. Mickey had drowned the brick. A boy has no need of an offensive or defensive brick in a town where everybody is his friend and in the governing of which he himself has a voice and vote. Notice the interest shown by these boys in the pre-vocational sheet metal class which they themselves have chosen to supplement their academic studies



There is a Mooseheart manner compounded of self-reliance and self-respect overlaid with sufficient modesty. What inculcates it perhaps more than anything else is the pre-vocational work in which the child is given a chance to find himself in one of six trades. This boy is a printer, as have been any number of men, great and near-great, before him, from Benjamin Franklin to the Republican candidate for President

will have the greatest school in America," he predicted. A Mooseheart boy or girl, sometimes irreverently termed a "Moosie," receives a common and high school education that takes him to the doors of a university, but what is more important, furnishes him with a double-barreled education, intellectual and vocational. Every pupil who is graduated from Mooseheart goes out equipped to earn his living by head or hands.

Many of the failures in life are made because the man has not found his work. Mooseheart saves a boy from the oft painful experience in the outer world. He is helped to find his vocation. This object is attained by pre-vocational training.

A child of school age confers with the instructors, expresses his preferences and is placed, let us say, at gardening. He concludes he doesn't like it. He is assigned to the garage or to the machine shop. Or the cement works. Or the carpenter shop. Or he is put at typesetting. If discontent pursues him he may try still another and another.



Each assignment continues for three months, assuring him a fairly thorough trial of it. For two years these pre-vocational trials continue unless a child makes a happy choice at the beginning. In two years he has had a chance to learn one of six trades. He finds the one that is his and stands smiling at the threshold of four years' tuition in the work of his choice. The beginning of happiness is finding one's job.

Prideful Moose claim that a son of one of their deceased brethren, if educated at Mooseheart, would know what to do if dropped at the corner of Broadway and Forty-second Street alone. A visit to Mooseheart convinced me that this claim is true. Experience in governing the town that covers 1000 fertile acres between the silver stream of the Fox River and the brown Lincoln Highway has taught him the art of governing himself and others and of working.

## Trees with Broken Backs

Slight diagonal streaks or wrinkles across the grain of a piece of timber betray not only weakness, but sometimes also the strains to which the tree was subjected while it grew. They may even be used to check the official record of windstorms. The marks are caused by what is known as "compression failures"—phenomena that occur when the fibers bend or buckle under too heavy a strain.

In cutting up logs collected for experiment at the forest service laboratory at Madison, Wisconsin, the investigators noticed that compression failures appeared on the north side of several trees from the same neighborhood in Florida. Knowing the date at which the trees were felled, they were able to determine by counting the annual rings that the compression failures were probably caused by a severe wind from the south about the year 1898. They made inquiries in Florida, and found that in that year a hurricane had, in fact, swept over the region. The experiments showed that the strength of a piece of wood may be seriously impaired even by the slight compression failures caused by rough handling. If a beam is dropped across a skid, and a compression failure occurs at the point at which it strikes, it will give way at that point whenever subjected to too severe a strain. Compression failures, owing to windstorms or to hard usage by lumbermen or manufacturers, thus may explain the hitherto unaccountable breaks in hickory wheel spokes, and in other articles made of equally tough woods.

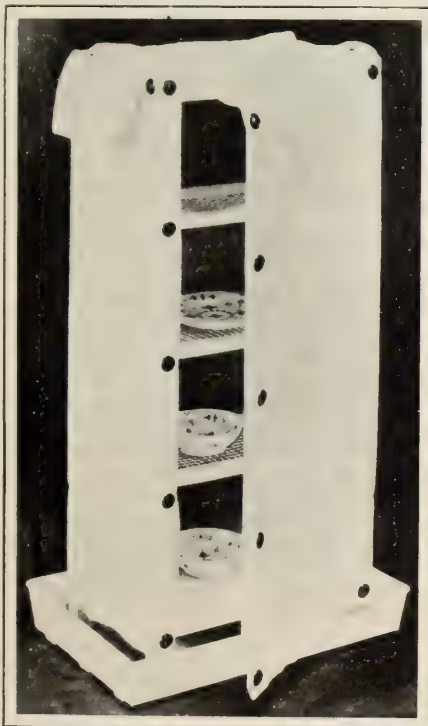
## Why Buy Ice?

As the weather grows warmer, ice tries to slip into the ranks of commodities that march under the banner of H. C. L., but if you are handy with tools you can build an iceless ice-box at a trifling cost, and the cost of operating will be nothing. Here is the way it is done:

A wooden frame, 42 by 16 by 14 inches big, is covered with screen wire, preferably the rustless kind. The door, made to fit closely and mounted on brass hinges, can be fastened with a wooden latch. The bottom is fitted solid, but the top should be covered with screen wire. Adjustable shelves can be made of solid wood or strips, or sheets of galvanized metal. Shelves made of poultry netting on light wooden frames, as shown in the illustration, are probably the most desirable. These shelves can rest on side braces placed at desired intervals. A bread-making pan, 14 by 16 inches, is placed on the top and the ice-box rests in a 17 by 18 inch pan.

All the woodwork, the shelves, and the pans should receive two coats of white paint and one or two coats of white enamel. This makes an attractive surface and one that can be easily kept clean. The screen wire also may receive the coats of enamel, which will prevent it from rusting.

A cover of canton flannel, burlap, or duck is made to fit the frame. If canton flannel is used, the smooth side should be out. It will require about three yards of material. This cover is buttoned around the top of the frame and drawn down the side on which the door is not hinged, using buggy hooks



In this iceless box, evaporation of water is found to lower the temperature as effectively as ice

and eyes or large-headed tacks and eyelets worked in the material. On the front side arrange the hooks on the top of the door instead of on the frame and also fasten the cover down the latch side of the door, allowing a wide hem of the material to overlap the place where the door closes. The door can then be opened without unbuttoning the cover. The bottom of the cover should extend down into the lower pan.

Four double strips, which taper to eight or ten inches in width, are sewed to the upper part of the cover. These strips form wicks that dip over into the pan.

Operation of the refrigerator is as simple as its construction. The lowering of temperature inside the refrigerator depends upon the evaporation of water. To change water from a liquid to a vapor, or to bring about evaporation, requires heat. As evaporation takes place heat is taken from the inside of the refrigerator, thereby lowering the temperature of the inside and contents.

The upper pan is kept filled with water. The water is drawn by capillary attraction thru the wicks and saturates the cover. Capillary action starts more readily if the cover is first dampened. The greater the rate of evaporation the lower the temperature which can be secured. Under ideal conditions the temperature has been known to be reduced to 50 degrees Fahrenheit. Obviously, weather conditions have a lot to do with this refrigerator. A warm, dry day, with a slight wind, if possible blowing on the cover, produces the best results in maintaining coolness of contents.

## Sawdust

The British bought 16,000,000 pounds of American honey in 1918.

\*\*\*

There are 63,000 steam locomotives now operated in the United States.

\*\*\*

Los Angeles is now the largest city in the world west of the longitude of Saint Louis.

\*\*\*

Seventy per cent of Germany iron ore in 1914 was in that part of Lorraine which has since been annexed by France.

\*\*\*

A National Radium Bank has been established in New York with a capital of \$375,000—consisting of three grams of radium salts.

\*\*\*

The first cafeteria ever seen in Paris was thrust upon the innocent public last month when a new Y. W. C. A. opened in that city.

\*\*\*

Under a ruling of the Post Office, children cannot be sent by parcels post—not even if they are under the weight limit and are U. S. males.

\*\*\*

With 6 per cent. of the world's population and 7 per cent. of the world's land area, the United States produces:

- 20 per cent. of the world's gold.
- 25 per cent. of the world's wheat.
- 40 per cent. of the world's iron and steel.
- 60 per cent. of the world's cotton.
- 85 per cent. of the world's automobiles.

## How Much Is Too Much?

Governor Smith of New York professes himself unable to say whether or not beer with 2.75 per cent of alcohol was or was not capable of causing intoxication. Dr. Harvey Wiley, former chief of the Federal Bureau of Chemistry, says that it all depends on who does the drinking. In his statement to Governor Smith he said: "You cannot standardize a poison as to the quantity



required for intoxication. You must standardize the individual. There are as many different sensibilities to toxic substances as there are individuals. You cannot say that 2.75 per cent beer is not intoxicating until you try it on every man, woman and child in the United States." He said that it was possible for the system to be poisoned by alcohol without any visible manifestation of drunkenness.

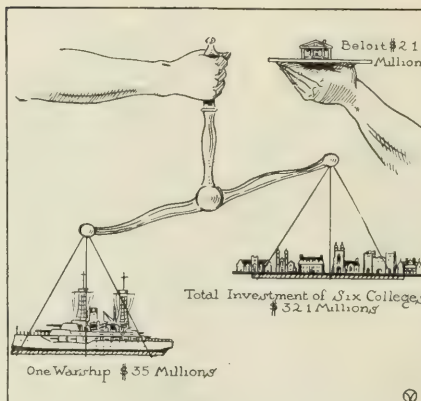
It is evidently Dr. Wiley's opinion that the intent of prohibition is to protect the weak head and stomach. That a man with a cast iron head can drink a dozen steins of 2.75 alcohol beer without caressing the lamp-post on his way home is possible enough, but if he can get beer so can the man who is poisoned by a single stein. The only safe rule is the rule that is safe for all.

## An Apostle of Preparedness

The resignation from Lehigh University of its distinguished president, Dr. Henry Sturgis Drinker, recalls his services to the nation in mobilizing the educated man-power of the nation for war-time service. Since the organization of the Military Training Camps Association in 1916 he has been chairman of the governing committee and as such the active head of the association. He was also secretary of the Advisory Board of University Presidents on Summer Military Instruction Camps. Ever since the organization of the first students' training camps in 1913 he has devoted himself largely to this work and has been an advocate of universal training. It may be pointed out that this apostle of efficiency in war was also a member of the Executive Committee of the League to Enforce Peace.

## Colleges or Dreadnaughts?

The latest quotation for the last word in superdreadnaughts seems to point to their costing about \$35,000,000 apiece. Placing this beneath one arm of a balance, an attempt to offset this was made by placing the total investments of some American colleges under the other arm. When Amherst, Bowdoin, Tulane, Smith, Vassar, and Wellesley had been added, the beam began to fall, but it required the addition of Beloit to bring it nearly to horizontal. According to statistics in the latest report of the Commissioner of Education, the total investment of these seven colleges was a little over \$34,000,000. This includes the value of



the libraries, scientific apparatus, grounds, buildings (including dormitories), and the entire endowment.

Two of these colleges have been in existence for a century, while the youngest has had an existence of nearly fifty years, yet the total value of the property and endowment accumulated by these seven colleges during this period would not quite suffice to build a modern battleship. In these colleges are to be found 881 members of the faculty and 7022 students. When we think of the time, the thought, and the sacrifice which has gone into the slow accumulation of the property of these institutions with their capacity for usefulness, it seems remarkable that we should put an equal amount into one battleship to be scrapped in a few years as obsolete. In our expenditures we may have been more lavish than any other nation, but assuredly our institutions of learning have been obliged to count their pennies.

## Let's Eat Musk-Oxen

By Aubrey Fullerton

On three islands at the top of Hudson Bay the most out-of-the-ordinary experiment in animal husbandry in all America is to be made, by order of the Canadian Government. Southampton, Mansfield, and Coats Islands, which lie between the Bay and the Arctic waters, have been set aside as grazing grounds for musk-oxen, whose domestication in this way is believed to be both possible and practicable. If the experiment proves a success, the far North will become a factor in supplying America with meat and wool.

The idea grew out of a similar project that Canada tried out several years ago with buffalo. At Wainwright, Alberta, the Dominion Govern-

ment's national parks branch established a bison preserve and stocked it with several hundred head purchased from the Michael Pablo herds in Montana. That was in 1907. The buffalo population of the Wainwright park has since grown to over 4000—the largest herd in existence.

Now why not do with musk-oxen what has already been done with the buffalo? That, in effect, was the question proposed by Vilhjalmur Stefansson when, in the course of his Arctic exploration, he came upon big and little herds of these curious animals nearly everywhere he went. On his return to civilization he put the question up to the Government, backing it with evidence to the effect that if the musk-oxen were protected and domesticated, they would in a short time be numerous enough to furnish both Canada and the United States with a good part of their fresh meat. A commission was appointed to look into the matter, and the reservation of the three Hudson Bay islands, on which Stefansson's big pasturing-out scheme is to be given a trial, is the first result.

Beef as good as any on the market is promised from this novel experiment in the sub-Arctic. The flesh of the musk-ox, when in prime condition, is sweet, tender, and highly nourishing, but at certain times of the year it carries a strong flavor of musk, which has given the animal its name. To the Eskimos, who eat musk-ox beef as a part of their steady diet, this flavor is not at all objectionable, and the inference is that the rest of us might grow to like it, too, in time.

Not only for his meat's sake, but for his wool, this far North denizen, we are told, is worth getting acquainted with. He carries about fifteen pounds of wool as good as any sheep's, which forms a thick cold-proof vest under a shaggy hair topcoat. In fact, the musk-ox is pretty nearly as much sheep as cattle.

Southampton and the other islands chosen for the musk-oxen experiment are natural grazing grounds, covered with great stretches of vegetation, such as the musk-oxen revel in, and the climatic conditions, too, are entirely suitable. When the island preserves are outgrown, there are a million square miles of grass-strewn prairie in what is commonly known as the Barren Lands, between Hudson Bay and the Mackenzie River, where musk-oxen and caribou can together find room and feed enough to make meat for all America.



Domestication and protection of the bison has resulted in the development of a four thousand head herd on the Canadian Government's preserve at Wainwright, Alberta. It is now proposed to turn similar attention to the musk-oxen





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WATERTOWN  
LOS ANGELES

1855

1920



# Harding Keeps His Eye on the Ball

(Continued from page 5)

he was not one of the most enthusiastic champions of suffrage. His record, then, does not offset the burdens placed upon it by the fact that the Republican Convention did not appease by any means all of the demands of the National League of Women Voters, which organization automatically takes over the province of the National American Woman Suffrage Association as rapidly as individual states grant woman suffrage. Thus, Mrs. Maud Wood Park, chairman of the National League, says, "We do feel that the Republican party has committed a serious oversight, and one that we regret, in turning down one plank which makes the strongest and most general appeal to the women of the country—that relating to infancy and maternity care." And coming at the situation from another angle, the National Woman's party, which picketed the Chicago convention, assumes that the Republican party prefers to wag through the coming campaign without the suffrage amendment. Miss Paul, a leader of the Woman's party, said the other day:

The Republicans think they are better off if women nationally cannot vote. But there are 17,000,000 women who can vote anyway, and whereas the 10,000,000 or so who haven't the vote are in the South or in "solid states," the 17,000,000 are in more or less doubtful states—such states as California, Colorado, Minnesota, Michigan, New York, Wisconsin, Illinois, Tennessee, Idaho, Arizona, Oregon, Washington, Utah, Montana, and so on. In such states even 500 or 1000 votes may tell the whole story. We need one more state to get the amendment ratified; Vermont is the logical one. There the legislature is set, the question is up to the Governor, and his party. Our proposition is simple: If the Republicans won't get that state for us, we'll throw our influence against them in the campaign.

Turning now to one more group—the farmers. Their organizations did not get what they asked for at Chicago. "The majority of the farm leaders have expressed disappointment both as to the platform and the candidate," Charles S. Lyman, secretary of the National Board of Farm Organizations, told the writer. "Farmers generally, I think, wanted a candidate of progressive tendencies. The Republicans did not accept our planks; probably the Democrats will. A great deal depends on what the Democrats do, and whom they nominate." In any Presidential year the farmers, with their huge numbers, could, if massed together in a one-way group, defeat either party. They are divided now, yet they are organized better than in many years. It may be seen then, why Mr. Harding must have a keen eye to this economic group.

There are other economic groups. The "dry" organization lays down the law to candidates: Vote right, or our group will get you! The wets likewise. Senator Harding is "dry." At least drier than Governor Cox, of Ohio. Which is

important because Ohio is prone to be damp. Suffrage in Ohio was thwarted for a time by the coupling of the two issues, and Governor Cox not only may be the Democratic nominee but if the nominee, he could be elected, you hear, if he could get the South, which the Democratic Party always does, the West, and Ohio, the fourth most valuable state in terms of electoral votes. It is thought to be a good guess, however, that the Democrats in their platform will not advocate repeal of the Prohibition Act; at the most, probably, they will merely by inference imply a little of the sodden dew.

In relation to the League the Senator calls himself a reservationist, but many call him all-but-a-bitter-ender. Many conclude that were he other than an all-but-bitter-ender Messrs. Lodge, Penrose & Company would not have subscribed to him. In the last speech in the Senate on the League, in the last paragraphs of that speech, in phrases made at the moment—such easy phrases as give the Senator the repute of being one of the best speakers in the Senate—he said:

We have traded away America's freedom of action in order to establish a super-government of the world, and the League was never intended to be any less. I speak for one who is old-fashioned enough to believe that the Government of the United States is good enough for me. In speaking my reverence for the Government of the United States of America, Senators, I want the preservation of those coordinate branches of government which were conceived and instituted by the fathers; and if there is nothing else significant in the action of this day, you can tell to the people of the United States of America and to the world that the Senate of the United States has once more reasserted its authority, and representative government abides.

Again, the Senator is a party man. Clearly, then, if the Democratic Party takes up the torch and leads on for the League, as the President advocates that it shall do, the Republican nominee will reap the reward, or the penalty, for being an all-but-bitter-ender.

As a party man—one, incidentally, with the cleanest of personal lives and with no skeletons in his closet anywhere—it is to be doubted if Senator Harding will, on one hand, entirely grant that to the victors belong the spoils, but, on the other hand, it is to be doubted that he will go to the other extreme. The best to be hoped for would be that of two men about equally qualified for political office, Mr. Harding would incline to choose the lesser of two evils. But as soon as that is written again one entertains the specter of the Old Guardians, in the background. Also it is probable that tho the predisposition of the Republican Party may be accepted as looking to reorganization of the governmental departments, how far President Harding and a Republican Congress would go in the matter is of course debatable. On the other hand certainly no progress has been made

in the direction of reorganizing the departments during the Democratic regime—the war vastly extended and complicated the situation, which was bad enough, and the President, it may be ventured, has not taken advantage of the Overman Act to effect reorganization and the Democrats have not manifested either so much interest or ability in grappling with the problem as have the Republicans.

This question, incidentally, is vastly important. Just as bad tools work their evils even in skilled hands, so does an inefficient and worn-out organization. The means by which our Government handles its problems are the departments. Those departments at present, after a century of "just growing," without any trueing-up such as every efficient corporation performs continuously, are, from the point of view of experienced organizers, a monstrosity. The wonder is they function as well as they do; and there can be no wonder that the spectacle they present, and the waste and blunders they imply, result in dissatisfaction, resentment, unrest, at a time—the first time in our national history—when almost every one of us has to submit to direct taxation. An organization after the pattern of a modern corporation would proceed at once to the perfection of its instrumentalities before blunting the edge of all governmental effort by the use of antiquated tools. Senator Harding has had all that a town of 30,000 offers a citizen in the way of experience in grappling with organization problems. He has had no big executive experience such as Governor Lowden has had, such as Mr. Hoover has had, or Mr. McAdoo has had. Whether he would effectively grapple with the problem is debatable, since the reorganization of the biggest business in the world is far and away the biggest and most harassing organization task ever presented to any one man. And whether he could, with the Old Guardians disposed to relax in victorious easy-chairs, is problematical.

Altogether, then, it seems, the Republican nominee without question owes his progression very largely to the charm of an enviable personality. He has not the aggressiveness or the fire of Senator Foraker, of Ohio, when that individual was in his abler, admirable days. He has not the shrewd subtlety and resourcefulness that made Mark Hanna, of Ohio, notable. He has fine personal poise, however—were he President we should have a true patriot in the White House. He would pick the premises for the future largely from the past, albeit he is a newspaperman. He would be Republican all thru—probably old shibboleths like protection would loom up again, along with some renewed consideration of military preparedness for our youth but no great emphasis on industrial preparedness, the major difficulty in national preparedness. He



would, he said "rather make Mexico safe and set it aglow with the light of new-world righteousness than menace the health of the republic in old-world contagion." He would have done with "the imperialism of Wilson." He would have done with government ownership of railroads "or any compromise with insistent socialism which proposes to fix our goal within the limits of mediocrity."

In his speech of acceptance, or in his First Inaugural, he might even reiterate:

I think our country has a bad case of auto-intoxication. Our auto-intoxication is due in the main to the high living and the excesses and abnormal indulgences incident to the war. I do not know that I can prescribe the cure, but I know a way to remove the cause. Stop the excesses, omit the

indigestible things, get the healthful exercise of honest toil, give nature a change with pure air and physical activity, and take a stimulant to aid elimination. Break the shackles of wartime legislation for both business and citizens. Cut out the extravagance of government and of individuals. Get back to the Constitution and stand on it immovably. Those who complain at the inefficiency of party government are really criticizing the substitute they propose, because every weakness of the present day is chargeable to the impaired party system. For such failure to meet the people's expectations as our party must answer to today, I answer an insufficient party sponsorship. To alter our political system now, after the marvel of American achievement, would be the abandonment of that which made us what we are, and endangers the republic more than the threat of destruction by force.

Washington, D. C.

## The Real Head of the Ticket

(Continued from page 6)

public utterances. Just how adequate his brevity can be, just how eloquent and stimulating it can be, appears from the perusal of the compilation of his speeches and addresses—about forty of them and all short, of course—that appeared a few months ago under the title of "Have Faith in Massachusetts." More than 60,000 copies of that little volume have gone into circulation into every part of the Union and there is no measuring its influence in bringing about the state of public opinion that resulted in the stampede when Governor Coolidge's name was presented at the Chicago convention.

That book mirrors the man. It shows how straight he thinks, how directly he goes to the heart of the subject under discussion without frills or flights of oratory. He wastes no word and every word is in the right place. Nor do his speeches give the impression of careful condensation or of being polished for scholarly effect. They are the utterances of a clear-thinking man, with a fine cultural background, who has sane ideas of public service and civic responsibilities and who has a rare gift of the pithy expression of the sound principles that underlie such service and such responsibilities. "We need more of the office desk and less of the show window in politics," he says. "Let men in public life substitute the midnight oil for the limelight." Very revealing epigrams, those, as regards the ideals and the career of Calvin Coolidge!

Governor Coolidge may not seem an effective and inspiring campaign speaker in those parts of the country where political candidates cling to the old style of waving the flag and making the eagle scream above the platform. He is not a big man with a big voice—as is Senator Harding, for example. He speaks simply, directly and with obvious sincerity, as a business man with something to say, not as a politician with much to conceal. Those on the outskirts of the crowd, where his voice may not carry, will find that the speech reads convincingly and impressively enough in the paper the

next morning—especially if they share his prejudice against loose thinking and loose phrasing.

Governor Coolidge is literally a poor man. He was on the way to a big and lucrative law practice, but his duties at the Massachusetts state house—as he sees such duties—have given him little time for anything else in the past decade. The idea that public office might mean "something on the side" could not possibly have a place in his way of thinking. He has never owned an automobile and he lives in half of a double house for which he pays a monthly rent of \$32. His Boston home is a \$2 a day hotel room. In some governors that sort of thing might well be suspected of being a pose, but everybody in Massachusetts knows that the democracy of Calvin Coolidge is the real thing. And no one who comes close to him makes the mistake of thinking that the simplicity of the man indicates littleness of nature or that his reserve of manner indicates coldness of nature.

Vice presidential candidates have been nominated before now because they possessed a "roll," or because they hailed from doubtful states or because they would balance the ticket geographically. Governor Coolidge is a poor man; Massachusetts is not doubtful this year, and geographical considerations would have dictated a vice presidential candidate from west of Ohio rather than from New England. There is something refreshingly wholesome, something of inspiring promise in our political life, when the national convention of a great political party thus disregards the so-called political strategy of the campaign and selects a man because his name, to people from coast to coast, has become the synonym of law and order—because the American people are convinced that he is the embodiment of honesty and quiet efficiency in public office. The times are far from degenerate when a good name is thus politically counted as better than great riches or residence in a pivotal state.

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## Land of the Pilgrims' Pride

(Continued from page 3)

had met in San Antonio. But Boston seemed to be made up largely of Irish and Greeks. A great many of the names on shop windows I could not pronounce. Where were the high brows? The Boston Transcript was lost in a jungle of dailies of yellow proclivities.

After presenting my letters of introduction, however, I met quite a number of persons who were precisely like the Bostonese I had met in San Antonio years before. They formed their sentences with great care, chose their words with painful precision, and looked at me over their glasses, evidently suspecting that my long residence in a land so distant from Boston might have developed a trace of cannibalism.

It is a strange thing about certain sections of the United States that they can see the faults of other sections with such clarity and remain blind to the same faults in their own communities. Boston is that way. Indiana is that way. Washington, D. C., is that way. They are so completely pleased with themselves that they insult you by being kind and condescending. I watched with amused interest while my Boston acquaintances struggled to think of something nice to say about Texas. They earnestly desired to be kind and to make me feel at home. The very excessive earnestness of their desire was insulting—or rather it would have been if I were the sort of person to wear my state pride on my coat sleeve.

I am very proud of Texas, but Texas is too big for one to have a petty state pride about it such as I observe in citizens from Ohio, Indiana, Massachusetts and a few other commonwealths. Texans recognize that they do not lead in anything particularly and they are not crouched for the opportunity to spring at you with some foolish state claim. But Texans are amused at the provincialism of other parts of the country which have so little excuse for it. Some of my Boston acquaintances seemed to think that Texas is all inland cattle ranches—yet Texas has a port which does not greatly suffer when compared to Boston. Queer that they had not even looked at their maps recently. While Texas cities are not so large as Boston they have the advantage of having been constructed in more recent years and many of their facilities are more modern. The only difficulty Boston presented to me as a stranger from a pioneer state was to learn the intricacies of its out-of-date arrangements along certain lines. Bustling Dallas makes Boston look like a prayer meeting. And then, too, I was impressed by the paradoxical truth that Boston is farther from Texas than Texas is from Boston. There is not a club in the Lone Star State in which a man could safely make misstatements about Boston or New York City or St. Louis. If as many as ten persons were present there would

certainly be among them men who were familiar with all three cities. But in Boston one could tell about chasing wild Indians thru the sixteen story office buildings of Dallas and probably be asked to continue with more experiences.

It interests me to learn that Boston does not know that Texas has newspapers which compare favorably to those of Massachusetts. I wonder why it is that the view from Texas east is clear while the view in the other direction is so clouded. There is no particular reason why Texans should know anything about Massachusetts newspapers, but they do. Why then, can a city like Boston remain so ignorant of what goes on in Texas?

But there are a number of characteristics of Boston which I had expected to dislike that please me very much. For instance I had always been amused by stories of Boston's interest in ancestors. That had seemed to me an expression of decadence—as un-American. But on closer acquaintance I observe that the ancestor worshippers pay tribute to the spirit as well as the mere list of names. Americanism means something very definite and very fine in Massachusetts and I am inclined to think it does in the remainder of the New England states. I was especially impressed by the spirit of New England women (whom I met thru clubs and other organizations) toward their new duties of citizenship. There is a stern Spartan quality about New England women citizens that I have not always found among women voters elsewhere. I am led to believe that their votes will be cast with the same spirit which has made New England a fountain of Americanism thru all the years of our history.

Boston bankers and big business men impressed me as being the sort who have not changed one tiny iota from the time-honored belief that trade and industry rest upon honor—personal honor. They believe that men prosper because they make honest goods and that they can borrow money because they are honest men. That reminded me of the spirit of the cattle country, Western Texas especially. Out there the cattle men's credit bears only a theoretical relation to their assets. The old time cattle man has always had good credit. It is limited only by the condition of the market and range and by his managerial ability. Honor he has always had, so that assets counted for the minimum.

The word Yankee has a new meaning to me since I have met Boston. That which is best in the old New England spirit is still the best there is in America. Every state has something to learn from the Bostonese highbrows, even if they are queer folk. I wish all of Texas could know them intimately. And for their own sakes I wish they could meet the United States.

Boston



## Your Red Cross

(Continued from page 9)

disrupted by reason of the enforced hiatus in the work-a-day life during the period of military service.

I assume that the obligation of the American Red Cross to our soldiers, sailors and marines is thoroly impressed on the minds of all the people. It need only be said that this obligation will not be fulfilled until the last of them has been discharged from the hospitals—not, indeed, until the diminishing tasks of relief and aid of all kinds pertaining to the country's defenders in the World War have been completed. The work in question is greater than those not closely in touch with it may realize; and as it lessens in certain phases it calls for more intensified effort with respect to others. The Red Cross has been regularly commissioned to aid the Government in the care of men in hospitals by providing the recreation and home contacts that form such an important part in the restoration of bodies and minds; it is coöperating with the Federal Board for Vocational Training in the retraining of men whose disabilities prevent resumption of their former means of earning a living; along an entirely different line it serves as a sort of liaison agency between the service men and their families and the Bureau of War Risk Insurance.

Add to this abstract of after-war activities the general statement that the Red Cross aims not only to meet these fixed obligations but to exert its influence and its strength of organization to the end that opportunities for ex-service men shall be broadened, and you have as comprehensive a declaration of effort and purpose as it is possible to encompass briefly. It will be a permanent objective of the American Red Cross to serve, in its accepted capacity, the armed forces maintained by the United States in time of peace.

Aside from its obligations to soldiers, sailors and marines, now and in the future, the forward-looking program of the Red Cross, broadly speaking, falls under two heads:

1. Relief of distress in general and preparedness to meet the emergencies of sudden disaster.

2. Development of health and community work, with emphasis on the prevention of disease and improvement of general living conditions.

In the matter of relieving distress the world is confronted today by the most serious problems in its whole history. The health of the peoples of the entire earth and the safety of civilization are menaced by the disease, the destitution and the indescribable misery afflicting vast populations in the European area stretching from the Baltic to the Black and Adriatic Seas. Reaction from the war tension in Eastern and Central Europe has developed a situation incomparably worse than anything pictured as the direct result of hostilities. We are daily becoming more impressed with the necessity for prompt relief of conditions in

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Put all altruistic aspects of the situation out of consideration, if you will, there remains the fact that the safety of our own country is imperilled, and in fighting distress abroad we are defending the homes of the American people against dangers terrible to contemplate.

This problem is, of course, too stupendous for solution by volunteer agencies. The American Red Cross duty in the premises is to give such aid as lies within its power to a task that requires the utilization of machinery and resources that governments only can command. We have sent our doctors and our nurses to the plague spots in Europe where needs have been most pressing and are sending medical and other supplies to meet in some measure the pitiable local and national lack of such requisites. American Red Cross units are scattered all over the infected and afflicted regions, battling to stay the westward sweep of typhus and other scourges; here and there victories have been won; in graves in many isolated places rest the bodies of American workers who have fallen victims to the disease they have fought—martyrs in humanity's cause. But all the time, despite the progress in control of disease in certain districts, the general situation grows more menacing.

The American Red Cross units engaged in relief work in the foreign fields are numerically small and their efforts are designed to help the distracted peoples to help themselves. It is the intention to turn matters over to local agencies as fast as they can be developed and become able to function.

Recently there came from Lieut. Col. Robert E. Olds, American Red Cross Commissioner for Europe, a cablegram reporting shocking conditions due to lack of clothing for men, women and children, based on personal investigation by Red Cross representatives in Central and Eastern European countries. In one place babies are being sent from maternity hospitals wrapped in newspapers; in whole districts the adult population is in rags, the children practically naked. Colonel Olds concluded his cablegram with an appeal for some action by Red Cross workers in America to help relieve these terrible conditions.

In response to this appeal I have addressed letters to Division Managers of the Red Cross thruout the United States, urging resumption of production activities by Chapters, which ceased when the military demands no longer existed, so as to meet in some measure the needs for garments for the destitute. In one restricted district there is a call for 200,000 layettes for babies; there is urgent use for all the garments we can supply for many months to come. Fortunately the organization developed by the Red Cross during the war is intact and ready to cope with the situation—ready to render the duty which confronts a people who have escaped the horrors of the

conflict in which mankind in general was involved.

The disease epidemic in certain parts of the world today reflects an abnormal situation, brought about by unparalleled causes. But in contemplating this situation we are reminded that disease, even in normal times, is mankind's greatest menace. It was a handicap in the waging of civilization's struggle for existence, but it served to arouse a realization of the fact that a very large percentage of it is preventable. We have spent billions of treasure, sacrificed millions of lives and given the world's best blood to make liberty safe and peace a permanency. In the light of the knowledge forced upon us, shall we stop there, or shall we follow matters to their logical conclusion and help to make the world safe against preventable disease—put civilization on a plane of health that is consistent with the meaning of the term?

Here, indeed, is the paramount task in the work of reconstruction, for reconstruction, as already indicated, means more than mere reestablishment of the *status quo*. The response of the American people to the last Red Cross Roll Call, just after the peace-time program of the organization had been announced, indicated beyond question that Red Cross wartime experience and power of organization should be continued in the people's service. To what better advantage could this service be directed than to the work of combatting preventable disease and raising the standards of health?

The Surgeon General of the United States Army has made the startling revelation that the examination records of over two and a half million of drafted men showed that out of every one thousand examined there were 468 physically defective and that about 30 per cent of the men were so unfit that they could not enter military service at all. Additional facts brought to light show that at least 50 per cent of the defects found could have been prevented or corrected had they been attended to in childhood and had each individual been trained in proper habits of personal hygiene.

It is impossible within the limits of this article to speak in more than general terms of the health work which will engross Red Cross attention when the "cleaning up" of post-war obligations is accomplished and which already has made notable progress along educational and other lines. Results are beginning to show in connection with extension of the nursing program, child clinics, training in the care of children and the establishment of community health centers. In carrying on this work the Red Cross neither intends nor desires to usurp the functions of other organizations. Its purpose is to work itself in fields not already occupied and in addition to do whatever it may to bring about more united and effective effort by those agencies for health promotion already in existence. In connection with the general health program it will continue campaigns



for the spread of First Aid training and the prevention of accidents that exact inexcusable tolls of life and depreciate the industrial effectiveness of the nation. It will also continue even more intensively than at present to carry education in Home Care of the Sick into the homes of the country. Already Red Cross courses in Home Care of the Sick have been taken by hundreds of thousands of American women. No better contribution to the self-reliance of our people could be made.

For twenty years there have been growing up in this country many private movements for the prevention of

this or that preventable disease. But in the building up of all these movements ineffectiveness and confusion have inevitably resulted. For the last ten years leaders in this field have been dreaming of the possibility of coordinating them, of getting all this energy so united that there would be a massed movement that would produce results. They were unable to find the necessary coordinating agency. But now that the war is ended there appears, by reason of the war, an organization that has the power to do this thing. That organization is the Red Cross.

Washington, D. C.

## Are We Backsliding?

(Continued from page 8)

future, and the declaration made in the name of the Liberal Party at Leamington, that coalitions of any kind are inconsistent with the principles of Liberalism, would, if acted upon, appear likely to condemn the party to something like political extinction.

The two party system of politics in Great Britain is now, in all probability, closed. In the future we are never likely to have more than four or five distinct political groups represented in the House of Commons; and it seems extremely improbable that any one of those groups will for a long time to come be sufficiently strong to carry on the government of the country by its own strength. Probably the Leamington resolution may be regarded more as a symptom of political unrest than as a considered policy, binding the future of the Liberal Party.

If we turn from politics to trade we find the same impatience to get back to pre-war conditions. The war was only a few weeks old when individual enterprise in armaments was superseded by a great coöperative effort on the part of the state. At a little later date Mr. Lloyd George threw into the task of coordinating and organizing the national production of munitions all his dynamic energy. For the first time in our history the Government made it its business to really take stock of the people's needs for clothes, and boots, and food and houses. It is true that the people in whom they were most interested were the soldiers and the munition workers, but they made up a very substantial portion of the population and the needs of the others were not overlooked. The effort was not unsuccessful.

Until the Ministry of Food was created in Great Britain in 1917 food prices were rising more rapidly in this country than in any country of the world except Norway. After 1917 the process was reversed, and since then we have been in the tail of the procession of rising prices, and not in the front. But as the war disappears the public impatience at any form of government interference or control of the operations of trade or commerce, even with regard to the most essential food-stuffs, becomes more marked with every

month that goes by. A section of our people want to forget the war, and to get rid of everything that could remind them of it.

I have come to the conclusion that after all there are some good points to be put to the credit of war. For one thing it makes people less callous than they are at ordinary times about the destruction of human life. Last spring the total death rate from influenza in this country was greater than the death rate from war casualties at any period during the fighting, but nobody bothered about it because deaths and casualties in times of peace seem natural; in war they seemed altogether unnatural. When the Germans sent the Zeppelins and aeroplanes to raid London the result was to reduce the death rate from casualties on the London streets by something like twenty a week. In the piping times of peace there are five hundred casualties every week from accidents in the London streets, but nobody worries. When the Zeppelins came and we disappeared from the darkened streets at an early hour the saving of human life and limb was appreciable; but a much smaller number of deaths from bomb fire was sufficient to create the most profound impression, altho I am assured that it is just as painful to be run over by a bus as to be hit by a German bomb.

In times of war it seems easy to put class feeling, racial prejudice, national antipathies all on one side, and to all be friends. In times of peace it seems to be the most difficult thing in the world to maintain the harmony secured in times of war.

My mind goes back to the last years of the war when President Wilson's scheme of a League of Nations had seized on the imagination of great masses of our people, and was gradually securing the unanimous acceptance of all political parties. It was a commonplace at that time to say that whatever happened after this war we could never rest until we had made the world safe from any recurrence of the troubles thru which we were then passing. That ideal still seems a long way from realization. Here at home I often heard the view expressed that it would be a great thing if, when the



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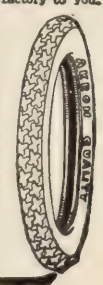
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Akron Quality Tires are made to meet the increasing demand for reconstructed tires which are indispensable to the maintenance of the auto industry. Their great economy is your personal advantage. To insure properly built and carefully selected goods always order Akron Quality Tires. Shipped direct from factory to you.

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30x3½ — 8.60	34x4½ — 13.55
32x3½ S.S. only — 9.70	35x4½ — 13.90
31x4 — 10.90	36x4½ — 14.50
32x4 — 11.20	35x5 — 15.45
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State whether straight side or clincher desired. Send \$2 deposit for each tire ordered, balance C. O. D. subject to examination. If you send full amount with order, deduct 4 per cent discount.

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Robey and Roosevelt  
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## DIVIDENDS

# THE BROOKLYN SAVINGS BANK

INCORPORATED 1827

Pierrepont and Clinton Streets

ENTRANCES

Pierrepont Street and 300 Fulton Street

Interest at 4 per cent.  
the rate of 4 per annum

Will be credited to depositors July 1, 1920 (payable on and after July 20th) on all sums entitled thereto. Deposits made on or before July 10th, will draw interest from July 1st.

CROWELL HADDEN, President  
LAURUS E. SUTTON, Comptroller  
ARTHUR C. HARE, Cashier  
CHAS. C. PUTNAM, Asst. Comptroller

## UNITED FRUIT COMPANY DIVIDEND NO. 84

A quarterly dividend of three per cent (three dollars per share) on the capital stock of this Company has been declared, payable on July 15, 1920, to stockholders of record at the close of business June 19, 1920.

JOHN W. DAMON, Treasurer.

## WESTINGHOUSE ELECTRIC & MANUFACTURING COMPANY.

A Quarterly Dividend of 2% (\$1.00 per share) on the PREFERRED Stock of this Company will be paid July 15, 1920.

A Dividend of 2% (\$1.00 per share) on the COMMON Stock of this Company for the quarter ending June 30, 1920, will be paid July 31, 1920. Both Dividends are payable to Stockholders of record as of June 30, 1920.

H. F. BAETZ, Treasurer.  
New York, June 16, 1920.

## PACIFIC GAS AND ELECTRIC CO. COMMON STOCK DIVIDEND NO. 18.

The regular quarterly dividend of \$1.25 per share upon the Common Capital Stock of this Company, will be paid on July 15, 1920, to shareholders of record at close of business June 30, 1920. The transfer books will not be closed and checks will be mailed from the office of the company in time to reach stockholders on the date they are payable.

A. F. HOCKENBEAMER,  
Vice-President and Treasurer.  
San Francisco, California.

## AMERICAN TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY

Thirty Year Four Per Cent. Collateral  
Trust Bonds, Due July 1, 1929

Coupons from these Bonds, payable by their terms on July 1, 1920, at the office of the Treasurer of the Company in New York, will be paid at the Bankers' Trust Company, 16 Wall Street.

G. D. MILNE, Treasurer.

# 7%

## Higher Interest Rates

Owing to a general advance in interest rates, we shall for a short time at least, be able to get Seven Per Cent for our customers on First Mortgage Loans. We suggest that you take advantage of this and arrange to take some of these loans at the higher rate. Good loans are offering. Write for Loan List No. 710

Perkins &amp; Co., Lawrence, Kansas

## PURE MAPLE SUGAR AND SYRUP

Producer to Consumer. Sample, Prices and Reference on request.

VERD MONT FARMS, Waitsfield, Vt.

# WANTED

Men capable of earning \$5,000 to \$10,000 a year and who want to get into a business of their own. To such men an opportunity is presented in the sales of the latest guaranteed Starting System for Ford cars in exclusive territory. Sells for \$20 completely installed and includes starter, 6-volt battery and special foot primer. Thousands now in use. Starts motor from the seat; easily operated by man, woman or child.

Think of the tremendous possibilities for a low-price, dependable Starting System for Ford cars! Write or wire at once for details or appointment.

PEERLESS PRODUCTS CO.

403 Madison Ave., Dept. 47 Toledo, Ohio

war was over, we could maintain for even a few years of peace the spirit of comradeship and cooperation which the time of trial had brought forth; if we could turn to the solution of social problems, the force, energy and resolution with which we had grappled

with the material problems of the war. Today the old Liberal Party leaders are saying that any continued cooperation and comradeship of that kind would be contrary to the principles of the Liberal Party.

London

## Why the Leitch Plan Makes Good

(Continued from page 7)

month. Every day the bulletin board announces the number of pianos for the day before and the number up to that day for the month. This bulletin board is the focus of every eager eye in the factory. It tells them whether they are approaching or losing that cooperative economy dividend. Individually they are paid piece-rates. Collectively they get this added collective piece-rate.

The economy dividend is really the superstructure that holds together the three corner stones, Cooperation, Economy, Energy. It works wonders. During three months in the fall of 1913, an average of 242 employees, working ten hours a day, turned out 746 pianos. For the corresponding months in 1919, an average of 235 employees, working eight hours a day, turned out 1100 pianos. The increase in efficiency amounts to 45 per cent. on the basis of plant output, and reduces overhead proportionately, while the increase in efficiency is 86 per cent. on the basis of workman's output per hour, and increases wages more than proportionately. The average rate of wages per hour, for the same periods, advanced from 28 cents to 58 cents, an increase of 106 per cent., due entirely to increased output and economy dividend.

See how it works. Every employee is directly interested in the efficiency of his fellow-worker. Absenteeism cuts down the economy dividend. Slow work cuts it down. Wasteful work cuts it down. Careless shop planning and routing of materials and pianos thru the factory cuts it down. A dozen placards on the walls tell us "200 scientific managers in this factory." Every employee is a scientific manager. It was an efficiency engineer brought in from the outside, whose scientific time and motion studies provoked the strike of 1912. That outside expert is gone, but industrial democracy and the economy dividend filled the workers in the shop with the spirit of scientific management. The evidence of it is everywhere. Not long after the efficiency engineer left the plant, they had reduced the hours to nine. Five months later they came down to eight, and on each reduction in hours production was increased.

Furthermore, the corner stones, Justice and Cooperation, prevent the piece-rate from being cut arbitrarily. Every worker is secure in earning as much as he can at piece-rates, for he knows that the rate will not be cut without his consent. The president cited one instance of a voluntary cut in the piece-rate from 42 cents to 11 cents. The workers could earn more at the new rate than formerly at the old rate.

The foreman is no longer a "boss."

He is one of the cooperators. Here is where the other corner stones, Economy and Energy, come in. Piece-rates fixed by cooperation on the principles of Justice; economy dividend added to piece-rates on the principles of Economy and Energy—this is the greatest combination of inducements to output that we have found anywhere, measured by results. In no place have we found the men working with greater initiative, energy and speed. They are completely absorbed in their work. Courteous, willing to talk with visitors, proud of both their principles of democracy and of their hard, speedy work, they keep on working while they talk. No boss stands over them; no outsider times their motions; they speed themselves up cooperatively.

This is the only place we found where pure efficiency outran the increased cost of living. In other places piece-rates have been advanced. Here they have, in some cases, been reduced, in others equalized, but not generally advanced; yet their earnings per hour, the correct unit of efficiency, have increased 106 per cent., while their earnings per day have increased 66 per cent. Assuming that the increase in cost of living has been 80 per cent., the workers' daily earnings indeed have not kept up with the cost of living, but they have swallowed the difference in the increased leisure per day.

This comes about in two ways, partly by greater output per individual at the same or even lower piece rates, and partly by the economy dividend, or collective piece-rate, added on to their individual earnings. It is not increased rates of pay, but increased output per man that has increased their earnings.

That the profits of the company have greatly increased is evident. Even without an increase in price to the consumer the economy-dividend has added its share to profits as well as wages, against which should, of course, be set the increased prices of raw material.

Lastly the capstone of industrial democracy is Service. In a way each worker can see his contribution to the music of the world, as the growing piano moves along thru the factory. "Quality shall always be the first element of our service, and quantity shall ever be the second consideration." Each worker is an inspector of his own and the work of others. At the very last, before the instrument leaves the factory, the highly skilled piano tuners epitomize the motto of the business: "If there is no harmony in the factory, there will be none in the piano."

Madison, Wisconsin



# The Independent

FOUNDED 1848

## About Ourselves

It is not often that we talk about ourselves, for we believe that whatever merits The Independent may possess will be discovered by its readers for themselves. But since so many of our readers are new subscribers we want them all to understand the meaning of the new make-up of the editorial staff and our plans for future development.

Every American citizen should take at least two journals, one the local paper for home news and the other a national weekly for the wider outlook on the world. Unless one can afford the money and time to take and read several weeklies he must see to it that the one he selects contains at least these two features: information and opinion, the news and the meaning of it. It must provide him with a running narrative of current events, more comprehensive and comprehensible, more critical and correct than that printed in the dailies, in order that the reader may have the facts in hand on which to form his views. Second, the weekly must be a magazine of opinion—but not of one opinion. It must provide comment and discussion of pending questions from various standpoints by competent writers. This process of arriving at sound conclusions is the same as that which has been developed thru centuries of court practice; first the facts of the case are established as accurately and completely as possible by the testimony of witnesses and then the question is argued pro and con by competent advocates and finally it is submitted to the grand jury of all the readers of the periodical for their verdict.

The Independent aims to supply the first of these essentials in our Story of the Week, which is intended to be a careful and impartial report of important happenings in the world at large. The second essential of sound journalism, the interpretation of these events, the criticism of public men and measures and the advocacy of appropriate action, is more difficult to attain. It can only be met by the coöperation of a group of writers who have common ideals and purposes, yet differ sufficiently as to the means and methods to present the diverse aspects of the vital questions of the day. Such a group we believe we have at least succeeded in getting together in the names that now appear at the head of the title page of The Independent.

The next few months will be a critical period in American history, for it will determine the dissection of national policy in foreign and domestic affairs for years to come. In order to give our readers the advantage of varied viewpoints we have added to our staff as contributing editors for the current campaign a liberal Republican, a liberal Democrat and a liberal Socialist. By "liberal" we mean one who is sufficiently in sympathy with the aims of his party to speak for it with sincerity, yet who is sufficiently detached and independent to criticize or condemn it when he thinks it so deserves. Dr. Talcott Williams, by his recent resignation from the directorship of the Columbia School of Journalism, is again able to engage in the practice of journalism to which he has devoted more than forty years, largely spent on the *Philadelphia Press*. Norman Hap-

## Including Harper's Weekly

Hamilton Holt  
Editor

Edwin E. Slosson Associate Editor	Hannah H. White Managing Editor
Franklin H. Giddings	Norman Hapgood
Shailer Mathews	Talcott Williams
Preston Slosson	John Spargo

## PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY INDEPENDENT CORPORATION

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good, who speaks for the Democratic party, is particularly well known to those of our readers who came to us from *Harper's Weekly*, for he was editor of that journal before its merger with The Independent in 1916. He formerly was in charge of *Collier's Weekly* for ten years. John Spargo has written more than twenty books on Socialism. He broke with the Socialist party because of the disloyal attitude of that party in the war, and since he is not a partizan, he is all the better qualified to speak for that large and increasing number of radicals of varying beliefs who do not find themselves adequately represented by either of the old parties.

Besides these three editors, whose interests are mainly political, we have recently added to our staff, to look after the religious side of life, Prof. Shailer Mathews, of the University of Chicago, director of religious work in the Chautauqua Institution and former president of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. He was editor of *The World To-Day*, and is editor of *The Biblical World*.

The Independent has had for the last twenty years published almost every week an editorial by Prof. Franklin H. Giddings, of Columbia University. He was a vigorous champion of American intervention.

Now that we are calling the roll we may complete the list of editors by introducing the office staff. Hamilton Holt became Managing Editor of The Independent in 1897, and in 1913 succeeded the late William Hayes Ward as Editor in Chief. He is personally known to a large number of The Independent readers as he lectured in all parts of the country on the League of Nations. He also has devoted much attention to the promotion of industrial peace and was one of the three arbitrators under the Peace Protocol in the Garment Workers trade.

Edwin E. Slosson has been on The Independent staff since 1903. He writes the foreign portion of the Story of the Week and has an occasional department of his own called "A Number of Things."

The present Managing Editor is Miss Hannah White, who came on The Independent staff after her graduation from Smith College in 1914.

Preston Slosson, who writes the American news in the Story of the Week, served for more than a year on the staff of historical experts of the American Peace Commission at Paris.

Our observant readers will have noticed that we have dropped the editorial "we"—except on occasions like this. All important editorials are signed so that each man may say what he thinks right in his own way without having to tone down his expressions or modify his style to suit the sentiments and taste of his colleagues. But in order to secure team play for The Independent it is the custom for the nine editors to lunch together every Thursday and discuss frankly the issues of the day and consult as to the improvement of the periodical. In this way we hope to combine diversity of view with effectiveness of action and to make The Independent the one weekly that every American citizen must take no matter how many other periodicals he may want to take. THE EDITORS.



# We Want a Million Names

Your Influence is Worth  
More Than Your Money

## A Dime Saved a Child in Alabama

Is there a little one in this whole world who has any pull on your heartstring? If not, STOP READING: if so give us just five minutes of your time out of the love you bear for it, and your child will help all other children by stimulating you to listen to our story.

In Alabama the National Child Labor Committee helped save 153,000 children from possible exploitation by spending \$15,000 in laying facts before the Legislature, which resulted in bringing education, health and child labor laws into existence.

85% of the child workers of America are without the protection of the Federal Child Labor Law. They must be saved to save the nation from decadence. We are about to undertake an Interstate Campaign for good laws where none exist. We want every man, woman and child to enroll in our

## Army of Influence

We must know our friends in each state before we begin, and we must measure the opposition. We must get the name of every person who will stand with us in this (for the child) life or death struggle. We need only your name and a dollar. Are you with us? Are you with the baby, the boy or the girl fighting against odds? Your co-operation means more to us than you can possibly know. Let us repeat, just sign your name and pin a dollar to the slip and our "Army of Influence" will become a million.

*This advertisement is provided by a friend of the National Child Labor Committee*

### National Child Labor Committee Officers:

Felix Adler, Chairman  
Homer Folks  
Samuel M. Lindsay } Vice-Chairmen  
V. Everit Macy, Treasurer  
Owen R. Lovejoy, General Secretary

National Child Labor Committee  
105 East 22d Street, New York City

I want to enroll in your "Army of Influence."

Here is my dollar

Name.....

Address.....



# The Independent

July 10, 1920

## Do You Want to Go Hungry?

A Message from the United States Government to the American People

By E. T. Meredith

Secretary of Agriculture

**R**EPORTS received by the Department of Agriculture from all the States in the Union tell of a serious labor shortage on farms. They are full of striking sentences. For example, the report of the farm management demonstrator in the State of Washington states that: *"The situation is not so serious from the farmer's standpoint as from the consumer's."* This does not mean that the situation is not serious from the farmer's standpoint. The situation is always serious for the farmer when he cannot plant, cultivate, and harvest a normal acreage in a satisfactory manner. The shortage of labor presents a difficult problem for the farmer, because it means that he will have less to sell, but to the city man it means that, just to the extent the farmer is forced to retrench in his farming operations for lack of labor, will there be a smaller food supply for the city man to buy.

I do not say that there is going to be a serious shortage of food for city consumers this winter. Given a favorable season from now until harvest, I believe that enough food will be produced to meet, in fairly adequate measure, the demands of the cities. I do wish to point out, however, that reduced production means higher prices to city consumers. Unfavorable weather conditions between now and harvest may result in an actual food scarcity. Looking ahead to another crop year, it seems certain that, if the wages paid to city labor continue to attract farm labor at the present rate, there will undoubtedly be a further curtailment of the acreage sown to food crops for 1921 and, in consequence, the supply may be inadequate in the winter of 1921 and 1922.

Bear in mind the fact that if this comes about the farmer, himself, will still be comparatively safe from any considerable measure of actual want. He will have at home enough meat and bread and other essentials to feed his family. He can make his old clothes last another season. He has done that many times in the past, and if he has no surplus crop to sell, he will undoubt-



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A nice little problem in social economics for somebody to work out

edly do it again. It is, therefore, the city consumer who will feel the pinch if we permit conditions to continue which will result in a food shortage, and the city laborer who will be deprived of a market for the product of his labor.

I do not wish to convey the impression that the farmer is making any sort of threat. On the contrary, he is doing his best, under existing conditions, but the point I wish to emphasize is that he is confronted with conditions over which he has no control. He is not able, in competition with the wages offered by industry, to pay wages which will secure him enough labor to produce and harvest a normal acreage this year. If the present drain becomes more accentuated, he must still further curtail his operations and the prices for that which he produces will tend to go higher. Isn't it clear, therefore, that the city reader is personally and vitally interested in

helping to find the solution for the farm labor problem?

The Department of Agriculture has made an effort to learn the extent of the present farm labor shortage. The machinery of the Bureau of Crop Estimates was employed for this purpose. That machinery is finely adjusted and comprehensive. It covers the country so thoroly and does its work so accurately that it has, for example, forecast crop production within less than one per cent of the actual yield at harvest. I mention this merely by way of showing that it was no mere guess when, in April this year, the Bureau of Crop Estimates reported that there was a shortage of almost 30 per cent in the farm labor supply, taking the United States as a whole.

The shortage is greatest in the North Atlantic States, and least in the North Central States, west of the Mississippi River, where it is only about 24 per cent. The effect of this situation is apparent in the acreages planted to food and other crops. It is more serious because of the unusually late season—from two to five weeks later than normal in the Mississippi Valley and eastward to the Atlantic Coast. [Continued on page 57]



# Bad Housekeeping in My Ward

By Urban A. Lavery

**T**HE ward in which I live in Chicago lies close to the heart of the city, and is famous for its contrasts, both in its appearance and in its human material. Along one side runs the lake, like a majestic sea, while to the north lies a famous and lordly park. The area along the lake and park with its adjacent streets has been dubbed "The Gold Coast," because of its splendid houses and fine towering apartments. The other end of the ward skirts along the river front with its bad smells and rotting timbers, and then the boundary turns to the north, thru a sodden "Slum" area, where the densest population of the city swarms. Curiously these two expressions, "The Gold Coast" and the "Slums" hold in themselves a sort of condensed history of the ward. Each has about it an aroma of its own, a mingled smugness and contempt. They stand like two menacing figures poised ready to strike, murmuring whispered threats for each other, and for the community as well.

The ward, and indeed the entire city, presents a constant series of contrasts—it has no character, no uniformity, no blend, no atmosphere, no individuality, all of which go to give European cities the sense of "good housekeeping," which makes their charm. But remember—the ward is not yet three-quarters of a century old! Along one side of the ward much of the social aristocracy lives; while along the opposite side, the mingling thousands make up the source of power of one of the notorious "low-brow" politicians of the city.

Thru the decades he has held his sway because of his diligent attention to two problems—giving shelter and protection and financial aid to the poor, and giving shelter and protection and levying financial toll from those who make a profit out of vice. In between these two extremes lies a sort of drab no-man's-land, the domain of the boarding house. Here lives a large part of the homeless army of the city, that army of young men and women recruited like the army of the Great War from the strongest and best, gathered from far and near. It is an interesting and sometimes a startling group, for it is made up of clerks, and artists, and stenographers and stage-folk, and lawyers, and students, and salesmen, and loafers of all kinds—a varied army which furnishes much of the grinding energy for the great dynamo which is the city. Many of our leading men and women have passed thru those boarding houses—and those who are there now have often promise of big things to come. In the ward too may be found many of the famous dives of the city, shady places below the sidewalk where the sodden and the socially-elect rub elbows in the dance. Here are notorious saloons which plied their trade in spite of tightest war-time prohibition; here are smutty streets, where beguiling faces beckon between drab curtains of parlors that once saw revels of a finer type;

here are homes now mostly filled with strangers, where a very considerable number of the city's leading men and women were born and spent their early years.

After the Great Fire of '71, the ward, which was hardly touched, became a sort of beehive for the city, and in the following years many very fine houses were built, some of them still standing in their desolate dignity, close to the heart of the sooty city. In time the very throb and hum of the incredibly amazing and growing town made them undesirable as homes for the well-to-do. Then began one of those "migrations" for which Chicago is famous. Shops and factories and garages and small stores began creeping onward like the enormous all-consuming sand dunes along the south end of the lake not so many miles away. Here, as in other parts of city, like the Prairie Avenue district, and the negro section farther south, there has gone on those processes of disintegration, and deterioration in real estate values which leave great sores in the life of the city. Recently there has arisen an interest in preventing such things, and shortly serious and effective efforts toward city "zoning" will try to cure these ills. And so it is that time has changed and is still changing the aspect of the ward, until some of the spots which a few years ago were "show-places" for city visitors have now become "shabby-genteel" and even worse.

Such is a hasty picture of a localized area in a typical modern American community. Some parts of Boston or San Francisco or New York might have been chosen instead, but they could not be more picturesque. It is doubtful if a better illustration than my ward could be found anywhere to show the confusion and the contrasts which modern city life exhibits; or to show how badly the familiar doctrine that "everybody's business is nobody's business" works in our community affairs. My ward has great possibilities; it has vast wealth, an intelligent, industrious and inherently powerful citizenry; and on the whole it has the best of good intentions. Why then do we have there so much of rottenness and corruption in local politics? Why do we have dirty, ill-kept streets when clean streets would at once be so much more lovely and so much better as an investment? Why do we have old decrepit and over-crowded schools in a neighborhood which can afford the finest churches and apartments and hotels in the city? Why must the public service of the

community, and the public business, be transacted in buildings and with equipment which no private business or private society would tolerate? I have often wondered what is the real cause—not the superficial causes which are easily named—



Brown Brothers

The vehicular congestion of the wholesale markets is paralleled by a sodden slum district where the densest population of the city swarms—in my ward



Brown Brothers

My ward holds a municipal court and a county jail. But where is the civic conscience that would not tolerate these sinks of crime-and-vice where a large part of the dirty linen of the city is washed?





but the real basic reason for this breakdown in community life which is so apparent. Here is a community which has in most respects unmatched possibilities—why then does it lag and slumber and decay?

The first thing which always challenges attention in city life, and which seems always like a dull red sore, is the local politics. The history of my ward shows a recurrent effort to “clean up” politics by electing “reform” aldermen, but the last decade or two holds out little promise

in this direction. There have been many good aldermen from the ward, quite above the average indeed; one became mayor of the city, one is a Federal judge, and four have become judges of the state courts. But the wave of moral enthusiasm which elected them has generally been followed by a back-wash of lack of interest by the mass of voters. And so the movement has slumped nearly back to the old level. The ward boss already mentioned has been beaten, but he is tenacious and experienced. And he has no sense whatever of his civic responsibility as a “boss.” The efforts to oust him and his like have been repeated so often that most of the forward looking residents have become blase and take little stock in new appeals. There have always been three main groups of voters in the ward, the two “machines” of the old parties, and the unorganized public, which is the largest group of all. Sometimes the aldermen are of one party, sometimes another—just now there is one of each. What is the reason for the “slump”? Why is the public so “blase”? The reason seems to be a simple one, the average man feels that his responsibility to his family is abiding and permanent; while his responsibility to his community is haphazard and gratuitous. The public in a reform wave has sometimes elected its candidate—and then promptly dumped the whole burden of keeping up the good work upon him alone. The moral enthusiasm engendered was lost; the sense of community responsibility died out; the public, one by one, “got out from under.”

We now have in Chicago so-called “non-partizan” election of aldermen, by virtue of a new enabling act of the Legislature which was recently approved by the people by a heavy vote. But I wish you would try to get yourself elected in my ward—“You” being a thoroly qualified and genuinely “no party” man. I can hear you laugh at the suggestion, or if you try, I can hear the public laugh at you. There are, roughly, 20,000 registered voters in the ward, men and women. Five thou-



Brown Brothers

At one extremity the Gold Coast with its beautiful homes and apartment houses, at the other the river front with its bad smells and rotting piles—my ward is famous for its contrasts

sand votes have consistently elected the alderman—4600 elected the one whose term is expiring. Only 7300 citizens voted in that ward election! But in American cities we specialize in minority rule—the small compact minority rules the majority. In my ward about one-quarter of the voters rule the ward, as I have shown. But for that matter Mayor Thompson was elected by 32 per cent of the actual registered vote of the city. He received 259,828 votes out of a registration of 806,984 men and women.

In this matter of local politics we have the most apparent defect in community life—a complete breakdown of the social order because the best citizens of the community refuse to vote. Their “disgust” is too deep. If they had voted on election day we would not have our mayor—Q. E. D.! Have we not proved our case? Ask anyone in Chicago.

The lack of interest of the community in its “good housekeeping” is shown in another striking way, if we turn our attention toward the old police station in the ward. It is more than a station-house for the police—a criminal branch of the Municipal court sits there, where cases up to felonies are tried. It is a sort of sink-of-crime-and-vice, where a large part of the dirty linen of the city is washed. A hundred cases are frequently called there in a forenoon, tho it is only one of a half dozen police stations in the city where “Civic Pathology” may be studied first hand and with profit. Its shabby reeking interior swarms with human vermin any day of the week; while corrupt lawyers and petty politicians and divekeepers and all the flotsam and jetsam of one of the city’s worst whirlpools, nearby, are milling about like cattle in a pen. Its mere existence with its vile prison cells in the basement, and its dilapidated rooms, and ancient facilities seems impossible so close to the fine mansions on the boulevard a few blocks away. The wretched building seems to befoul everyone who passes thru it, and the “justice” which is dispensed there is naturally a strange mixture—a beverage made up of kindness and charity on the part of the overworked police to an extent that is quite unknown; then add a goodly dose of levying toll by petty politicians and corrupt bondsmen; add also some considerable bloodsucking for fees by shyster lawyers; and pass it all up to an overworked judge, who is the dispenser of the product. The judge can’t improve matters in such a foul place, and he must tolerantly do the best he can because the very physical equipment makes it necessary [Continued on page 55



# The Human Touch

Some entertaining anecdotes of how folks act when they're approached for money for a worthy cause

By Violet M. Leroy

"CAN I interest you in the Liberty Loan?" I asked, as he hurried past my booth. "Not in the *Liberty Loan*, darling," came the answer, accompanied by an ingratiating smirk, and he started to retrace his steps. I swallowed hard, tried to remember it was all in the day's battle; shot a forty-two centimeter glare at him, and then bravely resumed my bombing for bonds. And that's how the Great War began for me!

Did it ever occur to you what a world of experiences one could gather at a booth during a drive, where all one had to say was: "Have you bought your Liberty Bond?" . . . "Anything to spare for the French babies?"

. . . "Won't you buy a Red Cross button?" . . . "Just a dollar for the Salvation Army!" . . . And so on indefinitely. It's wonderful! So wonderful, in fact, that, being a veteran of seventeen drives, I'm almost tempted to work on eight more, and have a silver anniversary!

You've all heard, I'm sure, of Belgian Reliefs and Armenian Reliefs, and even of American Reliefs, haven't you? But have you ever heard of a Conversation Relief? No? Then I'm going to tell you about it. I know you'll be interested, because it's all about yourself. Each and every one of you has contributed your share to the "human" side of my "touch" system. And this is how it began:

Once upon a time, in the year 1914 A. D., a war was started. Of course, we all know who started it. But why talk about that any more. All we care about is, who won it. And of course we're each of us equally sure of that, too. Only, our individual opinions may differ. For instance, I know that the woman who lives across the way from me, thinks *she* won the war, because she refrained from using any sugar in her tea, until after the armistice was signed (and she has *such* a sweet tooth!) But that's all nonsense. *I* won the war and I can prove—but, I'm getting away from my story. "As we were saying." . . . When we got into the war a Liberty Loan came along. Now the average American is a generous, kindhearted person who gives freely—even at 3½ per cent and at 4¾ per cent—but he has to be given a mental anesthetic while the operation is being performed. And so the country, and particularly New York, was turned into a three-ring circus to dope the patient during the financial vivisection. And one of these forms of diversion was a booth, or table, placed in the lobby of a hotel, a theater, a shop—or any similar center of activity—and a girl in charge, known as a captain, whose chief requisites were: a fair disposition, an R. S. V. P. smile, and a "damn-the-Germans" feeling



"When I get to Heaven," says Miss Leroy—who is the veteran of seventeen drives, "I know I shall hurriedly proceed to pluck the feathers from the angels' wings, pin a captain's badge on my celestial raiment, install myself comfortably on a nice, fat cloud; and then sell the quills to all newcomers for a quarter apiece—at work on my very last drive—Free Milk for the Milky Way!"

her mind would come up and leave it at my counter. But as they soon found out, those who came to chat remained to pay. I was lucky enough to sell some twelve million dollars worth of bonds for Uncle Sam, but that's a mere trifle compared to the bonds of interest his sons and daughters gave me. Most of them I received from his sons. Women rarely wax confidential, where money is concerned. It was quite different when I helped take the census, at one time during the war. To begin with, the first question, asked of them was, "How old are you?" And it seems that when a woman has had to tell her age she feels she may as well tell you everything! And then, too, it costs her nothing. Women do hate to give money away, especially to another woman.

The "men folks" are another story. They're so funny—and tragic, and fascinating and boring, and they each tell a story; from the openfaced breezy young man, who when I asked him if he had his Liberty Bond, said: "You bet I have; I got my divorce this morning;" to the Weary Willy type, who walked the length of the lobby back to my booth to say: "Do you know, little girl, this is the fifth time this morning you've asked me if I've bought my bond?" and I think I surprized him when, instead of apologizing for spoiling his morning, I said, "And do you know, young man, that it makes me just as tired to *ask* you, as it does you to answer?" "By George, I guess you're right," said Willy, "I think I'll buy a bond from you!" . . . So you see, you mustn't judge too quickly; and you mustn't let anything discourage you.

Some say that the surest way to a man's heart is, thru his stomach. I've come to the conclusion that the surest way to his character is thru his pocketbook.

Of course one must practice painless dentistry to be successful; and it often [Continued on page 56]

in her heart, oh—and of course, a sense of humor. And I became one of these captains!

My post was in the lobby of a hotel—somewhere between Fifty-ninth and Thirty-fourth streets; one where East and West and North and South all meet, and exchange income tax grievances. I never knew there were so many "home towns," in all America. And each man "gives his" in his own "home town"—and each seems to think his is the "best ever." Oh, yes, I know all about them!

You see that's why I came to call these booths (which they afterward continued to have during all the drives, after the Loan) "Conversation Relief Booths." Anyone who had anything on his or





Central News

Was the recent von Kapp attempt to overthrow the Ebert Government merely a week-end revolution or is it symbolic of the probability of a return of junker control in Germany?

## Kaiserdome Again?

The American wife of a German nobleman prophesies the return of the Hohenzollerns to the German throne and gives some pertinent first-hand information

By Countess Alida von Krockow

THE elections in Germany will not put an end to the question as to whether junkers will come back into power. Too many deep-rooted factors are involved for any act of balloting to be accepted as decisive, or even as indicative, especially balloting at the present time. The voters are still in an abnormal condition of mind. Their indicated choice of government may be confirmed, or it may be utterly reversed when the course of time and circumstances shall have habituated them to their fallen estate—if the junkers permit time and circumstances to take their course!

We are in a world of "ifs" when the German people and their junkers are concerned.

We recognized the fact during the war by confessing that Anglo-Saxons could not understand the psychology of Teutons; then, in the face of different, new events, we forgot it again. And we forgot it the more readily because the new event of Germany turning republican aroused our democratic partizanship. At once, and as if by conspiracy, out of a desire to encourage ourselves and the Germans, we overlooked the fact of their having resorted to democracy in an emergency, that up to the time of the upsetting crisis in their war affairs the people were devoted to monarchy, and that monarchy had plainly meant to them the rule of a Hohenzollern with his inseparable junkers (*junker* means "young lord"). And we have gone on in the same spirit. The new government pays deference to the old notables, abstains from exposing abuses of the old régime, supports the people in their protest against delivering to an Allied tribunal officers who were as fatal to them as they are criminal in the eyes of humanity—does any number of things contrary to right democratism, in accord with their native tribal secrecy and tribal fealty, and we ignore the significance.

No foreign correspondent in Berlin obtained an inkling into the junker plot that led to the *coup d'état*, any more than in the case of the junker planning that led to the war, tho both took place under their noses, yet we continue to trust in the acumen of such reporters where junkers are concerned.

We have even built up a philosophy regarding junkers and the people. Germany is a modernized state, so we conclude that the people ought to be desirous of

maintaining the democracy which its politicians and mutinous marines set up and they hysterically confirmed. And, since other European democracies, like France and England, keep their demoted privileged class leveled politically to the rest of the citizenry, we think they will take care to do so. The trend of the times is on their side. They must hate the junkers, in whose defense, indeed, nothing can be said, even by themselves.

Now, as a matter of fact, very much is being said for them. It is said thruout the eloquent pages of all German modern histories, still in households, libraries and schools. And current articles and pamphlets are repeating the substance of the old laudations, in a form adopted to present times. The junker propaganda that was prepared for the recent Reichstag election abounds in expressions of bold assertiveness, some of which afford replies to our American arguments against them.

The *noblesse* of France, it says for instance, was dissolute and the aristocracy of England past its military prime when the commonality dislodged them from their political position of supreme authority in the state. Junkerdom is still virile. It is nearer its origin as a conquering military caste. Its racial and social sense of superiority have been fostered moreover without intermission, by living at home in the country on great estates in the midst of alien Slavic underlings, and by public careers in positions of command. There is no junker sound of limb who has not been drilled in arms and therefore none in whom the instinct of combativeness has not been cultivated. All are potential fighters. None of their younger sons have been dispersed by system into money-getting trades. The caste remains intact. And the caste ideal of virtue has remained the Spartan ideal of discipline, service and plain living. The scorn felt for junkers by richer foreign nobilities and by richer German classes is repaid by them with a contempt righteously more deep.

The mission of governing was carried on by them with vigor; but with an honesty, beneficence, and enlightenment so excellent that the people had no grievances that were real, the state no rival in repute. Are the pages of history that tell of the return of the English and the Dutch peoples from a commonwealth to monarchy, and of the repeated reversions of the French and Spanish peoples from a re- [Continued on page 61]



# The San Francisco Answer

By Norman Hapgood

IN nominating Governor Cox the Democratic convention went into Senator Harding's state and selected a man of much more positive record, more popular, progressive and firm where Harding is colorless and reactionary. Harding fitly embodies in his emptiness the spirit of a convention with no message except hatred of the President, whereas Cox's record as Governor, combined with what he has said about national and international affairs, would seem to indicate ability, idealism, and the power of growth.

We are entering upon a brief stretch of time—three months and a half—in which momentous decisions will be made. Is the United States prepared to act in foreign affairs as it thinks other nations ought to act? That is one of the two dominating questions, and the other is the familiar contrast between liberalism and reaction: ought the economic power of a country to be in the hands of a few or in the hands of the many? It is well for a self-governing country to look these things in the face, and the lines this summer are clearly drawn. If as a nation we want to go back to the days of Mark Hanna, and keep labor in its place, we have a candidate who thinks he is an imitation of McKinley, and who voted against confirming a great exponent of labor's rights and of industrial progress when President Wilson put him on the Supreme Court of the United States. I do not know whether Senator Harding wished to reject Mr. Brandeis because he was a Jew, or because he had championed the rights of producers and consumers against exploiters, or because Henry Cabot Lodge used the Senator as a rubber-stamp, but I do know that while on other votes Mr. Harding may wriggle and explain, on this one there is no explaining: the lines between the progressive and the exploiting forces were too sharply drawn.

IF the domestic issue is thus clear as a candle on a dark night the foreign issue is clear enough for practical purposes. Do we no longer care what we fought for, or what happens, or who starts another war? Do we wash our hands of foreign responsibility? If Hiram Johnson had been nominated we could have faced this issue with more neatness, but even with Harding on his front porch consulting the most expert pussy-footers the question can hardly be dodged all the way to November. Just for what purpose did we go into the war? How we talked ourselves hoarse about its being a war to end war! How we explained that never again would a single nation be "permitted" to start a general conflagration! What did we mean by all this? According to the Republican platform, precisely nothing; according to Johnson and Borah, straightforwardly nothing; according to Lodge and Harding, confusedly and meanly nothing. According to the Democratic platform we meant what we said. This war shook the bases of civilization. We do not yet know whether the recovery is to be rapid or whether the rest of Europe is to be dragged down by the more exhausted parts. What we do know is that another war, with its germs, its breakdown still further of moral standards, with its improved gases, air fleets, submarines and explosives, would put an end to what is best in France, Germany, Italy, England, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Denmark, leaving the future to Asia and to Russia.

And ourselves? Trust me, I shall not put this appeal on the ground of danger to ourselves. It is not easy to conceive of this country being prostrated, as Europe will be prostrated and practically destroyed, by the next war. No, we shall spend some billions of dollars, lose some hundreds

of thousands of boys, but again emerge rich. Only Europe will have perished, only the culture of the Western world, and for ourselves alone we shall have lost little except our character and our just pride.

Democratic success in November will depend on the success with which the issues are made clear and dramatic not only by the candidates and leading speakers but also by that division of the national headquarters that is charged with the task of circulating the right facts in the right quarters. For example, will Senator Harding, in defending whatever position the pussy-footers may tell him to take on the League, endeavor to repudiate what his newspaper has been saying? Here is one of the attacks of that paper on Mr. Taft for recommending a league: "No one can feel sorry for Mr. Taft because of the ridicule to which this is bound to subject him, for his support of the League of Nations and his blind muddling in politics have brought down upon him the anathemas of those who fought earnestly for him in the rout of 1912." In reality I think the bitterness of Harding's paper against Taft was not so much on account of the League as because Mr. Taft's partizanship and stand-patism in general were not looked upon as one hundred per cent. pure. Mr. Taft favored the Payne-Aldrich tariff law, which should be enough to satisfy the most exacting worshiper of back-door privilege, but it is not enough for Senator Harding's paper. It attacks him because his defense of the League may, in the paper's opinion, make it more difficult to build up the tariff in the way it was managed in the good old days of Hanna and Aldrich. And the Senator in his own person says: "You cannot reduce the cost of living and keep up the present American wage." Be sure you take it all out of the laborer. The Senator says: "We have taxed the big industrial enterprises until they are almost paralyzed." And in his praise of the German system in 1916 he said: "German industrial self-reliance is the sequence of her adoption of a Republican protective tariff."

No wonder such a complete reactionary felt as bitter as he did against Colonel Roosevelt in 1912. No wonder the Roosevelt followers of that dramatic year have heavy hearts and disillusioned spirits in so far as their notions of regularity compel them to eat their most cherished convictions now. If Mr. Harding's paper called Mr. Roosevelt "the greatest fakir of the time," and compared him to Benedict Arnold, Aaron Burr and Dr. Cook, and if it said Hiram Johnson was "both a liar and a blackguard," these gentle judgments were not personal. They were the rage of the bourbon when he fears some of the pet privileges of his friends and himself may be endangered.

Now I come to what is perhaps the most discouraging and mortifying touch of all. It may on the surface seem less impressive than the things I have mentioned—than littleness and cowardice in regard to our responsibility for preventing another war, than subserviency to the big controlling interests, than a brutal attitude toward labor, than the Brandeis vote—yet it strikes at the very heart of sound and rising standards in our public life. The people have perhaps not quite forgotten the Newberry case. How did the Republicans get their majority in the Senate? By the presence there of Truman H. Newberry. For purchasing his seat Mr. Newberry has been convicted by a Federal court and sentenced to a long term of imprisonment, but he has kept his seat while the case is being appealed, and has helped Senators Harding and Lodge in their fight for the noble purpose of seeing that no constructive effort led by Woodrow Wilson shall be permitted to reach a successful conclusion. Of Senator Newberry's method of getting the



# Planks—San Francisco Style

## League of Nations Endorsed

The Democratic party favors the League of Nations as the surest, if not the only, practicable means of maintaining the permanent peace of the world and terminating the insufferable burden of great military and naval establishments. It was for this that America broke away from traditional isolation and spent her blood and treasure to crush a colossal scheme of conquest. It was upon this basis that the President of the United States, in prearrangement with our allies, consented to a suspension of hostilities against the Imperial German Government; the armistice was granted and a treaty of peace negotiated upon the definite assurance to Germany, as well as to the Powers pitted against Germany, that "a general association of nations must be formed, under specific covenants, for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike."

We endorse the President's view of our international obligations and his firm stand against reservations designed to cut to pieces the vital provisions of the Versailles Treaty and we commend the Democrats in Congress for voting against resolutions for separate peace which would disgrace the nation. We advocate the immediate ratification of the Treaty without reservations which would impair its essential integrity, but do not oppose the acceptance of any reservations making clearer or more specific the obligations of the United States to the League associates.

We demand prompt Finance action by the next Congress for a complete survey of existing taxes and their modifications and simplification with a view to secure greater equity and justice in tax burden and improvement in administration.

In the interest of economy and good administration, we favor the creation of an effective budget system that will function in accord with the principles of the Constitution. The reform should reach both the executive and legislative aspects of the question. The supervision and preparation of the budget should be vested in the Secretary of the Treasury as the representative of the President.

We reaffirm the traditional Tariff policy of the Democratic party in favor of a tariff for revenue only and to confirm the policy of basing tariff revisions upon the intelligent research of a non-partisan commission, rather than upon the demands of selfish interests, temporarily held in abeyance.

The Farmer We favor such legislation as will confirm to the primary producers of the nation the right of collective bargaining and the right of coöperative handling and marketing of the products of the work-

shops and the farm and such legislation as will facilitate the exportation of our farm products.

Strikes In private industrial disputes we are opposed to compulsory arbitration as a method plausible in theory but a failure in fact. With respect to Government service, we hold distinctly that the rights of the people are paramount to the right to strike.

Merchant Marine We pledge the policy of our party to the continued growth of our merchant marine under proper legislation so that American products will be carried to

this country entered the war, and victory established this principle.

Within the limitations of international comity and usage, this convention repeats the several previous expressions of the sympathy of the Democratic party of the United States for the aspirations of Ireland for self-government.

Armenia We express our deep and earnest sympathy for the unfortunate people of Armenia, and we believe that our Government, consistent with its Constitution and principles, should render every possible and proper aid to them in their efforts to establish and maintain a government of their own.

Woman Suffrage We endorse the proposed Nineteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States, granting equal suffrage to women. We congratulate the Legislatures of thirty-five States which have already ratified said amendment and we urge the Democratic Governors and Legislatures . . . to unite in an effort to complete the process of ratification and secure the thirty-sixth State in time for all the women of the United States to participate in the fall election.

Welfare Legislation We urge coöperation with the states for the protection of child life thru infancy and maternity care; in the prohibition of child labor and by adequate appropriations for the Children's Bureau and the Woman's Bureau in the Department of Labor. Coöperative Federal assistance to the States is immediately required for the removal of illiteracy, for the increase of teachers' salaries and instruction in citizenship for both native and foreign born; increased appropriation for vocational training in home economics; reestablishment of joint Federal and State employment service with women's departments under the direction of technically qualified women.

The Federal Board for Vocational Education should be made a part of the war risk insurance bureau in order that the task may be treated as a whole, and this machinery of protection and assistance must receive every aid of law and appropriation necessary to full and effective operation.

We pledge our party to the enactment of soldier settlements and home aid legislation affording genuine Government assistance unencumbered by red tape.

Railroads There should be a fair and complete test of the law until careful and mature action by Congress may cure its defects and insure a thoroughly effective transportation system under private ownership without Government subsidy at the expense of the taxpayers of the country.

Immigration The policy of the United States with reference to the non-admission of Asiatic immigrants is a true expression of the judgment of our people.

## The Platforms Compared

	Republican	Democratic
League of Nations	Covenant denounced; an "agreement" based on international courts favored	The League of Nations with none but interpretative reservations
Mexico	"Firmness" urged	Friendship with any Government maintaining law and order
Armenia	Mandate opposed	Aid promised to independent Government
Labor Question	Arbitral tribunals for industrial disputes in public utilities	Opposed to compulsory arbitration in private industry
The Farmer	General encouragement of agriculture	Stands on record of party
Finance	Budget recommended; inflation denounced	Budget favored; tax revision urged
Railroads	Private ownership and operation	Private ownership "without Government subsidy"
Shipping	Private ownership and operation	General encouragement of merchant marine
Tariff	Protection in "principle" but application deferred to future	Tariff for revenue only
Immigration	Restriction favored	Exclude Asiatics
Equal Suffrage	Favorable action urged on state legislatures	Favorable action urged on state legislatures
Prohibition	Not considered	Both wet and dry planks rejected
Soldiers' Bonus	Not considered, but care for disabled approved	Care for disabled approved; no general bonus
Race Question	Lynching to be repressed	Not considered
Welfare Laws	Child Labor Law approved; hours of labor for women to be restricted; equal pay to women in federal employ	Child Labor Law approved; working women to be protected and given equal rights in federal employ
Military Policy	Universal "physical" training recommended but not compulsory military service	Not considered

all ports of the world by vessels built in American yards, flying the American flag.

When the new Government Mexico of Mexico shall have given ample proof of its ability permanently to maintain law and order, signified its willingness to meet its international obligations, and written upon its statute books just laws under which foreign investors shall have rights as well as duties, that Government should receive our recognition and systematic assistance.

The great principle of national self-determination has received constant reiteration Ireland as one of the chief objectives for which





*Harris & Ewing*

### President Woodrow Wilson

Taken at the White House on Saturday, June 19, this is said to be the first photograph which the President has approved and authorized since he was stricken with illness on his League of Nations tour of the country in September, 1919. The photograph was made while the President was transacting his regular morning business



place from which he rendered this service, Senator Harding's paper finds justification in the fact that Newberry "is 100 per cent. American" (which God forbid!), and that his use of money was to overcome the influence of the administration in the election, which influence was "unfair and un-American." The intellect of this is on a low enough level, but what is still more impressive is the moral degradation.

And this brings me to the contemplated war against Mexico, for I believe the men who are planning that war—the group to which Fall and Lodge and Penrose and Harding belong—are led to it not by the idiot expressions about hundred per cent. Americanism with which they decorate their Newberrys and their worship of wealth, their distrust of labor, their unwillingness to give Armenia anything but words, their unwillingness to help in the safeguarding of the world—no, not by these decorating phrases, but all simply because those interests which have obtained possession of some of Mexico's resources desire to get the rest. The threat in the Republican platform is clear enough, and Senator Harding's paper says: "The next Republican administration will find the Mexican problem on its doorstep. It will be removed in short order."

I have not before me the speech in which Mr. Harding declared his "deference and devotion" to the man who was probably the lowest boss Ohio ever had, but no doubt some kind friend in Ohio will send me a copy for later use in the campaign. It is not necessary, but it is well to be complete. It is not necessary, because a progressive independent cannot doubt that in the fight on which we are now entering one side represents the best that is practically possible in the present condition of American civilization, while the other represents a remorseless and dull defiance, a lapse toward the grossest materialism this country has ever known. Penrose is the master and Harding is the puppet.

The situation calls for a positive, aggressive campaign. What the Republicans are relying on is no positive idea or belief but the inertia, fatigue, accumulated discontents that have accumulated in these seven strenuous years, and to win the Democrats must stir the people and make them think. But the principle almost always holds good. The side that can capture and hold the offensive usually wins. Bryan never could manage a sustained offensive because counter-attacks found such weak points as free silver. Roosevelt always sought the offensive but in 1912 he could not seize it because he had to defend his party's position on tariff and trusts. Hughes might well have won in 1916 if he had had any clear issue and had confidently pursued it. The business of the Democrats this summer is to drive the Republicans into the open until they have to say things that mean something on the League, on industrial justice, on Mexico, and on such lesser but still characteristic planks as Panama tolls. If the Republicans can campaign for three months without saying anything, however, they will win.

### Consolation

WELL, after all, the United States is no worse off than Russia. Both countries are still in a state of war. The difference is this: the present Russian Government is such that other nations cannot recognize it, whereas the American Congress is such that it can't recognize other nations.

### Queer Customs

ONE of the strangest forms of government I encountered on my trip to the earth," said the Martian, "was that of the United States of America. That country was inhabited mainly by two hostile tribes, whose totems were the elephant and the donkey. The cause of their hostility I could not discern, since both tribes contained

all shades of opinion and representatives of every social class and group; no doubt it was some old hereditary feud. But instead of fighting with guns, like the neighboring Mexicans, the two tribes united into one Government, the Chief Donkey being President and a Herd of Elephants being a majority in Congress. Everything that the President tried to do the Congress would prevent, and everything that the Congress tried to do the President would veto. Hence the nation lived virtually without a Government until a sacred, mystical period of years elapsed, when both tribes strove once more to obtain the Presidency and the Congress. They chose the candidates for these offices by a method of "counting out" like that used in children's games. Prominent men were induced to spend vast sums to capture local councils, called primaries or conventions, and then were rejected because they had been too successful or had spent too much. After the biggest chiefs had thus been counted out the offices were distributed to lesser men and all was ready for the battle between the tribes in November. By a very chivalrous but rather perplexing custom the tribe which was victorious in November waited four months before taking the power which it had won and in the meantime the old President and Congress went on ruling (or keeping each other from ruling) just as if nothing had happened. Yet in spite of their absurd ways of conducting public business these same Americans were notably efficient and businesslike in all their private affairs."

## The Republican Tide for Harding

By Talcott Williams

THE Republican vote will be cast solid for Harding, plus the vote dissatisfied with Wilson, but much may yet come to raise doubt as to the result before election. Harding's "canned speech" with its narrow chauvinism has already done that.

Harding is a man of the McKinley stamp. Derisively, this is said. What is a "man of the McKinley stamp?" McKinley was the first candidate for President in either party, after twenty years of silver agitation, who dared to come out for the gold standard and carried his party with him. Cleveland came out for gold after election and the persuasion of devastating panic and he lost his party. McKinley freed Cuba. He urged the law which prohibited concessions to Americans until a native Legislature existed. He did not hesitate to plant the victorious feet of the Republic beyond the Pacific. He annexed the Philippines when all the idealists, without ideas, who now object to Harding, were shrieking against annexation and a majority of Democrats in the Senate voted against this step. McKinley did not hesitate to use the army to save the Philippines from the tyranny of Aguinaldo and the Tagals. He courageously settled in the archipelago the most difficult church question ever presented to an American President. He defied the pressure of the German Kaiser at Manila. He set our currency in order. He annexed the Hawaiian Islands. He began the unhesitating enforcement of the Sherman Act. He was the first President to enforce the Interstate Commerce Act. He stood for world wide arbitration, when Roosevelt opposed. In his last utterance, before Czolgosz's bullet, he sounded the summons to international trade, a trumpet call to worldwide responsibility for the world's peace.

When our citizens were in danger in Peking he sent an army to succor them, an unprecedented responsibility for a President to assume. His instructions to General Chaffee, in command, never fully published, brought it about that when the allied commanders, French, English and the rest, delayed days and then discussed in council for resultless hours, the American commander rose and said: "I am in-



# New Thrills in Sport



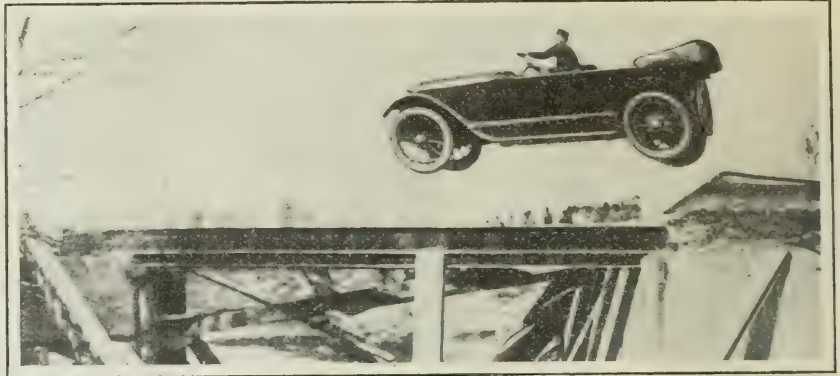
Keystone View

Some folks would rather be "Babe" Ruth than President. His sensational batting has run up a total of home runs unequalled in baseball records; twenty-nine last year, twenty-four so far this season. Besides being able to furnish the thrill of a "homer" every game or so "Babe" plays brilliantly in the outfield and can pitch well

When your thermometer stands at 90° remember that there are summer sports like this in Rainier National Park. The Pacific Northwest Ski Club held its annual tournament there June 27



Kadel & Herbert



Wide World

This running broad jump made by an automobile broke the world's record—and nothing else. The car was off the ground for a distance of 58 feet, it landed safely and went on running, the motor undamaged and the tires still whole. The jump was driven (if that is the correct phrase) by Charles J. Wilson, of Chicago



The "flying champion" is England's unofficial title for Miss Elizabeth Colyer (right), the eighteen year old girl who won the British women's tennis championship this year. Miss Colyer's game is in smashing, whirlwind style; she goes after her strokes with a leap that usually takes both feet off the ground

International Film



structed to start for Peking tomorrow. My troops march at daybreak."

This is what a "man of the McKinley stamp" did and what Harding will do. A vigorous policy will be his; but it will not be guided in the international agreements he makes by French desires to collect the exorbitant profits of oppressive concessionaires or English appetite for territory. He will not gather troops on the Rio Grande and do nothing. He will not abuse powers given to gain efficiency in war to infringe on the liberty of public opinion in peace. He will not incur debt after war is over, depreciating the market price of bonds purchased by patriotic self-sacrifice.

The Democratic party, after eight years of control, leaves an inflated currency. For a generation the party had urged inflation. Business men, the small investor and capital engaged in developing natural resources want to be rid of this peril. They want to see the railroads paying dividends, as they once did. Prices are falling and as they fall, quiet will come. Unflinchingly, the Republican party has resolved that no organization, labor or other, shall be stronger than the law and public needs. Republican legislation thru the homestead law multiplied the small farmers. Its next task must be to increase the small homeowners in our cities. The South neglects negro education. The Republican party proposes to use federal revenue for education. Life insurance must be made cheap for the small policyholder, as already for the soldier. Our exports and imports must not be dependent on foreign steamers. The lack of labor on the farm must be made good by improving rural conditions, providing new methods and relieving the farmer of taxation by national aid. The suppression of lynching is only part of the problem of bringing protection to all, where the local police is weak, as it is in all our farming districts.

The Republican party has steadily extended the federal powers and its return to power will continue in this path to the end that a quiet, peaceful prosperity may increase happy families, better educated children, diffuse wealth, put the Government on a business basis and spread sanity.

### Washtub Rhythmics

A TEACHER of Greek rhythmics in London has given a public demonstration of how such movements may be used in washing clothes and dishes and transform this distasteful task into an easy and graceful exercise. If we could only get this fad started in America it would do much to settle the servant problem for our girls could then apply physical culture in the home instead of seeking it on the stage or the lawn. A phonograph playing "The Song of the Shirt," "Rub-a-dub-dub," or "Louisiana Blues" could serve to set the pace.

### A Footnote to a Platform

THE recent lynching of three negroes in Duluth gives sad proof of the necessity for the anti-lynching plank in the Republican platform, and incidentally shows that the northern states require it as well as the southern.

## The Ohio Idea

By Franklin H. Giddings

WE have come around again to the Ohio idea. We always do come around to it when we are not at war nor doing a moral jazz. It is the normal political content of the American mind.

It has never been defined. You could no more describe it than you could portray the face that somebody reminds you of; but, like the haunting face, it is known by the company it keeps.

Ben Wade was the Paul that planted, and Mark Hanna

was the Apollos that watered the Ohio idea. Many Buckeye statesmen have been inhabited by it; Rutherford B. Hayes was its incarnation.

All of its embodiments have been born of poor but honest parents who have sent them to school and reared them decently in non-ritualistic communions. Arrived at competence they have lived on reputable village streets in two storied houses of American architecture with verandas in front and kitchen "stoops" behind. Eminence has never torn them from plain thinking nor cut them off from simple intellectual interests, but they have not permitted theory to get away with common sense. Without denying that Adam Smith was a moral man they have been unable to forget that he invented free trade, and they have never conceded that Gresham's law is of equal authority with an Act of Congress. Of culture they have partaken temperately. They have known that the Medici were Frenchmen or Italians and more than one of them could have told you whether Can Grande was a British stallion or a Spanish drink.

Of course not every Ohio statesman has inherited, or embraced, or otherwise been or become identified with the Ohio idea. William Howard Taft, a Unitarian and otherwise differentiated, has never exemplified it. Wade's political antagonist, Joshua R. Giddings, a kinsman of mine, was its antithesis.

Giddings believed that slavery was wrong and said so. He believed that the way to get rid of it was to get rid of it. Such simple and forthright politics make politicians tired, and they turn from Giddings to Wade. The Ohio idea tranquillizes them. It never meddles. Above all it never goes crusading. It never muck-rakes, nor upsets business, nor concerns itself with "abroad." It never has enacted a "seven sisters law," nor drawn up a creed of fourteen points for the human race, nor invented a League of Nations. It never will.

The world has been at attention for six strenuous years and it wants a rest. The simple life allures. Perhaps rest and mediocrity are necessary. The work that we set out to do has not been done, but possibly it can't be done until we have relaxed awhile and collected our wits. Tremendous problems challenge us, but if we can't react to them, we can't. Under such circumstances presidential government of the positive sort (Rooseveltian or Wilsonian) wearies us, and we turn with relief to the Ohio idea, that has no power to make us think.

Neurasthenia is expensive, but the rest cure is better than collapse. For the best results (as all doctors agree) cheerfulness is essential, and the great value of the Ohio idea is found, it would seem, in its optimistic quality. Once you surrender yourself to it you cease to worry. You know for a truth that America is God's country. Our government is the best that man has yet invented, and as for the constitution, not even the eighteenth amendment can queer it. Undoubtedly we shall have strikes, railroad deficits, and income taxes; but the Home Market is safe and Protection will be protected from profanation.

Once, down in the Black Belt, I heard a young theologian preach his ordination sermon. With fervid eloquence he told his breathless hearers for what compelling reasons he had consecrated his life to the service of Jesus Christ. They were, he said, firstly "because he am de lily ob de valley"; secondly, "because he am de shadow ob a great rock in a thirsty lan"; and thirdly, "because he am de horn ob Judah." I doubt if that young man could have defined the Ohio idea, but he could have grasped it.

### Unskilled Labor

THE chief branches of unskilled labor in the United States about 1920," said the "Martian," "were teaching in its various branches, the ministry, the lower ranks of the Government civil service and of municipal employment, scientific research and poetry. This is shown not



only by the fact that incomes were lower in these occupations than in any of the organized trades, but also by the slight esteem in which politicians and publicists held the opinions and activities of those engaged in them. Great respect was paid to the mandates of a labor chief or a captain of industry and even the farmers were regarded as men to be conciliated, but anything said by a college professor, clergyman, scientist or poet was without further consideration labeled 'visionary,' 'impractical' or 'academic.' Public servants were set down as 'bureaucrats' or 'red-tapeworms' and their advice was ignored by Congress and the Administration on all occasions. It is evident that these classes were the mudsills of society."

## The Theater as a Place of Worship

SEVERAL years ago a small Protestant church in Chicago hit upon the plan of holding its morning services in a moving picture theater. It did not use pictures, it did not attempt to disguise the religious character of its meeting, but it immediately found an audience. Men and women who would not go into a meeting-house would go to a religious meeting held in a movie theater.

A second theater was then taken in another part of the city. It was again filled with those who were interested in the presentation of the simple Gospel message.

The plan is worth extending. A church to be efficient must in some way represent a community feeling. If it cannot find that feeling in homes, it must find it in whatever the community itself makes central. In many localities this is the movie theater. Theaters are not used Sunday mornings. Why should they not become places where religion is brought to a community which has already come to make them its center of interest?

## Harding and the Hoodoo

SENATOR Harding is not a superstitious man. He is not daunted by the fact that no man was ever elected President from the Senate, tho Senators have been nominated and defeated, as was Douglas. No Baptist has ever been elected, tho Baptists have been nominated and defeated, as was Hughes. No journalist has ever been elected, tho journalists have been nominated and defeated, as was Greeley. If Senator Harding is elected he will have broken a triple precedent.

## How to Be a Realist

By Preston Slosson

REALISTIC fiction, as preached to us by the critics, is a different thing from the humdrum romanticism of everyday life and must not be confused with it. In life as we actually experience it there are such things as heroes, villains, romantic love, hairbreadth escapes, victory against odds and even happy endings. But when we step from life to the higher plane of realistic art we must reject all such commonplaces. One might as well be a mid-Victorian at once and have done with it!

It is really not easy to be a realist unless you are a Russian. The French are too romantic and rhetorical; even Zola sometimes gets himself mixed up with Dumas. The Scandinavian realists run into symbolism, as did Ibsen; the Germans into mysticism, as did Hauptmann; the English into propaganda for social reform, as did Reade. But if you can begin in the true Slavic style—

Babushka sat pensively on the up-turned washbasin, wondering if Petroff would be too drunk that night to cheat the English traveler over the ikon with the false jewelry which they had stolen from the illiterate priest, old Malinkoff with the three fingers and the cataract over his left eye—

your task is well in hand. Truly indeed did Dreiser say that if he had been born a Dreisersheffsky the American public would have worshipped his books. (But that worship wouldn't have made them any better).

There are three reasons why Russia is the Happy Hunting Ground of the realist. In the first place, nobody knows anything about Russia. It is a land of mystery with very eccentric customs from the western point of view. This might be thought to stimulate the romanticist; but it offers greater opportunities for the realist, since it is essential for the realist not to be found out in the lies he tells whereas the romanticist doesn't pretend to accuracy and can lie as easily about the mysteries of Paris as the mysteries of Petrograd. In the second place, it is currently believed that Russia is a very miserable country where no life story ends happily. Russian literature certainly encourages that view, and so do the newspapers. In the third place, Russia is a rather dreary country, flat, cold and monotonous. And you can't have realism against a pretty background. Realism is only possible in a sordid slum or a dismal countryside. We must either paint the background in the following fashion—

As Mrs. Scruggs gulped her second bottle of gin and sent her eye wearily over the back yard where the grimy garments of her family were drooping from the washline.

Or thuswise—

The peevish wind was grumpily snoring over the bleak moors and grey steppes which stretched into the distance in all the drab unloveliness of late autumn.

A good beginning is important to the realist, but a good ending is all important. It goes without saying that the end must be unhappy. It may not even be unhappy in the heroic vein, for then we step into traditional tragedy. Your hero must not die like Othello or Cyrano de Bergerac. A better ending would be—

Two fat tears oozed down his pasty cheeks as he remembered how youth had cheated him. With a final snort of maudlin self-pity the broken old man reached for the Prussic acid.

Or the ironic vein—

Count Grampski once dead the whole peasantry flocked in gala array to the wedding of the Countess with Ivan Feodorovitch. It is true that Grampski had emancipated all his serfs, but Ivan was now the big man of the village and to the peasant a live dog is more to be propitiated than a dead lion. Also it was amusing to see how pale the Countess looked and to hear the priest lisp his way thru the marriage service.

If your beginnings and endings are effective, you will be a successful realist no matter what comes in between. A French realist will often leave out the plot and half of the characters and descriptions and then boast of the superb artistry of a short story "without one unnecessary word." The British realist will take up two-thirds of the book with a description of the school days of the hero at the worst school in England. The Russian will fill in with a few dreary atrocities and some drearier conversations on metaphysics. Most of the Latins, and some of the Germans, will simply run a series of love affairs until the reader ceases to care whether the plot is the eternal triangle or an everlasting polygon. The Scandinavian will drown somebody so that somebody else will be unhappy. All methods of filling in are good so long as you remember to keep the hero and heroine from having a run of good luck for more than five chapters and do not fall into the error of supposing that there is a real distinction between a hero and a villain.

## Balancing the Constitution

THERE is some plausibility in the view that the Presidency has become too strong an element in the Government with reference to Congress. But the real remedy is not to select weaker Presidents but to choose stronger Representatives and Senators. If Congress were full of Websters, Clays, Calhouns, Blaines, Sumners, Shermans and Roots the legislative branch of the Government would not need to feel humiliated even by such vigorous executives as Roosevelt or Wilson. Level Congress up, do not level the Presidency down!



# The Story of the Week

## The Democratic Keynote

THE San Francisco Convention opened with President Wilson's hands firm on the reins of power. He did not make any attempt to dictate from Washington, but his ablest lieutenants and warmest friends were in the convention as its directors. Senator Glass of Virginia was chosen as chairman of the Resolutions Committee entrusted with the preparation of the platform, the important parts of which we print elsewhere in this number of The Independent. Chairman Homer Cummings of the National Committee was temporary chairman of the convention and was succeeded as permanent chairman by Senator Robinson of Arkansas. Both men are strong Administration supporters. The Palmer delegation from Georgia was seated in opposition to the Hoke Smith-Tom Watson faction, and Senator Reed was denied a seat as delegate from Missouri. A majority of the cabinet were on the spot to see that the Administration point of view received due recognition.

On June 28, the first day of the session, there was an outburst of enthusiasm for President Wilson and the convention voted unanimously to send him a message of greeting. In this message the President was congratulated on the recovery of his health and strength and resentment was expressed at "the malignant onset which you have most undeservedly been called upon to sustain from partizan foes."

Chairman Cummings delivered the keynote address. In its idealistic tone and sweep of enthusiasm it formed the strongest possible contrast to the purely negative and critical keynote speech of Senator Lodge at Chicago. It began with a summary of the progressive legislation enacted during Wilson's first term and the war record of the Administration, but the greater part of it was devoted to an uncompromizing defense of the Covenant of the League of Nations. He said in part:

The Republican platform, reactionary and provincial, is the very apotheosis of political expediency. Filled with premeditated slanders and vague promises, it will be searched in vain for one constructive suggestion for the reformation of the conditions which it criticizes and deplores. The oppressed peoples of the



Knott in Dallas News.

### THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS SPECIAL

earth will look to it in vain. It contains no message of hope for Ireland; no word of mercy for Armenia, and it conceals a sword for Mexico.

The opponents of the treaty cry out, "Shall we send our boys abroad to settle a political quarrel in the Balkans?" Immediately the unthinking applaud and the orator records a momentary triumph. Have we forgotten that that is precisely what America has already done? Have we forgotten that we sent more than 2,000,000 men to France, spent more than \$20,000,000,000 and sacrificed nearly 100,000 lives to settle a Balkan question?

What plausible reason can be suggested for wasting the one great asset which has come out of the war? How else shall we provide for international arbitration? How else shall we provide for a permanent court of international justice? How else shall we provide for open diplomacy? How else shall we provide safety from external aggression? How else shall we provide for progressive disarmament? . . . Until the critics of the League offer a better method of preserving the peace of the world, they are not entitled to one moment's consideration in the forum of the conscience of mankind.

## Boss Murphy Indicted

THE prestige of Tammany Hall at the San Francisco Convention was somewhat blighted by the indictment of its leader, Charles Francis Murphy, on the charge of conspiracy to defraud the Government of taxes. Included in the indictment are John A. McCarthy, a building contractor and a political associate of Murphy; Arthur J. Baldwin, Murphy's lawyer; James E. Smith, Assistant District Attorney, and Ernest B. Walden, Vice-President of the Corn Products Refining Company. The indictment sets forth that Baldwin, acting for Murphy, secured an agreement in 1918 by which the Corn Products Refining Company delivered glucose to the North Kensington Refinery, owned by Louis N. Hartog. The refinery was greatly expanded and Murphy invested heavily in it. Under this



Underwood & Underwood

The largest concrete ship yet launched is the "Cuyamaca," which went into the water broadside without strain recently at Del Monte, California



arrangement enormous profits were made, as Hartog had a contract for corn syrup with the British Government amounting to \$7,000,000. These profits were concealed on account of the high excess profits tax. Eventually Murphy wished to withdraw from the business and demanded that Hartog return the money which he had invested, together with one-quarter of the profits with no deduction for taxes, 15 per cent of future profits and other payments in consideration of continued deliveries of glucose by the Corn Products Refining Company. To compel Hartog to agree to these extortionate demands Murphy and his associates threatened to cut off his glucose supply and to prosecute him for hoarding and profiteering, as well as to blackmail him in other ways. Pleas of not guilty have been entered on behalf of all the accused persons.

## The Democratic Ticket

**G**OVERNOR Cox of Ohio was nominated for President after one of the longest convention deadlocks on record. In the cool air of San Francisco the Democratic delegates were less in a hurry to complete their work than were the Republicans in stifling Chicago. The platform was not finally adopted until Friday, after many hours of debate on the prohibition question had ended in the decision to accept neither the Bryan "bone dry" plank nor the Cockran proposal for admitting light wines and beer under Congressional legislation, but to ignore the issue as the Republicans had done. Only two ballots were held on Friday evening.

Twenty-three candidates received votes on the first ballot. McAdoo stood out from the rest with 266 ballots to his credit, but Palmer pressed him closely with 256. Governor Cox, with only 134, did not greatly overpass Governor Smith, who held the solid ninety votes of New York and enough outside support to bring his total up to 109. On the seventh ballot, the fifth vote held on Saturday, Cox outstripped Palmer and became a good second in the race. He was the beneficiary of most of the support which had been previously given to Governor Smith of New York and Governor Edwards of New Jersey, who practically dropt out of the race after the sixth ballot. On the twelfth ballot Cox became the leader. McAdoo had made important gains, tho not so rapidly as Cox, but Palmer was already losing his strength and most of the favorite sons had fallen by the wayside.

After the twenty-second ballot the convention adjourned till Monday. No one had the necessary two-thirds vote or even a bare majority. Governor Cox now led with 430 votes; followed by Mr. McAdoo with 372½. Attorney General Palmer had only 166½ votes. Ambassador Davis, much talked of as a "dark horse," came fourth with 52. Senator Glass of Virginia and Senator Owen of Oklahoma were the only other candidates able to hold even their own state delegations. The situation had simplified, but it had hardly cleared. The twenty ballots of Saturday had but emphasized the deadlock between the leaders, McAdoo and Cox; the former supported mainly by "Administration" men; the latter, tho not personally antagonistic to the President, having become a rallying point for the "wets" and the anti-Administration forces generally. Mr. Bryan, however, remained uncompromisingly hostile to both. It was necessary to ignore Bryan to reach a nomination.

All day on Monday and far into the night the fortunes of war shifted from one side to the other. On the thirtieth ballot McAdoo once more took the lead, only to fall behind Cox again on the thirty-ninth in consequence of the withdrawal of Attorney General Palmer from the contest. On the forty-fourth ballot Governor Cox stood triumphant. The convention adjourned; postponing any consideration of the Vice-Presidency until the following session on Tuesday.

Governor James Middleton Cox, thrice Democratic Gov-

ernor of a Republican state, owes his nomination in large part to the accident of geography and the nomination of Senator Harding of the same state at Chicago. He is popular with labor, inclined to progressive policies, and is believed to support the Administration on the League of Nations.

## The Republican Campaign

**S**ENATOR Harding will not go out on the stump (or rather on the porch!) until he delivers his speech of acceptance, at the formal notification of his nomination. But he has made a speech already to an audience of one—phonograph. The subject was Americanism and the theme the danger of loss of nationality thru foreign entanglements. Governor Coolidge also made an address by way of the phonograph on the duties of citizenship. Apparently



Paul Thompson

Jonathan Stone Raymond, Jr., Yale class baby for 1917, threw the ball that opened the Yale commencement game against Harvard which was played in the great stadium at New Haven

canned speeches will play a considerable part in the coming campaign.

In order to remove the reproach that the party is financed by rich corporations Chairman Thompson of the Ways and Means Committee has stated that "there has been no contribution to the Republican national organization in excess of \$1,000 and we mean to go on with that limitation." Numerous contributions under the thousand dollar maximum are solicited for the expenses of the campaign. Missouri Republicans have demanded the resignation or removal from office of the state chairman and the national committeeman from that state, accused of accepting money from managers of the Lowden campaign for the Presidential nomination. Ex-Governor Hadley declared that Missouri politicians had received money from managers of Presidential aspirants in the Republican conventions of 1908, 1912 and 1916, as well as in 1920.

Mr. Hoover seems to have made up his mind to support the Republican ticket unconditionally. But he urges the party to adopt a more definite and constructive policy with reference to international affairs. In a recent statement he said that the party should declare for ratification of the Treaty of Versailles subject to the condition that the United States accept no obligation to use military force under Article X of the Covenant. An economic boycott of an offending nation would, in most cases, prove as effective as military coercion:

The League is in being today with twenty-eight nation members, and if we frankly examine its effectiveness in Europe at this moment it will become apparent that the Council is hesitating in attempts to restrain aggression because of the knowledge





Paul Thompson

Former President William Howard Taft and Mrs. Taft at the Yale-Harvard baseball game which was a feature of the Yale commencement exercises

that in the present temper of the world no nation, except those which have immediate and material interests at stake, will furnish a single soldier for its assistance. Yet I do not hesitate to say that a firm moral and economic boycott would stop every war now in progress in Europe.

He scouted the idea that a "new Treaty" or a "new League" could be established by the Republican party if it should assume power next year:

The thing that the public—and even those who have been debating the Treaty—apparently fail to realize is that the Treaty is now in effect and cannot be scrapped, as so many have urged. Europe has regretted, but it has not been waiting upon, the divided mind of the United States. The Treaty, as distinguished from the League, is in large part already executed; the new states have already been set up and their boundaries settled and accepted, except on the Russian front and two or three isolated points. . . . The League of Nations now embraces the membership of many neutral nations, and it is today governing several neutralized areas. Under it commissions are at work on plans of disarmament of the world, international courts, and many other items. Those American statesmen who conceive that Europe will meet our dissensions by abandoning the Treaty and summoning a new world peace conference are entirely ignorant of the European situation.

## Suffrage Prospects Brighten

THE defeat of equal suffrage by the legislature of Louisiana on June 15, coming after the defeat in Delaware and the refusal of the Governors of Connecticut and Vermont to call special sessions of the legislature in their respective states, made the prospects of a nineteenth amendment before November seem very dark. The first ray of sunshine came in the decision of the Supreme Court in the Ohio case that ratification by state legislatures was sufficient to meet the conditions of the federal constitution, irrespective of any provision of state law concerning ratification of constitutional amendments. This removed Ohio from the list of doubtful states since the legislature had already acted and confirmation by a popular referendum was now no longer necessary.

But soon it became evident that the decision in the Ohio case could be used as a precedent in other states. Tennessee had a provision in the state constitution forbidding ratification of a federal amendment by the legislature unless that legislature had been elected after Congress had ap-

proved the proposed amendment and submitted it to the states. The purpose of this law, like the Ohio referendum, was that public sentiment on a federal amendment should be directly tested at the polls. In theory there is much to be said for this point of view, but the practical question was not what is the best method of ratifying amendments to the federal constitution but whether the Tennessee law was consistent with the method of ratification laid down in the constitution as it now is. According to the Supreme Court, Ohio had no right to alter the method of ratification prescribed by the constitution; had Tennessee that right? Assistant Attorney General Frierson considered that the decision in the Ohio case made it possible for Tennessee to ratify this year and so reported. Governor Roberts has summoned the Tennessee legislature into special session on August 9. If Tennessee fails to act favorably there is still hope that North Carolina may save the situation for equal suffrage and for the Democratic party. President Wilson, with some suffrage sentiment to build on, is urging action on both Tennessee and North Carolina.

## The Minnesota Primaries

LOCAL elections are seldom of interest to the nation at large, but an exception must be made of the recent primaries in Minnesota. There was, first of all, a test of the strength of the Nonpartizan League, which has for



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### A GREAT MAN KNEELS TO A MEDIOCRE MAN

It is a curious and to American eyes an unpleasing spectacle to see the famous Oxford scholar, Charles William Chadwick Oman, the historian of the Byzantine Empire and of the Peninsular War, on his knees before a man who owes his position as the ruler of one quarter of the world purely to the accident of birth. Formerly the accolade was delivered in the form of a box on the ear from the hand of the royal master, but King George V, in making a knight of Professor Oman, simply pats his shoulder with the sword of state



many months been firmly entrenched in office in North Dakota and has regarded Minnesota as a destined conquest. The tactics pursued by the League involved an attempt to carry the Republican primaries and thus turn over the Republican organization bodily to the purposes of the League, in the same manner in which Hiram Johnson seized the Republican organization in California in 1912 on behalf of the Progressive Party. But the complete state ticket of the "regular" Republicans was successful. Mr. J. A. O. Preus was nominated for Governor with about 140,000 votes to 120,000 for Dr. Henrik Shipstead, the candidate of the Nonpartizan League. It is very possible that the League will refuse to support the regular Republican ticket in November and will interest itself in the organization of a third party in Minnesota. The Democratic vote at the primaries was small and Mayor Hodgson of St. Paul was nominated for Governor with little opposition.

Another feature of interest in the Minnesota primary election was the defeat of Representative Volstead, the author of the famous Volstead Act for the enforcement of prohibition. The issue was not a clear one, however, as his victorious opponent, the Rev. O. J. Kvale, is also a "dry." No doubt many foes of prohibition voted against Mr. Volstead as a personal rebuke, but Mr. Kvale was also helped by the support of the Nonpartizan League, Representative Volstead having displeased the League by voting for the Esch-Cummins Transportation Act, returning the railroads to private ownership.

Senator Cummins himself, however, emerged triumphantly from the Iowa primaries with about 21,000 plurality over his opponent, Mr. Brookhard. Organized labor opposed the Iowa Senator on the ground that he had advocated the insertion of a compulsory arbitration clause in the railroad bill. In spite of this handicap, however, he won the Republican nomination.

## Villa on the Warpath

INSTEAD of accepting a pardon from the present Mexican Government on condition of retiring to private life the indefatigable bandit, Francisco Villa, has declared open war on the followers of Obregon and de la Huerta. Ten

"generals" and some fifty other officers of the Villista faction have issued a manifesto to the Mexican people proclaiming their intention of remaining in rebellion. This "platform" declares for the restoration of the old constitution of 1857, describes Villa as "the only leader who disinterestedly and patriotically combats and will continue to combat for the welfare of the people and for the reestablishment of constitutional order," and denounces the "treason, intrigue, disloyalty, cowardice and crime" of the party in power. General Sanchez has ordered the military forces in Vera Cruz to be moved to the northern part of Mexico to crush Villa's new movement. A wild story comes from Chihuahua that Villa executed three hundred women recently captured after a skirmish with Government forces.

The Mexican Government announces Congressional elections for the first of August and Presidential elections on September 5. General Obregon, the "boss" of the ruling party in Mexico, and de la Huerta, the nominal President, continue to profess the friendliest feelings for the United States. The new Minister of Foreign Affairs, Miguel Covarrubias, former Mexican Ambassador to London, is reported to be strongly pro-American in his sentiments. The feeling in Mexico appears to be general that in basing their foreign policy on an expected German victory the Mexicans "put their money on the wrong horse."

The mystery of the death of the late President Carranza has not yet been fully cleared up. The official theory now is that he committed suicide with his own revolver, but some of Carranza's partisans refuse to credit this version of the story.

The existing Mexican Government finds encouragement in the fact that the United States has recognized another revolutionary government which seized power at about the same time. The new Guatemalan Government has been formally recognized "as the constitutional successor of the Government of Estrada Cabrera," the dictator deposed in April by a popular uprising. Ex-President Cabrera is now a prisoner and several of his military chiefs have been condemned to death on the charge of having ordered a bombardment of the capital city during the recent revolution.

## Sinn Feiners Kidnap British General

THE most audacious exploit of the Sinn Feiners is the capture and imprisonment of Brigadier General Lucas in County Cork. The General was returning from a fishing trip with Colonel Danford and Colonel Tyrell when his automobile was ambushed by masked men near Rathcormack, five miles from Fermoy. The three officers, talking in Arabic, agreed to make a dash for freedom, but in making the attempt Colonel Danford was shot in the arm. Colonel Tyrell was left with him and General Lucas was carried away to parts unknown. A letter from his captors informed the authorities that he was being held a prisoner of war with all the respect due to his rank. A letter from Lucas followed, mailed at Fermoy, in which he said that he was being well looked after and giving instructions for sending him clothing and letters. But the military have scoured the surrounding country and the aviators have scanned it from the sky without discovering where the general has been hid. His soldiers smashed up the shops of Fermoy and scattered their contents in the streets out of retaliation for the disrespectful treatment of their commander.

The disorders at Londonderry have been brought to an end after a week of street fighting, in which seventeen persons were killed and twenty-nine persons wounded. Several women and children were among the victims.



Underwood & Underwood

Cambridge University in England recently awarded honorary degrees of Doctor of Laws to three distinguished statesmen, the Rt. Hon. Arthur James Balfour, Lloyd George and Mr. Bonar Law





Keystone View



Underwood & Underwood.

#### CIVIL WAR IN IRELAND

A city of the dead is Londonderry, Ireland, the scene of civil war, with no mail deliveries or no vehicles on the streets. In the outskirts of the city British guards search all civilian passers-by

Locomotive engineers and trainmen generally refuse to run trains when soldiers or police get on board. The result is that the tracks are frequently blocked by abandoned cars. The British Government, however, is resolute not to surrender to strikes or terrorism. Lloyd George says:

Lincoln faced a million casualties and four years of war rather than acknowledge the independence of the Southern States and the Government will do the same thing, if necessity arises.

Sir Edward Carson has warned the Government that unless the people of Ulster receive adequate protection from Sinn Fein depredations he will call out the Ulster Volunteers. These are supposed to number a hundred thousand men, most of whom have seen service and are well armed. Since the Sinn Fein forces are equally numerous and determined this would mean civil war in its worst form.

## The Albanian Rising

**T**HE occupation of Avlona and other Albanian towns by the Italian troops and the prospect that the major part of the country was likely to become an Italian protectorate aroused the patriotic fury of the Albanians and incited them to a desperate effort to maintain their independence against invasion from all quarters. A large force gathered around Avlona and on June 11 delivered an ultimatum on the garrison demanding evacuation of the place by the Italians within twenty-four hours. At the end of that time the Albanians attacked from the land side and the Mohammedan part of the population rose inside the town so the Italians caught between two fires were obliged to give way and more than two thousand of them, including a general, were captured. The Albanians persisted in their efforts for several days and at one time came within 300 yards of the shore, but under the shelter of the fire of the Italian warships in the harbor the Italians held their own until reinforcements were brought in. At Alessio, a post farther up the coast, a battalion of Italian troops was annihilated. At Tirana 330 Italians are said to have been taken prisoners and killed out of revenge for the assassination of Essad Pasha. The Italians have been forced to withdraw from all points in the interior and all ports except Avlona. The Italian warships have bombarded Alessio and other places along the coast and demolished several villages.

The report of a few weeks ago that D'Annunzio had captured the Albanian port of Durazzo seems to have been a canard.

Essad Pasha was the most renowned of the Albanian leaders. He was the richest man in Albania and commanded a large following tho accused by his enemies of all forms of corruption and crime. In the Balkan war of 1912 he defended Scutari, the capital of Albania, for months

against the combined siege of the Montenegrins and Serbs, yet he is accused of selling out and surrendering the city to them in the end. When the European powers set the Prussian prince, William of Wied, on the throne of Albania, he intrigued against him till he fell and Essad became the real ruler of Albania. He espoused the cause of the Allies in the Great War and saved the Serbian soldiers from destruction by giving them safe passage thru Albania when they were driven out of Serbia by the Austrians. For his gallant service with the Allies at Salonica he was decorated with the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor by the French General Serrail. The Italians, however, regarded him as an enemy because he opposed their plans in Albania. The young Albanian who shot him at the Hotel Continental in Paris on June 15 had just come from Rome and the Albanians suspect the Italians of instigating the removal of Essad. The new Italian premier, Signor Giolitti, has declared in favor of ultimate Albanian independence.

## Albania and America

**T**HE Albanians like the Armenians appealed to America to save them from national annihilation. In the cable sent to President Wilson and Senators Lodge and Hitchcock the Albanian delegation to Paris said:

Albania, after struggles to recover its liberty and after being deprived of half of its territory in favor of its neighbors, in 1913 established an independent state. Just as Belgium's neutrality guaranteed by the great powers was violated, so was Albania's from the beginning of the war, first by Allied troops, then by enemy armies.

Albania was transformed into a battlefield and knew the horrors of war. It saw itself covered with ruins, and thousands of its children perishing with hunger. At the proclamation of the principle of the rights of peoples, issuing from America, the Albanians took up arms to fight alongside of the Allies in an effort to save their country.

After the Entente victory, which signified the triumph of





THE WAR IN TURKEY

The Greeks, with the coöperation of the British and French, have undertaken to subdue the Turkish Nationalists who refuse to submit to the peace terms and have set up a Government at Angora, independent of the Sultan at Constantinople. Three Greek expeditions have set out from Smyrna to get control of the railroads radiating from that center. They have taken Aidin and Philadelphia and if they can reach the junctions of Afion-Karahissar and Eskisher they have Angora isolated. Panderma, the northern terminus of the road running from Smyrna to the Sea of Marmora, has been in the hands of the Nationalists but they have been ousted by the landing of a Greek force under the protection of the guns of the British warships. The British have held on to Ismid in spite of persistent attacks by the Turks. In the south the French have been driven from Marash to the coast with heavy losses and have consented to a temporary armistice with the Turks.

right and justice, the Albanians . . . had the certainty of seeing the restoration to their country of the Albanian territories incorporated into the neighboring states as a result of the Balkan war. . . . But, instead, they see their country today menaced with dismemberment.

In the application of the secret treaty of London of 1915, Italy insists, with force, upon annexing Valona, with the large hinterland; Greece claims northern Epirus, and Serbia claims the northern part of Albania.

The cry of distress of the Albanian people is smothered by the powerful imperialism of their neighbors. The hope which the Albanians have fixed their eyes upon is America, and from her again they expect salvation. All Albanians prefer American assistance to guide them in their political life.

In January, 1920, the British, French and Italian premiers proceeded to divide up Albania according to the secret treaty of London, but President Wilson interposed in behalf of the Albanians by reminding the premiers that this was a violation of their pledge to make peace in accordance with the fourteen points, the eleventh of which says "the relations of the several Balkan states to one another should be determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance, and nationality and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan states should be entered into."

The protest of President Wilson roused some resentment among the Allies, but was effective in securing an amelioration of the original plans for the partition of Albania. The Yugoslavs set a good example by voluntarily renouncing their share in the spoils, the city of Scutari. The representative of the Provisional Government at Washington, C. A. Chekrezi, expressed the gratitude of the Albanians when he said: "The salvation of my country is due, I do not hesitate to say, wholly to the action of the United States Government."

But the United States Senate, in spite of its professed intention to abstain from interference in European affairs, took action in one of the most delicate questions of the Balkan settlement by passing a resolution prepared by

Mr. Lodge favoring the annexation of Koritza, a district of southeastern Albania, to Greece. According to Albanian estimates nine-tenths of the population of Koritza are Albanian and opposed to entering Greece.

Under the present arrangement more than a million Albanians have been placed under the rule of the Greeks, Serbs and Italians, and in these alienated districts the Albanian schools have been suppressed.

## Greeks Take Philadelphia

THE Greek campaign in Asia Minor starts off with encouraging successes. The first blow was struck on June 25 when the Greek expedition sent eastward from Smyrna took Ala-Shehr, a walled town eighty-three miles from Smyrna and better known to our readers by its ancient name of Philadelphia, the seat of one of the seven churches of Revelations. The loss of the Turks in killed, wounded and prisoners is put at 8000. More than 2000 dead were counted.

From Smyrna as a center the Greeks have also despatched expeditions to the northeast and southeast along the railroads for more than a hundred miles. If the Greeks can secure control of the railroad system of western Asia Minor they can cut off Angora, the headquarters of the Turkish Nationalists, from connection with both the Aegean and the Mediterranean.

The British are coöperating with the Greeks by the use of the fleet in the Sea of Marmora to protect the northern terminals of the railroads. The Turkish trenches encircling Ismid on the landward side have been shelled by the British naval guns and a thousand Turks killed. The British Mediterranean fleet has been brought up the Dardanelles for the defense of Constantinople and the British troops from Malta have landed at Ismid.

The army of Mustapha Kemal Pasha, the leader of the Turkish Nationalists, is said to be largely composed of Anatolian peasants who have been forced to leave their farming and are more anxious to get back home than to fight. Besides the Turks are not so well provided with munitions and other military necessities and being isolated from the outside world they will be at an increasing disadvantage compared with the Greek, British and French forces attacking them from all sides. It is true that the Nationalists have the recognition and favor of the Bolsheviks, who, by their capture of the Caucasus, have completed connections with the Turks, but since the Bolsheviks are themselves short of such material and crippled for lack of locomotives they will not be of much material assistance. Premier Venizelos speaks optimistically of the prospects:

We hope to take all the objectives planned by our general headquarters staff inside of two or three weeks, but if necessary we are ready to increase our army to a half million if the Turks cannot be beaten by less.

It is the greatest pity that we were not allowed to put our troops into action when it was first suggested ten months ago. The situation would have been easier to face, and opposition in certain allied political circles to the present operation against the Turks would not have had a chance to develop. We asked then merely for permission to go ahead, not for troops or money.

But altho the final success of the Allied invasion of Asiatic Turkey may be assured if it is persisted in, the immediate effect is unfortunate, for it affords opportunity and pretext for a general massacre of the Greeks and Armenians who are scattered thru the interior. The Turkish Government at Constantinople, while itself nominally engaged in making war upon the Nationalists who have defied its authority, has protested to the Allies against the occupation of Asia Minor while the treaty is pending.

The Italians who are inclined to be jealous of the extensive territorial acquisitions of the Greeks and British have declined to take part in the military movement. Many of the French take the same view, among them ex-Premier Briand.



# Here Are Books—and Books

## Stories for Summer Time

This summer seems, fictionally, to be one of rest and calm. The war novels have been written; the after-the-war transition novels have been written, and now there is a let down, the atmosphere has grown less tense and earnest. Consequently the vacationist may look forward to a summer of novels which will try neither to stir him unduly nor to move him to accomplish something he does not want to do.

An excellent example of the type is Horace Annesley Vachell's *Whitewash*. The war has dwindled to a convenient device for getting the hero on and off the stage at appropriate moments. The problem of the book is how to convince a charming landed lady that it is better to repair the leaking roofs of her tenants' cottages than to present the tenants with flannel petticoats, and the really vital issue is a love affair. It is pleasant, leisurely writing with some excellent character drawing, particularly in the case of the charming lady, her daughter and her daughter's friend, who are the most important people in the story.

On this side of the Atlantic we have Sophie Kerr's *Painted Meadows*, whose scene is laid in a little southern town in the last decade of the nineteenth century. It is a story of matrimony and it deals with age-old problems, two men and one girl, should the wife or the husband be the weaker vessel, should a widow marry again. It is simply told, effectively, poignantly. The three chief characters are very real. There are several secondary characters with possibilities only half developed, for the author is intent on her main theme, and her details of which there are many, gather round that.

The highest praise you can give an author in these days is to say that his or her book is "thoroly American," from which, alas, it does not necessarily follow that it is an excellent piece of workmanship. Edna Ferber's *Half Portions*, however, wins on both counts. They are stories about people who couldn't possibly live anywhere except in Chippewa, Wisconsin, and the thousand and one towns of which it is a prototype, and who, at the same time, have international human emotions. They are stories with perfectly good plots, but both the plots and the backgrounds exist for the sake of the characters. You become genuinely interested in Aunt Sophy and her millinery business; in Chug Scaritt, the youthful proprietor of the Elite Garage; in Tessie, whose fella went to France; in Old Lady Mandle and her son Hugo; you really care what happens to them, and you are proud of the fact that they are typical citizens of the United States.

Less typical are the citizens and citizenesses in *Affinities*, by Mary Roberts Rinehart, a book of short stories about the smart set and their matrimonial escapades. Mrs. Rinehart always writes entertainingly and she

tempers humor with rare human sympathy and common sense. These stories are just the thing for hammock reading on a lazy afternoon. And in spite of herself Mrs. Rinehart couldn't help leaving one or two thought-provoking sentences about in them.

Ben Ames Williams's *The Great Accident* is a story of middle western small-town politics which somehow just misses being good. By a political joke a young and rather wild lad is made mayor of his home town. He makes a plucky fight to fill the job, and tho he himself is rather too fond of a drink, to make the town dry in fact as well as in name. It is a perfectly good idea and the characters are interesting enough, but the author seems to be a little bit tired; it all needs to be keyed up to a higher pitch.

Speaking of authors being tired, you seldom meet one who is less so than Virginia Woolf. She seems to write for the pure joy of it; she is so interested in some people she knows that she wants you to know them too, she is so fascinated by a particular atmosphere that she wants you to share its charm. The only modern who enjoys the technic of his work in a similar degree is Joseph Hergesheimer; but the results of their enjoyments are different as the poles. *The Voyage Out* is about some English people on their way from London to the little island of Santa Marina off the coast of South America, and then of their life on the island, in a villa and the hotel. There is an almost perfect description of being at sea, a vivid picture of the tropical island, an extremely clever one of the hotel. It is delightful writing; you don't want to skip a

single word until the last quarter of the story, when one character after another begins to have unreasoning impulses and to minutely analyze his or her emotions after the manner of a Dorothy Richardson or a May Sinclair heroine. The story is strangely lacking in construction: It has neither beginning nor end nor single point of view, but it is thoroly interesting, a distinctly unusual book.

*Whitewash*, by Horace Annesley Vachell. George H. Doran Co. *Painted Meadows*, by Sophie Kerr. George H. Doran Co. *Half Portions*, by Edna Ferber. Doubleday, Page & Co. *Affinities*, by Mary Roberts Rinehart. George H. Doran Co. *The Great Accident*, by Ben Ames Williams. The Macmillan Co. *The Voyage Out*, by Virginia Woolf. George H. Doran Co.

## Youth Will Be Served

Only twenty-eight men in the senior class at Princeton answered, No, to the question, Have you ever kissed a girl? put to them in the yearly compilation of vital statistics; and when you read *This Side of Paradise* you can well believe it. This first novel, written by a very recent Princeton graduate and dealing largely with Princeton men, has not been enthusiastically received by the university. The chief objection, however, is not the picture of the modern girl but to its description of Princeton as "the pleasantest country club in America" and to the author's callous manner of making copy of all his friends and acquaintances. That, to the non-Princeton reader, is rather beside the point and as for the atmosphere of the college Mr. Fitzgerald adds to the country club "spires and gargoyles," the moonlight on Holder tower, walks and talks and friendships. The book is well written and its picture of modern



THE PRODIGAL SON

Illustration of a shadow play given at the Chat Noir, famous cabaret of Montmartre in Paris, from Helen Haiman Joseph's "A Book of Marionettes," published by B. W. Huebsch. "The Chat Noir has an art of its own," writes Anatole France, "that is at once mystic and impious, ironical, sad, simple and profound, but never reverential." Here have been given comedies, spectacles, military epics, oratorios, mysteries, Greek scenes, burlesques and pantomimes



youth is so obviously founded on solid fact that Victorian mamas are likely to be quite upset by it. Part of the story is thoroly amusing; part of it goes deep into the serious thoughts and desires and ambitions of its hero-author; in the last third he dives so deep that he gets well over his head. Amory Blaine is conducted thru a curious childhood, boarding school, Princeton, the war, which, inexplicably, affects him not at all, a year or two in New York and numerous love affairs to a point where he exclaims, "I know myself," but the reader doubts him.

*This Side of Paradise*, by F. Scott Fitzgerald. Charles Scribner's Sons.

### Daisy Ashford's Latest

"The Young Visitors" was the most popular book which ever came from the pen of a nine year old girl. It is a consolation to find that there are other stories from the same author. *Daisy Ashford, Her Book*, contains a preface by Irvin Cobb, four novelets by Daisy Ashford and a story by her sister Angela. Tempted to violate the copyright act and defy the high price of paper by quoting half the book we will content ourselves with a single paragraph from "A Short Story of Love and Marriage" written (or rather dictated) by Daisy Ashford at the age of eight:

The strong and bold bridegroom wore a red swallow tailed coat, with a green silk sash tied in front. He had black knickerbockers and white woollen socks, and black dressing slippers, and he carried a bowler in his hand. When they arrived at the church the marriage was splendid, but the bare legs of Burke were not much appreciated.

*Daisy Ashford, Her Book*, by Daisy Ashford. George H. Doran Co.

### Snapshots of Hell

*Now It Can Be Told*, by Philip Gibbs, is war journalism at its best and grimmest. Perhaps it should rather be called post-war journalism, for it contains many details of horror, discouragement and bitterness of spirit in the front trenches which were not written up during the war lest the narrative weaken the morale of those who read it. Now that everything can be told, Mr. Gibbs omits nothing. Not only the butcher shop of battle but the rats in the trenches, the seas of filthy mud, "trench foot," poison gas, boredom, passionate resentment against the blunders of generals and politicians, half-confessed fears before the attack, rotting corpses, madness—everything that makes modern war sordid or hideous is set down unsparingly. The indictment of war is written in the same spirit as Barbusse's famous novel *Le Feu*, or Sassoon's war poetry, and with as much literary skill as either.

Mr. Gibbs' emotional reaction to the horrors of war fuses the miscellaneous details of the book into a powerful picture of the whole. His intellectual reaction is not so clear. He admits that it was necessary to beat Germany and yet, somewhat inconsistently, rails against the diplomats, statesmen, jour-

nalists, ministers of religion and others in places of power and safety for encouraging the war to continue until the Germans were beaten. After all, the only way to win the war was to go on fighting no matter how dreadful and disgusting the fighting might be, and if the common soldier was doing his duty so were President Wilson and



Sir Philip Gibbs he is now; this English war correspondent who set down with patience and compassion a chronicle of how the British soldier lived—and died

Premier Lloyd George. But even if Mr. Gibbs does not always think clearly, he can always describe clearly what he has seen and known and for the reader of his book that is the important fact. And everyone who is inclined to take war either as a matter of course or as a glorious experience should read this book.

*Now It Can Be Told*, by Philip Gibbs. Harper & Brothers.

### Just a Good Story

*The Strong Hours*, by Maud Diver, is an interesting story about some interesting English people before and during the war. It is in no wise a remarkable book; there are a good many pages of it which bear skipping, but those are chiefly the pages in which Miss Diver describes scenery, an art in which she does not excel. The story is a good one, there are plenty of likable people, some of them very skillfully drawn. Miss Diver has a liking for dramatic and emotional scenes and she does them well.

*The Strong Hours*, by Maud Diver. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

### A Freudian Novel

All the young novelists seem to be taking to psycho-analysis nowadays; some tactfully like Rebecca West in "The Return of the Soldier," some bluntly like Beresford in the present volume, *An Imperfect Mother*. The latter reads like a case book on the "Oedipus complex," a typical case, all the stigmata present and accounted

for. The cure also results from the orthodox treatment. The young man is freed from his excessive love for his mother as soon as he has been forced to recall the psychic traumatism of infancy. But in spite of the author's effort to get everything right according to Freud it is not a bad story.

*An Imperfect Mother*, by J. D. Beresford. Macmillan Co.

### The Same Old Locke

W. J. Locke used to write about impossible things so that you wished they were true. He lost the art some half dozen novels back but, in *The House of Baltazar*, he is beginning to regain it. The book is a fantastic tale of an impulsive, dynamic genius who, living in seclusion and disgust with the world, knew nothing of the war until it had been going on for some two years. Mr. Locke's prolific powers of invention have crammed into the book not only an exceedingly active plot, but enough material to make, if developed, at least three interesting psychological novels.

*The House of Baltazar*, by William J. Locke. John Lane Co.

### "A Clear and a Sincere Soul"

Poignant with the beauty that is bought with death is the verse in *Poems* by Gladys Cromwell, who with her sister Dorothea, after doing war work in France, jumped from the deck of the "Lorraine" just a little over a year ago. Three months later, the two sisters were buried in France with military honors, and the French Government awarded them the Croix de Guerre and the Médaille de Reconnaissance française. Unconsciously perhaps, but truly, Gladys Cromwell voiced her fate in her poem, "The Extra."

THE EXTRA

Sheltered and safe we sit.  
Our chairs are opposite;  
We watch the warm fire burn  
In the dark. A log I turn.  
Across the covered floor  
I hear the quiet hush  
Of muffled steps; the brush  
Of skirts;—then a closing door.  
Close to you and me  
The clock ticks quietly.  
I know that we exist  
Two entities in Time.  
Our vital wills resist  
Enclosing night; our thoughts  
Command a truth above  
All fear, in knowing Love.  
But a voice in the street draws near;  
A wordless blur of sound  
Breaks like a flood around:  
"Trust not your hopes, for all are vain,  
Trust not your happiness and pain,  
Trust not your storehouses of grain,  
Trust not your strength on land or sea,  
Trust not your loves that come and go,  
Trust only the hate of the unknown foe,—  
War is the one reality."  
Are we awake or dreaming?  
On the hearth, the ashes are gleaming.  
Listen, dear:  
The clock ticks on in the quiet room,  
It's all a joke, a poor one, too.  
Or else I'm mad! This can't be true?  
I light the lamp to lift the gloom.  
My world's too good for such a doom.  
One fact, if nothing else, I know,  
I'll die sooner than have it so!

*Poems*, by Gladys Cromwell. The Macmillan Company.



## Bad Housekeeping in My Ward

(Continued from page 37)

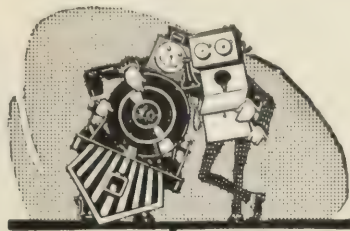
for him to submit to the quarreling and pawing, and whispering in his ear, of bailiffs and lawyers and policemen. For the grist *must* be ground and the judge cannot wait; tomorrow he will have another grist, and in the afternoon of today he must hold court some place else. Here again a live civic conscience would not endure so intolerable and dangerous a sore in the community. But do the good citizens in their fine houses, or who ride by in their fine limousines, *feel responsible* for the police station? Hardly—indeed few of them probably have ever taken enough interest to know anything about its true nature. If they knew, they could hardly escape pangs of conscience that men and women should be confined in its horrible cells, or brought to dock in such a place.

There are two or three famous Social Settlements, in or near the ward, each doing a great intensive good work—they have often been beacon lights that have led the way in such matters as playgrounds, and making real Americans out of swarming immigrants. But somehow here also distrust exists; for the “best people,” and indeed a large part of the public generally, have come to feel doubtful of the good they do. For the settlements, especially since the war, are under suspicion; I state simply a fact. Some years of life in social settlements, now long enough past to give a bit of perspective, has left a great respect for the work they have done in focusing other microscopes than mine, and long before it, on civic problems. But “social workers” look down on those not engaged in professional reform; and the outside world abundantly returns their contempt.

We might search further, for the ward has much of interest still. But have we not come upon the touchstone of our problem in the utter lack of a sense of civic responsibility on the part of the everyday man and woman? Even the best of us say in a plaintive voice, “Why if I vote—what more can I do?”—forgetting that defensive tactics never won a battle. Our sense of sacrifice and of service is deep and abiding in matters which touch our families, or which touch our country; but as for our community, oh! that is a different matter. We must have some recompense, some reward there; we must hold office or have a public contract before public service can be expected of us. Virtue is its own reward—everywhere but in good citizenship! Is it not fair to say this? Is it not true? Is it not true to say our sense of public service is sicklied o’er with the ferment of self interest? Has not the acid test of distrust eaten deep into the life of the body-politic? I think it has.

What is the cure? Well our problem was to analyze and not to answer.

Chicago, Ill.



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So when we think of a railroad only as a means of transportation, we do not appreciate its pioneer service in spreading the use of one modern improvement after another—not the least of these being electrical apparatus.

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## The Human Touch

(Continued from page 38)



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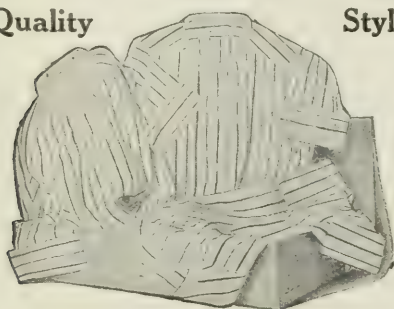
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requires a stupendous lot of conversational laughing gas to extract a perfectly healthy dollar from a victim and to make him believe it doesn't hurt! I feel as tho I'd taken a post-graduate course in the science of Understanding. I've become such a competent judge of people—at least, financially—that I can almost tell, by looking at a man's feet, just how much he's going to contribute.

I wonder if you know the big, jolly, generous looking fat man, who is waiting for his "luncheon date" to arrive, and proceeds to entertain himself by telling me of all the charities to which he belongs. He thinks mine is just splendid. (It's the A. T. C. P. drive this time.) Why, money means nothing to him, except to give away. And while he's talking, he drops something in my box "unconscious like;" and the casual listener, hearing the coins clink on to the others, as they fall thru the narrow slot, would be impatient for evening to come to count the money, feeling sure that he's put in a gold piece or two. But I know better. I can tell, by the way he holds his fingers over the opening, that he has slipped in two pennies, and I smile gently, as he leaves—abruptly. His "date" has come! Then as he walks past my booth on his way out, I pretend never to have seen him before, and ask: "Don't you want to give to the poor of New York?" just to hear his answer. He smiles—first at the lady, who toddles at his side, trying to keep step with him, and then at me—and he has such a melting "pleased-to-meet-you" smile—and he says: "Don't you remember, Miss, I just contributed?" And I can't help wondering which one of them is going to pay for the lunch!

Then, while I'm still half angry and half amused, I see looming up before me two sumptuously arrayed daughters of Eve. One of them is swathed in baby lamb and chinchilla, and the other in Russian sable, and birds of paradise have found a home in the waves of their luxurious hair, hair grown blonde in service. As they come closer I hear the clinking of mesh bags against vanity cases, a mingling of "Chypre" and "Ambre Antiques" is wafted toward me; and I quickly recall my ready-to-wear smile, and ask the driveworn question. As my lady parts her soft, red lips to answer I am at once struck and blinded by a dazzling gold tooth, and fairly asphyxiated by a whiff of Spearmint, as in dulcet tones she tells me: "Dearie, I have *did* all I can!" "Oh, blessed Father, alike of the New Poor, and the "Nouveau Riche;" why didst Thou so misplace Thy gold?" Money covers such a multitude of grammatical errors.

But, just because this is all funny—in a way—don't think that every person left a laugh in my memory. Some of the drives had more tears in them than most everyday hearts could stand. It wasn't very funny when a

splendid, glorious-looking boy in khaki came up and said he wanted to give me something for the Red Cross; and asked me to take a dollar out of his left hand coat pocket. I thought it a bit queer, and started to say something, jokingly, about his wanting to teach me to pick pockets, but the words never reached my lips, because, as I looked at him more closely I realized that the sleeves of his coat hung loose and limp at his sides—both of them empty. The poor boy saw the look of pain that must have shot across my eyes, and he smiled, a rather tired but courageous smile; the smile of youth that's dead, of wounded hope; and he said: "It's darned good of you to care so much, Miss, but it's really not so bad. I still can dance, you know, if I can get a girl to lead me. I just can't ever play on my fiddle again, that's all." And when I said nothing—only because I *could* say nothing—he asked again: "Do take the money, won't you? I want to give it to you. Those Red Cross girls were angels!"

It's not surprising that we won the war, with boys like that to fight for us!

And then one day, and on another drive, a wrinkled little lady limped towards me, and she handed me a very old and thin gold watch. "Please, to give this to the Salvation Army." I begged her to keep it. I tried to convince her that they would appreciate her thought quite as much as the gift. But she insisted: "Don't refuse to take it, child; it's all I've got and I couldn't sleep nights if I thought I hadn't given something to the Salvation Army." So you see I had to take it. I tried to thank her, but one can't say, thank you, for a gift like that.

By way of contrast take the day the Sun Flower Club gave a jubilee luncheon in the hotel. I gazed fascinated at the little darlings (the youngest of whom must have been at least forty-nine) as they tripped gayly past me, in starched white frocks (this was January); and out of the flutter a big broad Britisher appeared, stalked up to me, and said: "I beg pardon, Miss, but may I sit next to you? I'll buy a hundred dollar bond from you if you'll let me stay and watch the baby parade go by. I'm sorry I can't afford any more; because this is really the rippingest show I've ever seen! Gad, but they're all done up like sore thumbs, aren't they?" And you say the English haven't a sense of humor!

And it was during the Boy Scout drive, I believe, that the dentists' convention met. Ivory specialists' (as George Ade would say) poured into the hotel from all over the country. An earnest looking lot. One tooth doctor came up to me and handed me five dollars. He said he was very glad to give the money to the Boy Scouts, as he had several of his own at home. And then he proceeded to tell me that what he really gave me the money for was to know what kind of tooth paste I used. Can you see the "cat-that-



swallowed-the-canary" expression that crept into his face when my answer told him that the particular make in which I indulged was the same as he advocated for his own patients? Then he said: "I thought so," gave the Scouts another five dollars, and was gone. And I never stopped smiling till the convention packed its false teeth and were scattered over the globe again.

Then followed the "Braid and Trim-mings" convention, and the "Ready-to-Wears," and the "Fillum Magnates," and the "Daughters of Mississippi" and the "Sons of Oklahoma!" And each put a daub of color on my futur-ist's "Study from Life." Even the hon-est looking young liar, who told me he had but a few months more to live, and then asked me to cash a check for him. I wondered, afterwards, when I'd been told he was a fraud, and when the cashed check came back marked "no funds," why I had trusted him. I don't think it was just his being in khaki and that my sympathies were played upon; I believe it was because, among other things, he told me he had four platinum ribs, and as I was contem-plating the resetting of a ring at the time, I knew how expensive his inside was. But it was all in the game—and all a part of the day's drive. The drive which seems never ending. For wars may come and wars may go, but drives go on forever.

New York

## Do You Want to Go Hungry?

(Continued from page 35)

Frequent rains interfered with plant-ing and made it impracticable to uti-lize such labor as was available to the best advantage.

Even under these handicaps, how-ever, the farmers can plant a larger acreage than they can harvest with the available labor. The greatest diffi-culty, therefore, is to be expected at harvest time. If the weather during the remainder of the season should be favorable and crops should be abun-dant, it will be absolutely necessary for the farmer to have more outside help than is now in sight. It is highly im-portant, therefore, that industries other than agriculture should spare, for a short period during harvest, men who have had farm experience and who will be willing to aid in gather-ing the crops. Industrial plants which discontinue their operations for a period each year should, so far as is practicable, see that their shutdowns are made during the harvest season in their localities, thereby relieving labor at a time when it is most needed on the farms. Unless this is done, great loss of matured crops may result and will be keenly felt by consumers next winter.

I have recently made two sugges-tions to chambers of commerce and other commercial and civic bodies in cities. The first suggestion is that each look into the problems of the truck-ing areas around its own city. Each city has, in this regard, a problem that



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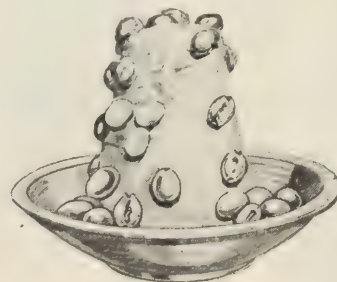
They will take the place of pastries, sweets, etc., if you serve them all day long. And at meal-time they will make whole-grain foods tempting.

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is somewhat different from that of any other city. The United States Department of Agriculture is doing what it can toward the solution of these problems but our advice and our aid must necessarily be of a general sort. Frequently, not even the state agencies can give to them the close attention that a local organization is in position to give. Each organization knows the extent to which the food supply of the city in which it is located depends upon the trucking areas immediately surrounding it. It knows, or by conferring with the truck growers may know, the peculiar labor problems that have to be met. It can go far toward solving them if it will give them serious consideration—and I think all will agree with me that the matter is worthy the attention of any organization.

The other suggestion is that everything feasible be done to add to the comfort and convenience of the men of each community who may be induced to spend their vacation in helpful farm work. Arrangements might be made, in many instances, for the men to go out in groups of, say ten or twelve, or even fifteen or twenty, using their own automobiles or other machines secured for the purpose. Camps might be established in which the men could live, and they could be made comparable in comfort, convenience and pleasure to hunting camps. The men probably would perform no more strenuous physical work in the fields than most men do in a hard day's hunting. With the camp available, they would be certain of a comfortable relaxation period at the end of the day's work. In other words, form groups to go out this season and establish "harvest camps" instead of "hunting camps."

Seasonal farm work of this kind gives college students and city men an opportunity to earn good wages during their vacation period. The camp system would give them the additional opportunity of securing a good wholesome, recreating vacation. Many business and office men would probably undertake special farm work under an arrangement such as this, with acquaintances making up the camping party, who would not enjoy it under ordinary conditions. These suggestions, if acted upon, will bring temporary relief.

The existing drain of industry upon farm labor must not be permitted to continue, however, and it is the mutual problem of all to locate the fundamental problem and help solve it. The answer lies somewhere in the neighborhood of "Make farming sufficiently attractive from both a financial and social standpoint, to attract and hold a sufficient number of our people upon the farms to give us a proper balance in population between the cities and the country."

Washington, D. C.

I kissed her tempting ruby lips,  
An act quite diabolic;  
For since I stole those honied sips  
I have the painter's colic.

—Pelican.



## Independent Opinions

Dear Sir:

The Republican platform in five words:

Damn Wilson; Dodge the Issues.

Very sincerely,

WM. P. ATKIN.

All Americans are not so deaf as the Senators to the piteous appeal of Armenia. If the United States assumed the mandate for Armenia offered by the Allies it would not be necessary to send any unwilling soldiers for enough gallant young Americans would respond to the call to provide the temporary force for the maintenance of order in the new republic. The Armenians in America say they could raise 5000 to 10,000 from their own population and besides there are others who would go to the rescue of Armenia if they were only allowed to as the following letter shows:

At this critical moment, when the people of Armenia are abandoned by those governments which should be their protectors, many soldiers in Camp Devens would like to have a way opened to them as soldiers for going to the relief of Armenia. The motive which animates us is one of pure chivalry. The idea of aiding Armenia is in the air, but it needs to be crystallized into action. A campaign of meetings and agitation should be started at once. Many

soldiers in Camp Devens (and probably in other camps) are anxious to go to Armenia, but Congress refuses to back us. Without some kind of public support we can do nothing.

EDWARD H. JAMES,  
Private, 36th Infantry.

Camp Devens, Massachusetts

Dear Sir:

Why not a Pollyanna ticket, with the motto, "the greatest happiness of the greatest number"? I suggest:

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Vice-President—Congressman Bland.

Secretary of State—Speaker Thaddeus Sweet.

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Secretary of Agriculture—Ruffin G. Pleasant.

Secretary of Commerce—H. Nelson Gay.

Secretary of Labor—Owen R. Lovejoy.

Yours truly,

O. B. HAPPY.

We commission our correspondent to prepare forthwith the Campaign Glad Book.

## Kaiserdom Again?

(Continued from page 39)

publican to a monarchical form of government, not to tell of a single return of the German people to monarchy, where monarchy means such virtue, strength and progressiveness?

"We are the sane party in the state, the other parties the insane ones," a junker relative wrote to me on this head. "We take our stand on the firm ground of human experience and nature, while the Democrats and Socialists are leagued to nothing more stable than inflated theories about economics. Put your question about, my dear cousin. Ask if the people will come back to us."

The argument that the trend of the times is against them is met with in a spirit of calm assurance. "Who knows better than we?" they ask.

"What is the trend of the times? We have been facing and managing so-called trends of time in Prussia for centuries. After the Napoleon wars we lent efficient aid in stemming the flood tide of revolution thruout the north of Europe. In 1848, we dammed the tide of republicanism in Germany. When the tide of social democratism arose in the empire and we saw it could not be stopped, we diverted it to the uses of the state. Have our hands lost their cunning because we hoisted puppets into the seat of government to bear the odium of signing an ignominious peace? Or will a time arrive instead when the Fatherland not only, but the whole world, will turn to us as the one existing group skilled and intrepid

enough to master a trend which, this time, is one that threatens to overflow civilization and disintegrate all its social structures?"

Morally junkers are unbent. No sense of repentance over the past oppresses them. A minority affirm they would have won had the people backed them enough; the rest say stoically: "A great war was lost; poverty and social discord have ensued, as they ensue in all cases of unsuccessful wars. Against this one failure on our part remains the record of a long succession of victories. Moreover the end is not yet." Their attitude is one of poise. To the factions opposing them none of their offenses is more irritating; tho many are the individuals who despite everything feel a certain pride over the Fatherland possessing a body of men capable still of world-defying arrogance. It is the self-confidence, the solidarity and known competency of junkers as a political group and adversary, that disturbs them. For it is a maxim of political science that when an inter-group struggle takes place as is occurring in Germany between the bourgeoisie, the junkers and the laboring classes, that that group gets the upper hand in the long run which is the best organized and the most competently led, the period between being characterized generally by the emergence on top first of one group and then of another, for a brief space of time.

At present, the burgher group is in

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# THE INDEPENDENT

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New York

control of the government, but it is a heterogeneous mass, quite lacking in a developed sense of group loyalty, as distinguished from factional loyalty. The Moderate Socialists in it have undergone discipline only as Socialists; the Centerists, discipline chiefly as Catholics, while the record of other factions has been one of veering opportunely from the liberal to the conservative side. None of the parties had any experience of the democratism to whose flag they resorted in the after-crisis of the war. As a fighting body, the coalition is devoid of any element of *esprit de corps* except a sense of the need of common forbearance. Its leaders are unversed in the practise of government and strategy on a large national scale. They are dependent on precedence or the advice of officials of the old régime in international affairs. The coalition attitude is one of wary shifting.

A psychical power of passion that could fuse the bulky group into a compact mass is wanting to it. Spiritual force has served in other cases to transform revolutionaries into an efficient combative force vehement both in purpose and power, as witness the citizen group in France a century ago and the Reds in Russia. But this force seems to be only evoked where there are accumulative stores of wrath; and, as junkers know, there exists no ancient stores of resentment in the hearts of German burghers against Kaiserism.

Ardor of wrath, due to an idea of injustices to be avenged, is the possession of the Left, the Independent Socialists and Communists. This group is small comparatively, but it counts more as a potential fighting power, in the eyes of junkers, than the big middle group. The units composing its core, besides being inspired by fierce passion, are disciplined and imbued with a spirit of group loyalty. It is the only group of the three whose ideas have been narrowed to a clear-cut purpose. The purpose is the speedy imposition of pure socialism on the country by any means whatsoever.

The situation, as seen by junkers, is thus one of simplicity; over against them are two groups, an end group seething with morose passion, impatient of politics and eager for bodily combat, and a middle group whose chief concern is the passive one of holding its dominance by holding together. Every day, out of a feeling of uneasiness over the aggressive attitude of the Communists, individuals desert the middle group for theirs; or, out of misery, march over to the Communists. It is never the other way about; the big middle group gets no accretions. "Democracy secured us peace with the Allies, yes," the deserters say, "but that was long ago. And the peace pact itself was poor enough. Since then democracy has done nothing but try to bind us with promises, while license has been replacing our old German order." And on returning into the ranks of the junkers' conservative flag, it is ten to one that they



are not reflecting on how they had always been told that the boasted freedom of democracy is another name for license and rule by the majority, a rule by nobody. Their leaders are doubtlessly honest and clever men. But they are feeble rulers. It is only a monarchy like the old one that can restore kultur.

And the junkers, whose prevision caused these ideas to be inculcated into the minds of people, and who still put out propaganda of the same nature, see the time coming when deserters from democracy will include sophisticated men in hosts. For thousands of property owners are among the burgher parties, and should the Communist group appear about to win, they would join in a flight to the militarist junker camp.

Communists made their first attack directly the new government was first established. And so early as then, junker chiefs had the satisfaction of beholding it make a tactical mistake. For tho it was without the prestige of royalty, it treated the insurgents with royal rigor, so turning what was a handful of individual mad theorists into revengeful leaders, who built up a party at its left.

Then in December, 1919, Democrats published their "program," a tactical mistake in respect of the time chosen; since the mutinous working classes were being held in leash mainly by the promises of their (majority) Socialist colleagues of socializing industries, and the program demands coöperation in industries. "The socialization of the means of production in the sense of their gradual acquisition by the state would be a fatal bureaucratization of industry," it declares. And with what dynamic results!

Ignorant as the masses are of the shifting balance of power in coalition cabinets, inept even at distinguishing the democratic party from their so-called democratic government, and, sticking in the old conception of government as a single-minded power, they mistook the program for something like a fiat which extinguished their hopes of a new order of things and left them subject to capitalism, something they hate worse than militarism.

On January 13, enraged workingmen were assailing the Reichstag. The Government had them repelled and decimated by arms; then declared the situation in Germany cleared; and correspondents of the foreign press in Berlin, who had failed to report the issue of the program or to perceive its connection with the riot and its probable enduring effects, so cabled to the outside world! My junker correspondents described the situation as "volcanic."

Here again is another point in which junkers enjoy an advantage over their opponents. Their own secrets are impenetrable; whereas they can command sources of information on every side. The army department is under the tutelage of royalist officers, many of whom have refused to

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give their oath of allegiance to the Government that is, vowing only to serve "the state." The civil departments are likewise full of adherents of the old régime, the coalition not having trained men enough of their own to replace them; and many of the officials, having also refused to take an unmodified oath, feel free to blab. Scores of entirely oath-free informants of prime value were released to their group furthermore when the Government abolished the office of Landrät (county governors). The act deprived them of office. But it did not, and could not, deprive them of their knowledge of the best agents, ways and means of collecting information about men and affairs in provincial town and rural districts. They were the ears and the eyes of the crown. Ah, it is only foreigners who can belittle the resources of junkerdom, even in its eclipse!

I, who lived in its midst for years, felt shaken when I received a note on the fifth of March from one of its members, asking me to sell certain precious objects in my keeping and to reserve the money against "a critical moment;" a moment I understood to mean when she should need funds outside the country. For the few hurried lines said further, "We are nearing a social cataclysm, taking an extreme form against the better situated classes."

On March 13 occurred the *coup d'état*. On the same day, radicals seized local governments in various parts of the country, manufacturing plants and villages.

The end groups had fallen simultaneously upon the middle, or government, group! Was there connivance between the two? My conjecture is that there was not. The intimation I received of the pending revolution and peril threatening the better situated classes implies, in my opinion, that the junker party had obtained information of a projected radical rebellion, and had determined to act on its own part. The leaders expected civil war to be the result of the clash, and had therefore advised defenseless members of their caste to provide themselves with means for escaping from the country. This interpretation finds support in the visit which General von Lüttwitz paid at the war department in Berlin on the eve of the *coup*, in which he is reported to have warned the ministry of the urgency of the situation, and then wound up the colloquy with a "Here's where I quit your sloppy mess."

Royalists would have punished his impudence and treason with instant arrest at any cost. The Coalitionists let him depart, took counsel among themselves and fled. They had put down the insurgency of workingmen with ruthless bloodshed; before the threat of insurgency on the part of a junker general they lost their nerve, a fact which reactionaries laugh over, but which workingmen have written in the score against them.

Lüttwitz took possession of the for-

saken seat of government on the following morning, at the head of troops, and established a civilian confrère as chancellor. A "proclamation" was then issued announcing a new régime, and among other things it invited the friendship of the Independent Socialists; one is justified in thinking either for the purpose of deterring these enemies from acting, or of dividing radicals by arousing suspicion against this portion of their Communist group. Whatever the object, the diplomacy was of no avail. The news of the capture of Berlin by junker troops had already maddened radicals into precipitate action and workingmen on their side were capturing what local seats of government they could and establishing soviets. The civil war which junkers had apprehended was thus getting under way when activities were stopped on both sides by the response to the fleeing government's appeal for a general strike.

Junkers had been unable to imagine high dignitaries of state resorting to this weapon of proletarians. Indeed, Herr Ebert set up a new landmark in history by doing so. But his appeal was effective only because the leaders of the labor group had been summoned on the night of his flight to a secret council held in the ministry in Berlin, and had there given their consent to it, for the purpose of checkmating the junkers and of getting concessions for their own party. When Ebert ordered the strike ended, his order was not obeyed; the rank and file of Communists holding out to obtain more and new concessions.

So the junkers in the end had the grim pleasure of seeing the leaders of the middle group again forced into straits and commit another error. Then it wiped out the concessions which it made but could not grant, in blood, shed in the towns of the Ruhr basin, by troops, some of the regiments of which were the same that had marched into Berlin. On the whole, their first skirmish (as junkers call the *coup*) was quite worth while. It disconcerted the plans of the radical group, disclosed the timorous feebleness of Ebert and his ministers to the world, put to the test the feeling of the country, and accelerated a diminution in the size of the middle group.

What they wait for is the dissolution of this latter group. They expect to see dissolution begun by it yielding so much to the radicals, pressing it on the opposite side, as to finally scare every conservative at heart out of its midst. Then, when but the one rabid adversary is left on the field, and the issue cleared down to Communism against Monarchism, the struggle to the death will begin. Junkers harbor no doubt how it will end.

"It will end with a Hohenzollern on the throne and the Germans all united and reconciled by the assurance that he will give them what he promised before the crisis in the war—the freest, most progressive country in the world."

Woodridge, N. Y.



# The Independent

## Just a Word

We feel entitled to give another crow over our handling of the Democratic Convention. The delegates at San Francisco prolonged their debates beyond all precedent, as if on purpose to spite us, and yet we were able to give in our issue of July 10, which went to press on the very day that Governor Cox was nominated, not only a news narrative of the convention but an editorial by Norman Hapgood on the significance of the nomination. We were, of course, unable to give you an appropriate cover, but we have it for you this week, and with it Mr. Harold Howland's first-hand account of what happened at San Francisco, Mr. Donald Wilhelm's sketch of the personality of Governor Cox and Mr. Richard Boeckel's impressions of Assistant Secretary Roosevelt of the Navy. In short, we think we have done quite as well by our Democratic readers as we did by our Republican readers when we handled the live wires from the convention at Chicago.

## Pebbles

He—What would you do if I should kiss you on the forehead?

She—I'd call you down.—*Tar Baby.*

"Waiter, I say, this soup is cold."

"Shouldn't be, sir; this is the third time that soup has been warmed up today."—*Blighly.*

E. M. Gooding writes in to ask "How much wood alcohol would also haul if Alcohol would haul wood alcohol?"—*New York Globe.*

Tom—They say your divorced wife has made up her mind to marry a struggling young lawyer.

Harry—Well, if she has made up her mind, he might as well cease struggling.—*London Opinion.*

Scout Bill (on a summer hike)—Say, Jack, let's divide our rations.

Scout Jack—Let's. I have a canteen of water.

Scout Bill—And I have dried tongue.

Scout Jack—Now that you have had your share of the water I'd like a bit of that dried tongue.

Scout Bill—I haven't got any now.—*Boys' Life.*

When Lo, the Poor Indian, suddenly found His blanket too short at one end  
He sat down to think in a manner profound  
Of a way the said shortage to mend.

He studied and fretted around quite a while,

Till of wrinkles he had quite a crop;  
But at last he arose with a triumphant smile

And whacked a piece off the top.

Then with a sly nod of his crafty old head  
He grunted and said, "Now me gottum;  
Poor Lo go and gittum a needle and thread  
And sew that piece on to the bottom!"

We laugh at poor Lo in our cynical way,  
Yet I dare say he reasoned as well  
As those who expect frequent raises in pay  
To keep up with the H. C. of L.

—*Indianapolis Star.*

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CHRISTOPHER MORLEY Mr. Bryan is the Balaam of the Democratic donkey.

TOM MIX—I believe every girl should be brought up on the Western plains.

MRS. WARREN G. HARDING—I am content to bask in my husband's limelight.

WALTER CAMP—There has been a lack of interest in the spring football practice.

ELEANOR GUNN—An envelope chemise and a nightgown that match have unusual charm.

EDNA KENT FORBES—I do not think it is vanity that keeps a woman in front of her mirror.

FANNIE HURST—When I got up this morning the day was the color of cold, unskimmed soup.

M. L. BLUMENTHAL—A mother's idea of a tremendous achievement is one accomplished by her son.

LINA CAVALIERI—The number of your freckles depends greatly on the color of the veils you wear.

QUEEN MARIE OF ROUMANIA—If a queen goes around shabby and red-nosed it makes a great deal of difference.

LUKE MCLUKE—A clean shave would do more to improve a woman's complexion than cold cream and powder.

NORMA TALMADGE—Don't make any mistake about it—we have it on those early Victorian maidens considerably.

ROY K. MOULTON—The trouble with some laundries is that instead of cleaning the collars they only sharpen them.

PRESIDENT A. LAWRENCE LOWELL—The man who knows what he wants and how he means to get it is very apt to succeed.

FRANKLIN P. ADAMS—Most of those in the profession of making good people better and bad people good, make most people tired.

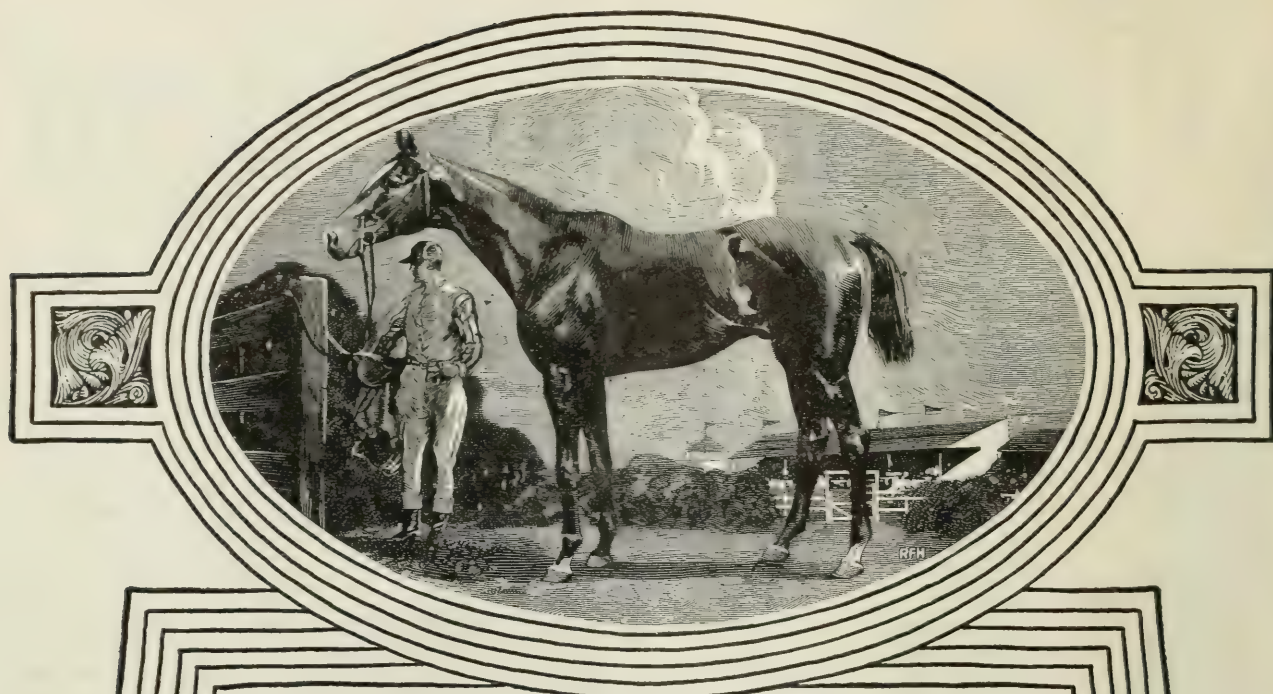
BISHOP JOHN COLE MCKIM—As a Catholic, I am necessarily opposed to propagandist teetotalism and consequently to prohibition.

CORINNE LOWE—Your golf score may be poor, but your piazza score is apt to be excellent if you choose a crepe-de-chine for the country club afternoon.

THEDA BARA—Anybody who has watched the toil of motion picture acting would know that a vampire on the screen simply couldn't vamp off the screen.

FRANK B. GILBRETH—There should be a national law that all enclosed stairways should be painted completely white on the entire ceiling and down to the floor.





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# The Independent

July 17, 1920

## You Can Lead a Donkey to Water But the Jackass Won't Drink

By Harold Howland

THE story begins when the "Unterrified Democracy" emerged from its nine days of conventioning and its forty-four ballots at San Francisco the unprejudiced observer would have said that its single purpose had been to give a flawless imitation of the Republican performance at Chicago. Oh, there were differences—just about as much difference as there is between your right hand and your left. Lift up your two hands and you will see what I mean. They are identical except that one faces north and the other faces south. Each has a thumb where the other has a little finger. Each a palm where the other has a back. But thumb varies from thumb, finger from corresponding finger, palm from palm only in that indescribable and mysterious quality of oppositeness. Einstein and Doctor Slosson tell us that if we only had access to the fourth dimension we could turn one hand into a precise replica of the other. It is exactly so with the two conventions. They are as alike and at the same time as opposite as your two hands. But if you have access to the fourth dimension of the mind, the sense of humor, you can turn either one of them inside out and make a duplicate of the other. The trouble is that the great sacred unwritten law of political conventions is: Sense of Humor—if any—leave at the door.

Hence it is, that a gathering of a thousand presumably human beings can solemnly draw up for utterance to a waiting people the document known as a party platform. In it they not merely intimate but boldly assert that everything that their own half of the community ever did was marked by wisdom, high-mindedness and efficiency, while anything that the other half of the community has ever done was an act of folly, perfidy and bungling ineffectiveness. Of course it is bunk and the men who write

it ought to know that it is bunk. But I suspect that they don't entirely. Partizan politics have a curious effect even upon straight thinking minds.

There was plenty of that balderdash in both the platforms. But cut it all away and the startling similarity of the remainder is apparent. Try an experiment, get some one to take out of both platforms the planks on any given subject, let him cut away all references to either party, leaving only the bare bones of what the party adopting the plank is supposed to believe. Mix the bones, pick out, and tell whether it is Republican or Democratic. You can do it on the tariff—but no one cares a fig about the tariff now. You can do it about the Philippines, because the Republicans say nothing about them. But I do not believe that you could do it on the planks relating to labor, the farmer, free speech, taxation, cost of living, suffrage, Mexico, economy, national budget, or practically anything else. The Democratic platform is better written, clearer cut, more outspoken, but they both stand for the same things. Except on the League of Nations. There the Democratic platform means just what Mr. Wilson means, the Treaty and the Covenant entire and unchanged, and the Republican platform means nothing.

The Democrats, like the Republicans, had their platform fight. It lasted five days. Unlike the Republicans they let it get out of committee on the convention floor. But the Republicans did not have Mr. Bryan to deal with. Mr. Bryan was the chief disturbing element, as Hiram Johnson and his fellow irreconcilables were at Chicago. There were two main points at issue, the League of Nations and prohibition. From the first Mr. Bryan wanted something different from the 100 per cent endorsement of the Wilsonian achievement and position which the administration



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Action speaks louder than the platform





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The opening of the Democratic Convention at the Civic Auditorium in San Francisco, which the author describes as a flawless imitation of the Republican performance at Chicago

supporters had written at length into the platform. His proposal was a curious one calling for a constitutional amendment permitting the ratification of a treaty by the Senate by a majority vote. Bryan fought for it by tooth, nail and other weapons all round the clock in the resolutions committee. He got nowhere with it there. Then he brought it to the floor in a minority report and unloosed some old-time oratory in its behalf. But Bainbridge Colby, quondam Rooseveltian and now Wilsonian Secretary of State, was there apparently for the sole purpose of spiking any attempt to weaken the administration's League plank. In a speech of masterly effectiveness he opposed the Bryan proposal. Some of his phrases are worth recording. "The Republican party looks upon a platform as an inexplicable survival of some political legend." "There is a great main current of wisdom wiser than the wisdom of any one man." He spoke of the "intellectual lockjaw" acquired by men who debate a subject for months to no conclusion. He referred to "little men who know more than there is to know." His climax on the League went something like this: "Mr. Bryan has said that the President brought back a better treaty than we had any right to accept. He said that he brought back a better treaty than any other man could have gotten. For God's sake then ratify it." Bryan and Colby are perfect contrasts as orators. Bryan always speaks in an alpaca coat. Colby leaves the impression of having been dressed in an immaculate London morning coat. Bryan's appeal is emotional. Colby's intellectual. Bryan strives to convert, Colby to convince. But both are masters of their craft.

Carter Glass, the administration chairman of the resolutions committee, also took a fall out of Mr. Bryan in a speech marked by irascibility and a voice worn to shreds by three days of fighting in committee. Then the convention decisively voted Mr. Bryan down and his quaint League proposals.

The prohibition question came before the convention from two opposing angles. The administration wanted to say nothing about it. The "wets" wanted to declare in favor of wine and beer. Mr. Bryan wanted a plank demanding that there should be no increase in the percentage of alcohol permitted in beverages. In committee they could not agree. So the silver-tongued orator of the Platte and the silver-haired orator of Tammany Hall, Bourke Cockran, came before the convention to argue for their respective planks, dry and wet. They were titanic efforts, both speeches, but the convention preferred the administration's plea "to keep the subject out of politics." They voted "a plague on both your houses," defeating the wet plank two to one and the dry six to one. All the other planks presenting a minority report demanding independence for Ireland, soldiers' bonus, a government newspaper, jail for profiteers and denunciation of compulsory service in time of peace were defeated by acclamation.

The administration platform went thru without the change of a word. It was demonstrated that Mr. Bryan's influence in the councils of the Democratic party had almost reached the vanishing point. What a contrast to 1896 when the "cross of gold" speech gave him the first of three nominations and to 1912 when at Baltimore he fought Tammany Hall to a standstill and made Woodrow Wilson president.

The platform fight proved that the administration's leadership of the convention was unquestionable. At least two-thirds of the delegates were ready to back the President in whatever he wanted if they could only find out what it was. Up to the point where the selection of a candidate began they had no difficulty in discovering. The "administration crowd" pointed the way step by step. They led a docile donkey straight to the water. But then for some reason, whose mystery could probably be solved only behind the inscrutable front of the White House, they took their hands off the bridle and quit. The beast for four days stood planted there in perfect asinine immovability. Then head down and tail in air it wheeled and dashed in the opposite direction.

The convention having by a two-thirds vote turned down the "wets" proceeded at the end by a two-thirds vote to nominate a "wet." It was proposed during convention week to substitute the rooster for the donkey as the Democratic emblem. They would better stick to the jackass.

The naming of the candidate was also reminiscent of Chicago. It was the triumph of the professional over the amateur. It was one more practical demonstration of the truth that men demand leadership. Without leaders they go nowhither. Give them good leadership and they will follow, provided it is skilful, human and single-minded. Lacking such leadership they will follow the bad, for the bad is always skilful, human and single-minded. So it was at Chicago. So it was at San Francisco. There were differences but they were slight. At Chicago the leadership ultimately triumphant was reactionary. At San Francisco it was "wet." At Chicago the candidate was chosen by "ten men in a hotel room at 2 a. m." At San Francisco the candidate was chosen by four men in a hotel room at French Lick Springs a month before. The Chicago choosers were United States Senators Lodge, Wadsworth, Brandegee, Smoot, and the rest. At San Francisco the choosers were State Bosses Murphy, Taggart, Brennan and Nugent. I don't know which group you prefer. For my part judging by the fruits of their leadership I find precious little to choose.

There were three chief candidates at San Francisco, Palmer, McAdoo and Cox. Two of them were close to the administration, the third close to the state boss group. One was Mr. Wilson's Attorney General, one his son-in-law and the "whole works" in his war administration, one the Governor [Continued on page 90



# How You Can Help Italy

A Message from the Italian Government to the American People

By Francesco Quattrone

Acting High Commissioner for Italy in the United States

**A**LARMING reports have been published recently in several American newspapers in regard to the labor and economic situation of Italy, altho all of these reports have received an emphatic denial which the American press in general has been very eager to publish.

Unfortunately, for reasons beyond control, news concerning Italy sent here for publication, is compelled to pass thru other channels and this offers the opportunity for its distortion, sometimes thru lack of knowledge of the correspondents, sometimes, thru the influence of a group of financial and industrial interests that strongly believe the conquest of the Italian market to be exclusively made for their benefit. In this way, sensational statements prepared in European countries, are cabled to the United States for the simple purpose of discouraging that spirit of industrial and commercial collaboration existing between the United States and Italy, which, in the long run, no matter what may be the political intrigues, will be the principal factor in the work of reconstruction of Italy and in the solid program of future business relations between the two countries.

The exchange situation has been the subject of a great deal of pessimistic news in regard to the internal situation of Italy. Switzerland, some time ago, was paying twenty-five centimes for the lira; America four cents; England two and a half pence; and France, probably more generous than others, or perhaps by reason of her difficulties, was paying seventy centimes. On the twelfth of last April the exchange situation was so critical that Italy had to pay 26.64 lire to the dollar (normal rate is 5.17). At that time it seemed to everybody that Italy could not possibly get a dollar for less than thirty lire. Before the windows of an American bank, supposed to be friendly toward Italy, some of the responsible clerks were discouraging the buying of Italian exchange because in a few days the situation would have been such that with one dollar forty lire could be bought. Even the U. S. Bulletin of May 3, sent confidentially in circulation, speaking of the labor situation in Italy, stated the following:

This revival of radical activity in Italy will most certainly influence the exchange rate of that country and depreciate the lira. One with commercial interests should watch these events for a drop in the Italian exchange rate.

The Italian exchange rate on May 3 was 22.20. The astrological knowledge of the U. S. Bulletin, fortunately enough for Italy, has been given a flat reaction by the financial market which on July 3 was quoting 16.22.

Students of this matter are frequently asked by other people to decide if such reports are put in cir-



The Saturday Westminster Gazette

The Laocoon

ulation by the American press as a consequence of lack of knowledge of the real conditions in Italy, or of aprioristic views more or less encouraged by private interests. It is very difficult to answer these questions, but these facts deserve a very careful consideration and people spreading news of this kind must be at least more careful than they have been, unless their ultimate purpose is to encourage Bolshevism, not only in Europe, but also in this country.

I must frankly admit that during the rush hours of the war, and also during the time following the ar-

mistice, everybody was more than eager to get supplies of raw materials. Such supplies in war time were necessary to win the war, and necessity knows no law. When the armistice was signed, everybody thought that in order to come sensibly to normal conditions, the principal basic commodities of every industry and commerce had to be secured; rush and impulsiveness were in both cases the determining factor when orders for supplies were placed in the foreign markets. This reason, quite apart from other banking speculative purposes, must account for the *sensible and artificial drop* in the Italian exchange. But even this drop has had the most beneficial effect on the minds of the Italians, because they kept cool, and the Italian Government, working with the collaboration of banking, industrial and commercial Italian concerns, established discipline in the purchase of materials in foreign markets.

New marked improvements in the exchange situation are expected as is shown by the fluctuations in exchange of the lire from April to today.

On account of lack of raw materials, during the war, Italy had to build siderurgical industries, notwithstanding the lack of coal and basic material, thus creating a passive factor in her economic rehabilitation; but there have been already marked improvements in the metallurgical and mechanical industries, which will prosper in Italy not less than in any other European country.

Italian labor will help greatly in this direction.

The Italian Embassy and the Italian Delegate for Financial and Economic Affairs in this country have given out from time to time statistical data regarding the financial situation of Italy. I do not need to repeat the series of facts, but only to remind you that Italy, whose rapid reconstruction has been delayed to a great extent by the lack of coal, which due to existing conditions in Great Britain and in the United States is still given to her not in sufficient quantity, has a potentiality of 5,000,000 horsepower of hydro-dynamic force of which up to 1918 24 per cent. [Continued on page 94



# James Middleton Cox

By Donald Wilhelm

**T**HE leading question now is, Harding or Cox? And Coolidge or Roosevelt?

In any event we know that the next President will be an Ohioan. We also know that he will be a business man, the first, as we define one these days, to serve in the White House. And we know that he will be a newspaperman, the first among the multitude of those who have served in various high offices, to enter the White House.

Soon we shall vote. "A vote," insists George Creel, "is about as thrilling a thing as one can conceive of. But the only elections in which there is any real feeling are those in which we all get drunk on political partizanship." Soon, then, we shall all have got drunk—on political partizanship—or on energetic and protesting efforts to thwart it. Then one night we shall go home victorious or feeling—to use the vernacular of baseball—as if we had started out like winners and ended up, like Philadelphia. Then Mr. Harding, or Mr. Cox, will enter the White House, to be looked over appraisingly by the servants there, while Congress, which is an entity with rather feminine susceptibilities, will gather up her skirts and seat herself in her high chair on Capitol Hill, to look appraisingly upon the new occupant of the White House. And meanwhile the rest of us will also look, and ponder, and realize once more that politics is exegesis—that the man we elect to the White House has as his responsibility the business of interpreting us to ourselves and to the rest of the world. Day by day the newspaperman is engaged in gathering from the tumult of world affairs such order as he can. The next President must confront tumult and such complexities as no preceding President has confronted. Perhaps it is a salutary thing, then, that the next President was trained, not in college, but in grappling with the complex realities of the newspaper world. Nevertheless, even while all the world waits expectant at the White House gates, no doubt the next President, newspaperman tho he be, will wake and ponder what a shut-in place the White House is, how few pyrrhic victories there are for its occupant, what a prodigious job is handling the big stick and making copy for a col-



umn four years long—a column of synthesis and exegesis, a column of interpretation, by which we and the wide world and the changing years to come judge a President and ourselves.

Then, since we have tried—as well as this poor pen can scratch on scarce white paper—to understand what manner of man is Mr. Harding, let us meet Mr. Cox!

First a word about him physically—for of course when you meet a man his physical person describes no little of his character. Behold, then, a vigorous individual with a certain eagerness in his quick step and smile. He is exactly fifty years of age, but he seems hardly more than forty, perhaps because, if you can read a face aright, he loves the good things in life, loves its everlasting challenge most of all, perhaps because of the hours he spends in the saddle and that month or so of each year that he spends with his boys in the woods. And when he meets you—of course the manner of a man's demeanor toward fellowmen defines one—he displays a capacity of acquiring intuitively a knowledge of men and surroundings; indeed he has the gift of making each acquaintance feel that each offers to him a revelation of personality. In a word, it seems the common verdict is that he is attractive—he challenges your interest, whether you are friend or foe and whether you are one or the other does not discount you. It was characteristic, it did not come as a shock, for him to say, the evening after he was nominated, to the homefolks of Middletown, Ohio: "I am from the life of the common man. I feel I am a representative of that class." Again, it was characteristic of him to settle back one day with his personal Ohio friend, Judge, and former Congressman, T. T. Ansberry, and take from his wallet an old and precious promissory note, for \$10,000. It was made to the order of Paul J. Sorg. It bears 118 endorsements, each representing payment of principal or interest. It is dated February 14, 1898. And it represents the loan with which the payee bought the *Dayton News*. Six years later he bought the paper that is now the Springfield



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Governor and Mrs. Cox



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Governor Cox was born on March 31, 1870, in the red brick homestead, shown above, at Jacksonburg, Ohio. Today he and his family live in a beautiful country estate near Dayton called Trail's End, altho it is possible that the end of the trail is not there



*News.* He established a news service. And now he is a wealthy man, whereas, before February 14, 1898, he had been merely farmer boy, country school and high school boy, teacher, reporter. His career is founded on an act of friendship; it is no wonder he can be a friend.

In 1908 he was elected to Congress, wherein he had served as Congressman Sorg's secretary. He served two terms, and served on the important Committee on Appropriations. In 1912 he was elected Governor on a reform ticket. He sent for Professor Charles McCarthy, a pioneer in the reorganization of state governments, who also framed the bill creating the Federal Trade Commission. Mr. McCarthy says, exclusively for publication here:

In 1913 Mr. Cox sent for me. He asked me to outline a plan for the reorganization of the state government of Ohio. I did so. He looked over the plan and the bills I drafted. "That's all right," he said. "But if I pass this program thru, I will be defeated for reelection. On the other hand, if I am defeated I will be reelected, for I know that when the people have time to think they will realize that this work is good."

He put the program thru successfully. Mr. Bryan himself said in a speech before the Pennsylvania legislature, May 13, 1913: "Look at Governor Cox of Ohio. There's a reformer who asked thirty-six reforms and got thirty-six." He was defeated, his reforms lapsed, he was reelected. He is the first Democrat to serve three terms as Governor of Ohio—Mr. Hayes, the only other who did so, a Republican, progressed to the White House. Incidentally he achieved an enviable war record. In Volume 60, of the *Forum*, incidentally, he tells what the State achieved.

The writer's guess is that he is not so wet as he has skillfully let many wet ones think. Without any equivocation he has expressed his disgust with the officeholder who does not enforce existing laws.

He is open-minded, apparently, about the League. He



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Governor Cox is a good friend, fond of his family and his home, and a great sportsman, his favorite horse being called The Governor

said emphatically, at the Jackson Day banquet, that our boys did not go over the top with reservations, but since then he has even advanced a suggested reservation by which we might withdraw from the League.

Anent Labor, when in Congress, with respect to measures affecting labor, his attitude, and Senator Harding's to date, is reflected in the following votes:

Cox—Favorable, 2; unfavorable, 0; paired unfavorably, 0; not voting, 9.

Harding—Favorable, 7; unfavorable, 10; paired unfavorably, 1; not voting, 9.

However, a high executive officer of the Ohio Federation of Labor telegraphs, in

answer to an inquiry on the part of the author:

The Governor has consistently refused to use the militia in industrial disputes. He used his influence to pass the Ohio workman's compensation law, the mine-run law, the fifty-four-hour-a-week law for women, other similar laws. He demanded from the Federal Government representation for labor on draft boards and appeal boards and gave labor adequate representation on the Ohio Council of National Defense.

Also, it is pointed out, he enforced pre-war legislation affecting women and children during the war, when many Governors did not. And it is nevertheless common knowledge that he has proven in the long run to be a successful and practical friend of industrial peace.

The farmers liked his conduct of affairs affecting them. As far as one can gather from farmer organizations he is on their honor roll, with a knack for getting people from cities to farms and a passion for all "Own your own home" programs.

In no instance has he conflicted with woman suffrage organizations.

He is an excellent public speaker, a "whirlwind" campaigner—a fascinating and worthy competitor of that other distinguished Buckeye journalist, Senator Harding.

Washington, D. C.

# All the World Likes a Roosevelt

By Richard Boeckel

**F**RANKLIN Roosevelt is young. His youth, and the friendliness that is a part of it, are the most striking things about the Democratic Vice-Presidential nominee. He is as friendly as an Airedale pup and young enough to want to look older.

Talking with Roosevelt, you may be impressed with other things about him, but the thing that will strike you first is his youth. He is thirty-eight, but fine frank eyes, wavy hair and an athletic build make him appear to be much younger. There is a story that when in college he washed his hair with ammonia water to make it grey. If he did, it withstood the treatment admirably.

There was only one among the business executives who came to Washington to assist in running the war

with whom Roosevelt found it impossible to get along. He was a tall, dignified gentleman of the age of thirty-four, but looking at least forty-five. Roosevelt confesses that envy of this man's prematurely grey hair may have had something to do with his aversion.

He always has believed that his youthful appearance was a handicap in the working out of his political career. He may have changed his mind on this point, however, since San Francisco. An astute politician, he may have foreseen his nomination, but no one else in Washington did and his actions at the convention would not indicate that he expected it.

Undeniably his name had something to do with his success. The country bears a good will toward the name of Roosevelt. There is a feeling that all the Roosevelts are made of the right stuff. The Republican branch of



the family, which is the more numerous, is not a little chagrined to think that the Roosevelt name is to be made a talking point by the Democrats in the solicitation of votes.

What was the relationship of Franklin Roosevelt to the Colonel? Was he a fifth or second cousin to the great man? Does he in any way resemble T. R.? These are the questions most frequently asked about the Democratic vice-presidential nominee.

His father, James Roosevelt, was a fourth cousin of Theodore Roosevelt.

The daughter of his half brother, James Roosevelt, is the wife of Theodore Douglas Roosevelt, a nephew of Colonel Roosevelt.

His wife, Anna Eleanor Roosevelt, was the daughter of Elliot Roosevelt, the only brother of Colonel Roosevelt.

Figure out the relationship for yourself. Roosevelt, himself, when asked the question direct, says he is a "distant relative" of the former President and adds that the relationship is "too complicated to explain—almost too complicated to remember."

Colonel Roosevelt gave his niece away when she married into the Democratic branch of the family. So much he did for the younger Roosevelt, but no more. In politics he gave him neither assistance nor instruction. What he knows about politics—and the presence in his office of an eight drawer filing cabinet containing names and histories of all Democratic appointees in the State of New York indicates he knows a great deal—he learned for himself.

Newspaper biographers of Franklin Roosevelt have pointed out an analogy between the careers of the younger Roosevelt and his "distant relative" and have asked the question, "What next?" There are points at which the career of the younger Roosevelt duplicates that of the former President, but in personality, temperament, interests and methods the two men were utterly different.

Both graduated from Harvard. Both began their political careers at Albany. Both served as Assistant Secretary of the Navy just prior to foreign wars. Both received Vice-Presidential nominations largely in recognition of their war service, the one in the field and the other at Washington. So far the analogy holds.

To Franklin Roosevelt it is the simple life and not the strenuous life that appeals—altho he has been strenuous enough in politics. He likes sports, hunting, tennis, auto-mobiling and sailing off East-port, Maine, but does not give much time to them. The most of his time after office hours is spent with his youngsters, one daughter and four sons. He and Mrs. Roosevelt attend only those social functions that are inescapable.

Like Governor Cox, the head of the ticket, he boasts that he is a practical farmer. It is not an experimental farm or a war garden he maintains near Hyde Park, Dutchess county, New York, where he was born, but a farm that raises crops and lots of them.

"This high cost of living is getting to be a serious problem," he admitted to a labor leader pressing for higher wages for navy yard workers during the war. "The other day I went over with Mrs. Roosevelt the prices she has to pay for food. They are ridiculous. Something should be done. It is getting so that a man with five children and eleven servants can hardly live."



Keystone View.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

It turned out, however, that the most of the "eleven servants" were farm hands.

It was a farm issue—whether there should or should not be standard sizes for apple barrels—that led to Roosevelt's election to the State Senate at Albany. He ran as a progressive Democrat in a district that had been represented in the Senate by Republicans for twenty-eight years, and was elected by a narrow margin by farmer votes. He was then twenty-eight years old.

Entering the Senate he forgot all about apple barrels and launched into a war against Tammany during his first week in public office. William Francis Sheehan was Tammany's choice to succeed Chauncey M. Depew as a member of the United States Senate. It looked easy, and there was a smile on the face of the tiger when it first heard of Roosevelt's opposition. However, with the assistance of nineteen other members of the legislature, Roosevelt blocked Sheehan's election for sixty ballots and on the sixty-fourth another candidate was chosen.

Roosevelt's ultimately successful fight brought him "into the news" immediately and gave an impetus everywhere thruout the country to the struggle for a constitutional amendment for the direct election of United States Senators. For nearly ten years Roosevelt fought Tammany unceasingly. Only his nomination to be Vice-President brought a truce to the war that is certain to be renewed whether the Democratic ticket is successful or unsuccessful in the fall.

Several times Tammany moved for a truce by offering its support if he would become a candidate for Governor of New York. Each time he refused the offer and turned closer attention to the sport of routing Tammany men out of federal jobs.

In the Democratic convention at Baltimore in 1912 he fought Tammany and Tammany was defeated when Woodrow Wilson was named the party's standard bearer. In the Democratic convention at San Francisco he fought Tammany, but Tammany won. Tammany on the morrow of victory bears no malice—particularly when it is politically unwise to do so. It forgave him the fist fight that developed when he wrested the New York standard into a demonstration for Wilson in violation of Tammany orders. It forgave him his persistent opposition to Cox, who was Tammany's favorite. It forgave him all his past and agreed to his nomination to be Vice-President. [Continued on page 91]



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You may be impressed with other things about Roosevelt, but the thing that will strike you first is his youth



Fifth article in The Independent's Industrial Series on the big plants that are finding a successful answer to the problems of labor unrest

# Can the Leitch Plan Fall Down?

By Professor John R. Commons, of the University of Wisconsin

In collaboration with A. P. Haake, O. F. Carpenter, Malcom Sharp.

Jennie McMullin Turner, Ethel B. Dietrich, Jean Davis, John A. Commons

THE Cabinet and Senate at the plant of William De Muth & Company, manufacturers of smoking pipes, hold their positions by virtue of their experience in the business. The Cabinet is composed of the chief executives of the company; the Senate of the foremen and heads of departments. The House of Representatives is the only elected body, elected by the employees by secret ballot, approximately one representative to every thirty workers. The only qualifications for membership in the House are ability to speak and understand the English language, employment in the works for at least one year, and "on the level."

The United States Government, on which the De Muth plan is modeled, has no provision for collective bargaining. But when the De Muth House of Representatives began to talk about wages the Cabinet replied that they could increase their wages by increasing production, since increased production would increase the collective-economy-dividend.

John Leitch had not worked out an accounting system to back up his collective-economy-dividend. The company did not know for any month just what the increase in efficiency or collective savings had been, and was obliged to approximate the amount every two weeks. The employees finally detected this defect and lost their zeal for speeding up. But, at first, it worked. The first employees' dividend was 6½ per cent. As high as 17½ per cent was paid. Contests were worked up between departments, the prize being a large American flag. A department winning the highest efficiency honors the third time in succession was dined by the other departments. The losing departments began to put pressure on the loafers and slackers. A committee was appointed by the House to work out a penal code for careless, tardy and shirking workers. "You are stealing my dividends," said the worker to the shirker. The latter were gradually squeezed out.

Yet the company, at the end of two years, could not say definitely whether or not industrial democracy had reduced the costs of production, altho convinced that under the old system they would have had a much more rapidly rising scale of wages and the other difficulties suffered by other firms.

No plan of industrial government that we have found has accomplished more in the way of increasing the output than the John Leitch plan of industrial democracy and collective-economy-dividend. We saw in a previous article in this series that it had almost doubled the efficiency of the workers of the Packard Piano Company. But the limit had apparently been reached at De Muth's in the summer of 1919 when it had added something less than 50 per cent to wages.

Yet the cost of living had gone up 80 per cent.

The workers at De Muth's could see about them in

In The Independent of July 3 Professor Commons described and analyzed the success of the Leitch Plan as it worked out at the Packard Piano plant. Here he discusses another aspect of the plan and draws some important conclusions.

Brooklyn and New York that other workers had increased their wages 80 per cent, even 100 per cent, without increasing their efficiency and without industrial democracy. Somebody in the House of Rep-

resentatives suggested an increase without waiting for a further increase in the economy-dividend.

But the remarkable success of industrial democracy smothered the suggestion. About that time the company printed a statement of one of the representatives elected by the workers. He said:

I have seen industrial democracy in operation at this factory for the past two years, and the main reason I am for it, heart and soul, is because I know that thru it I can always get a square deal.

When a man in my department has a grievance, he comes to me and tells me about it and he knows that I will take the question up at the next meeting of the House of Representatives, and consequently the foremen in the Senate and the "bosses" in the Cabinet will know about it. They will act on it one way or another and my experience has been that every question has been settled fairly.

Before we had industrial democracy a man with any cause for dissatisfaction would most likely keep it to himself or tell the other workers about it. Perhaps the manager would be too busy to listen to him, so he would nurse his grievance and very likely he would quit. Industrial democracy prevents just such little troubles before they get big.

Nowadays at the plant you never hear a foreman urging the men to get on the job. There is no need for it. We all know that by doing our best all the time we are increasing our own dividends. Now whenever a man "knocks off" early, comes in late or takes a holiday, it is the other men and women workers whose dividends he is lowering. Before industrial democracy was put into effect, it was every man for himself; now, it is all for one and one for all. I have been in this shop for twenty years and I have never seen the desire to cooperate with the other departments and help the other fellow out so strong as it is now.

Years ago if a worker had a grudge against the foreman he would probably lay down on the job whenever he thought he wasn't being watched; but that is a thing of the past, for whatever complaints a man has are now always quickly settled in a way satisfactory to everybody.

And another thing. Industrial democracy has proven that some of our men had, stored up in their minds, ideas for new machinery and other labor saving devices; but they kept these plans to themselves because they were not sure of the reception they would be given by the management. Now, a man with a good idea knows that not only will his suggestion be welcome, but that if practicable it will be rewarded. In our plant today, labor and time-saving machinery invented by the men is lowering the costs, increasing production, and thus earning dividends.

Industrial democracy has given us our say in the management of the shop; it has reduced our working hours per week from fifty-three to forty-eight; it has given us insurance; it has given us a lunch room where we can get good meals for twenty cents; it has made this shop a bet-



ter place to work in; it is teaching English to our foreigners and helping them to become Americans; it has taught us that the firm has troubles and worries just the same as we have, and that by working and coöperating together, we all benefit.

That is what I think of industrial democracy as I see it at the De Muth plant and I think that all of the nine hundred workers here agree with me.

This was in the spring of 1919. Each one of the four cornerstones and the capstone of Leitch's Industrial Democracy—Justice, Coöperation, Economy, Energy and Service—apparently was solid and in its place. But wages were not keeping up with the cost of living.

Really, it was too much to expect. If every factory and firm in the United States had adopted industrial democracy and doubled its output, prices would still have gone up, if the world's supply of gold, paper money, and credit instruments had more than doubled. We know that all of them did not adopt industrial democracy nor double their output, and so, much less than double the supply of money and credit was needed to double the prices.

Industrial democracy at De Muth's might have sailed triumphant had John Leitch grasped the currency situation. As it was, when someone suggested an increase of wages, he only answered the House of Representatives in effect: "See what you have already done. You have increased your earnings 50 per cent and reduced your hours from fifty-three to forty-eight! Industrial democracy is no longer an experiment. You have it in your own power to increase your earnings 70, 80 and 100 per cent. And see the service you have rendered to society. You have increased earnings 50 per cent, but society is not compelled to pay any more for smoking pipes on that account. The labor-cost of a pipe has not increased. Keep it up. Raise your wages 100 per cent, but do not force us to raise the price of pipes."

The House of Representatives could not answer this appeal. The Representatives were silenced. Democracy was a success, and they knew it. But somehow, democracy was not keeping pace with the cost of living. Other places without democracy were keeping pace. It was puzzling. Other places were even doing better. In the clothing trades, immigrants like themselves, Jews, Poles, Lithuanians and a dozen nationalities, had gained forty-four hours a week, and much more than 50 per cent increase in earnings.

The acquiescence of the House was bringing it into discredit. Representatives were taunted. They began to drop out of the meetings. Mistakes had been made. In 1918 twenty-five men in a certain department desired an increase in wages. An outside agitator was urging them to strike, but they submitted their case to the House. A committee of the House investigated. It denounced the twenty-five, charging that they were "absolutely unfair in their demands." The

## Next month—Why Mary Smith wants to work at Filene's

House accepted the report. The company published it as a triumph of "industrial democracy." It was really a "handle" for the trade union organizer.

While the House was dormant on the wage question the union organizers were at work. The union promised action and results. Workers began transferring their allegiance to the Smoking-Pipe Workers' Union, not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The House was spurred to action. This time it was the forty-four hour week. The spokesman of the company in the House denounced it as Bolshevism and gave high praise to the American Federation of Labor and Samuel Gompers, who, he said, stood for the American forty-eight hour week. The "Bolshevists" were voted down.

But this did not end the discussion. The House again broke silence and demanded both the forty-four hour week and 20 per cent advance in wages.

The company came forward with a compromise. They would grant the forty-four hours. By economy, coöperation and efficiency, as much could be produced in forty-four hours as in forty-eight hours. Former reductions in hours had actually increased the output. So would this.

But the 20 per cent increase in piece-rates would compel the company to increase the price of pipes to society and this was contrary to the capstone, service. Besides, society would buy less pipes. This meant less work. This meant unemployment and less earnings. No. The employees must earn their increase in wages by greater production and thus maintain the capstone, service.

A deadlock followed. The union gained. Industrial democracy was set aside. The strike began. The company countered with a lockout. The union came to the aid of the strikers with strike benefits. Then, after six or seven weeks, the other companies ordered their employees to stop support of the De Muth workers. Then the general strike.

The De Muth Company resumed after two weeks of lockout. Many of the old workers returned. The union claimed that one-third had quit for good. The company claimed that it had eliminated the undesirable element.

Industrial democracy was resumed, with few changes. The minutes of the meetings are now posted in the shop. Each employee is given a copy of the plan and required to sign a pledge to abide by and uphold industrial democracy. No person not speaking English and not a citizen, by fact or declaration, is employed. A 12½ per cent increase in wages is granted.

It is no reproach on industrial democracy that it should have failed to cope with the jumping cost of living. Democracy, autocracy, collective bargaining, all of them fail, when  
[Continued on page 94]



The De Muth plant is organized after the manner of the United States Government, with a Senate composed of foremen and heads of departments and a House of Representatives elected by secret ballot, there being approximately one representative to every thirty workers. Believing in the Leitch plan of collective bargaining, these groups thresh out the employee's differences with his employer, the latter being represented by a Cabinet which is composed of the chief executives of the company





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### Another Fighting Roosevelt

Like his distinguished kinsman the late Theodore Roosevelt, Franklin Delano Roosevelt was educated at Groton and Harvard, began his public career in the state legislature, was Assistant Secretary of the Navy and became nominee of his party for the Vice-Presidency. Mr. Roosevelt was born in Hyde Park, Dutchess County, New York, on January 30, 1882, the son of James and Sarah Delano Roosevelt. The Roosevelt family is of Dutch origin, having come to this country in 1648



# The Usefulness of Legends

By Norman Hapgood

**M**EPHISTOPHELES, in Goethe's *Faust*, says something to the effect that if we get tangled up in our facts and ideas it should usually be possible to catch hold of some words that will do as well. Americanism is a word that has earned its salary recently. Law and Order is the phrase that can usually be relied on in a crisis to make people lose any interest they may have had in the facts.

Calvin Coolidge has a rather good record. As Mayor of Northampton, in both branches of the state legislature, as Lieutenant-Governor, and as Governor he has been a careful and honest performer. Moreover, he is said to be dominated by Mr. Murray Crane, one of the soundest political observers, probably the soundest, in the Republican party. Crane is in a way the Colonel House of the conservatives. It is a good thing that Coolidge takes his advice.

But Coolidge's national reputation rests on a disputed interpretation of facts. The forces of labor, if they show any brains in this campaign, will have the story well written up and widely circulated. All the benefit that can be obtained out of one of these law and order scares has been obtained by the Governor, and if there is another side it is now time for him to pay the reasonable price. President Wilson, or one of the advisers by whom he is sometimes surrounded, fell for this particular specimen of the most reliable of scares and sent a telegram of congratulation to the Governor.

The leading facts are accessible. Most of them are in the files of the Boston newspapers. My impression is that they will be found to run somewhat as follows: There had been for a long time no trouble on the Boston police force. The men were badly paid and had other grievances, but they recognized their public function and submitted. Finally was appointed to be at the head of the department a man named Curtis, who began to make trouble. The discontented men tried to join the A. F. of L. Curtis put them on trial for that breach of the rules. A committee of the best known citizens of Boston looked into the matter and reported at the request of Mayor Peters, but in Boston the police commissioner is a subordinate not of the Mayor but of the Governor, so the committee's report had no effect. Their recommendations were that the police should recognize their public function and admit that they had no right to join the A. F. of L. or to strike; that Curtis should stop his trials; and that the grievances should be taken up and handled seriously. The police were willing. Not so Curtis. He insisted on his trials. The police struck. There was some rioting. Some leading citizens say that Coolidge was alarmed, and expected widespread public disapproval. They state that it was Murray Crane who said: "Go to it. Be aggressive. Boast about it." So Coolidge, to replace perhaps 150 policemen, sent some 7500 soldiers, who shot around and killed bystanders, and there was a special bond issue required to pay the bill. It was Ole Hansen over again. It never fails.

## A Sure Thing

The next President will be a newspaper man from Ohio.

## What Has Become of the War?

**A**LTHO we are still technically at war with Germany and but a few months ago were losing thousands of men in the bloodiest combats of human history, neither political convention seems to have cared to make use of the war either for candidates or issues. No military man save only Major-General Wood, who was unable to go to France,

received any considerable vote for President. None of the war ambassadors, such as Gerard or Brand Whitlock, reaped political profit from their work. None of the war administrators in Washington, such as Mr. Hoover, Secretary of War Baker and Secretary Daniels of the Navy, figured in the result. Neither party endorsed a general bonus for veterans. Neither party came out for universal military service, or had much to say about military or naval policy. Save for the dispute over the Treaty, it might be said that the Great War had less influence on American politics than the Civil War, the War of 1812, the Mexican War or even the little skirmish with Spain in 1898. That there has been no positive reaction towards pacifism or pro-Germanism is evident enough from the cold reception given by the two conventions to Bryan and to La Follette. But there has been an amazing reaction toward indifference.

## Outlook for Protestant Cooperation

By Shailer Mathews

**T**HE Northern Baptist Convention has severed its connection with the Interchurch World Movement. The action was not due to unwillingness to coöperate with other Protestant bodies, but to the conduct of the Interchurch World Movement itself. This is clearly explained in the resolution embodying the action. At the same time it is well known that a widespread hostility to the Movement has been fostered by certain Baptists who expect the speedy return of Christ and are therefore opposed to any sort of religious work that transgresses their views of the Bible, the church and the meaning of the gospel. They have published a large amount of literature attacking the Movement, the contents of which, along with some more serious matter, abound in innuendo, gossip and misrepresentation of motives. The effect of such propaganda has been injurious both to the Interchurch Movement and the New World Movement of the denomination. The friends of the Movement found difficulty in meeting this overt hostility because of the odds against them set by extravagance and mismanagement. The Baptists will, however, meet the obligation due to underwriting the expenses of the Movement to the great amount of \$2,500,000.

This action of the Northern Baptist Convention coming upon the similar, even if less drastic, action of the General Assembly of the Presbyterians of the North, makes the future of the Interchurch World Movement problematical. The situation is a tragedy, in which noble plans have been killed by amateur administration in a financial orgy.

Several courses of action now seem possible. The Interchurch World Movement may continue in a restrained and economical effort to complete certain tasks and raise money to pay its debts. The various Mission Bands and other denominational agencies may set up a coöperative bureau to make surveys and maintain a sort of Intelligence and Publicity Department. Or the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America may step into the breach, assume the legitimate but uncompleted tasks of the Interchurch World Movement and become a clearing-house and investigating publicity agent for the denominations.

Of the three possibilities the last seems to offer the most advantages. The Council is a strictly denominational body, it is not a super-church or superintendent, it is favored by most churches, it has a good record of accomplishments and with certain readjustments would be able to serve the denominations very effectively in this field.

The entire situation makes it evident that the new and



strong denominational self-consciousness is opposed to anything like organic union (with the probable exception of various small groups of the same general polity as the great denominations) and at the same time is coöperative. Real statesmanship will recognize this double characteristic. Denominationalism is not going to disappear, but it can be utilized as a means of forwarding a common effort of Protestants to render service to the world. The way Protestants can get together is to work together, particularly in evangelism, social service and church expansion at home and abroad. But they must work as self-determining denominations, neither dissipated into individuals nor subject to some holding organization. Here is a real opportunity for the Federal Council to become a servant of its constituent bodies. Let us hope that its great meeting in December will seize the opportunity. Otherwise one must fear the establishment of new machinery or loss of what momentum coöperative movements have gained.

### What's in a Name

Once again a Roosevelt has been nominated for Vice-President.

## Elusive Democracy

By Thomas Steele

THE idea of amending laws and constitutions from time to time is rather a modern one. The ancient world experimented with politics just as we do; Athens had as many changes of constitution as France and even the stolid Romans amended their political institutions more frequently than the United States has done. But at every change the lawgivers breathed a sigh of relief and said: "Well, we've got it right *this* time for good and all!" They could not understand that social and economic changes were continually warping the intention of the law. They believed that it was possible for statesmanship to discover a "fool-proof" form of government. This belief was carried down thru the Middle Ages and well into modern times, either by the influence of Greek thought or by the natural inability of people to realize what great changes and unexpected crises would come to test their handiwork. Even today many Americans believe that the 1787-model Constitution under which we live will never get out of date, and there is an equally foolish minority which looks forward to the "social revolution" as a sort of Last Judgment when evil institutions will crash and good laws be established forevermore. But the last word in politics has not been said either by George Washington or by the reddest Bolshevik. Politics will last at least as long as two human beings remain alive on this planet, the earth.

There are, of course, principles of permanent value which underlie all constitutional change. Democracy and political liberty are good things and they always will be good. But they cannot always be realized in the same way. Suppose you were called upon to make a constitution for a new nation and had the power to keep it permanently in effect. You would find some very strange results when you returned to the same country a few centuries later. Let us say that you were legislating for Russia and believed that the needs and traditions of the people required an aristocratic rule. You would secure this by establishing a powerful Czar and a Parliament elected by the few persons who knew how to read and write and who enjoyed an income of 10,000 rubles a year. But by the year 2200 A. D. the powers of the Czar might all have fallen into the hands of a Prime Minister responsible to Parliament, as happened to the kingship in England, where everything is still done in the "name" of the powerless George V, but in reality by the will of the uncrowned George whose first name is David. Your literacy qualification for the franchise might have become meaningless with the spread of

universal education, and a sudden fall in the value of money might permit everyone but absolute paupers to meet your property qualification. Without changing a letter of its aristocratic constitution Russia would have become a democracy.

But it is just as hard to maintain a democracy as an aristocracy. The Jacksonian Democrats thought that pure democracy could be secured by establishing direct election of public officials. That worked well enough in thinly-peopled America of the "thirties" when everybody knew the names and qualifications of his fellow townsmen. But today the voter in the great city is confronted by a mammoth ballot on which are the names of scores of men he never heard of and dozens of public offices of whose very nature he is ignorant. How can the average New Yorker choose the best among a score of candidates for judicial offices when he himself has no training in the law? How can he find the ideal State Engineer? What does he know of the duties of the Comptroller? As a rule he selects the man he wants for Governor and for Mayor and for all other offices votes the straight party ticket—or, in other words, the selection of the party bosses. This is a travesty of democratic realities under the forms of democracy.

The long ballot is one example of a democratic institution which changing social conditions have made an instrument of oligarchy. The party primary and the party conventions furnish another. Originally these institutions were devised as a popular substitute for nomination by a Congressional caucus. But in time they became little more than committees of professional politicians. The direct primary was then devised to meet this evil. Alas, it degenerated in turn into a spending competition with the odds on the rich man! The Board of Aldermen elected by city wards was democratic in the days when people "stayed put" and knew their neighborhoods. Today friends of municipal reform demand the abolition of the Board of Aldermen and of the wards.

The conservatives should not be worried about such "new fangled" devices as the referendum, the recall, proportional representation, commission government and the like. They are not revolutionary changes in our political ideals. They are but modern machinery to realize for an industrial, cosmopolitan, migratory and populous nation the very same democratic theory which our past and present constitutions made possible for a nation which was agricultural, homogeneous, stationary and thinly settled. The referendum replaces the town meeting because the town has grown too big to meet together in one place. The expert civil service replaces "rotation in office" because the tasks of government now are so complex as to require a life-time of study. We are not more enlightened and progressive than the "fathers"; neither are we more rash and radical. We are simply realizing the eternal principles of popular government in the way which is possible to us, as they did in the way which was possible to them.

## The Presidential Regatta

The Democratic crew has found its Cox-swain.

## The Glass House

THE way in which the Republicans are digging into the back files of the Dayton *Daily News* to prove that Cox was pro-German in 1916 and the Democrats are sifting the Marion *Star* to show how hostile Harding was to Roosevelt, indicates clearly why it is that no journalist has hitherto been elected President. Every politician writes or says something which can later be used against him, but a newspaper publisher must go on record to the extent of several thousand words of editorial comment every day for 365 days in the year, and it would be strange indeed



# A Pilgrimage to the Battlefields



This is the famous relief train with its engine at the rear to deceive the enemy, which took 3000 French troops to Poivres. Only nine came back

The refugees of the devastated districts have come back to bale the rain water from their ruined cellars and pull weeds where their gardens used to grow. All available wood and metal has been used to build temporary shelters and the flowers and field grasses have taken over the front line trenches



During the battle of Verdun an officer under the Crown Prince lived in this sumptuous apartment in the woods near Grurie

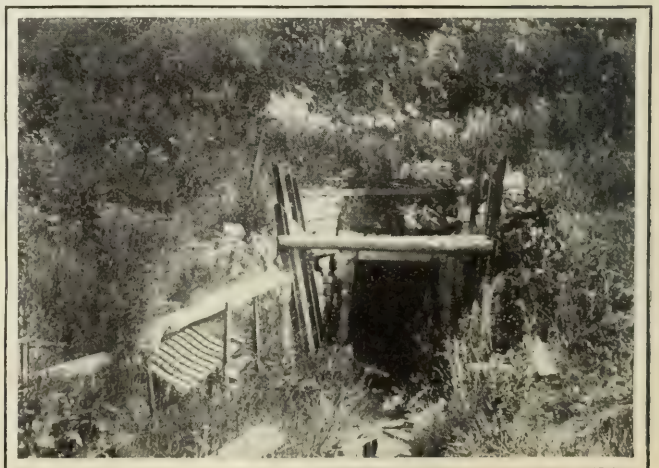


A shelter of sheet iron tunneling makes this home in the devastated region at Crouy near Soissons

An heroic statue of the doughboy guards the American lads who sleep under the white cross at Suresnes



A French restaurant and a British tavern rub elbows where there were once homes, then ruins, on the battlefields of France



Photographs © Kadel & Herbert

When the early morning mist hung over the trenches, food used to be taken up to the German firing line thru this tunnel at Vauquois, now overgrown with daisies



if nothing embarrassing could be discovered in such a forest of material. Every journalist is an architect of glass houses.

## England Hugs Its Chains

WHATEVER the merits of Ireland's demand for independence from England, we cannot understand why England does not secede from Ireland. Of the two unhappy partners to the "union" John Bull should be more eager for a divorce than Kathleen-ni-Houlihan.

## The Cult of the Spendthrift

By Allen Campbell

HAVE you ever noticed that recent magazine fiction is pursuing a policy of its own directly counter to the grandfatherly lectures on economy and thrift contained in the editorial pages of the same periodicals? Within the last few weeks our vigilant eye has fallen upon at least six excellent short stories by different writers in different weekly and monthly periodicals which were built (with minor variations) on the following plan:

An estimable young man has fallen victim to the insidious vice of economy. He has a very moderate salary and occupies a routine office position. His wife (or sweetheart as the case may be) notes this flaw in his character and also notes the inferior condition of her own wardrobe. She resolves to reform her husband. She thereupon embarks on a career of extravagance that swamps his financial reserve and forces him to seek a more remunerative career. He therefore takes up salesmanship and becomes wealthy, discovers that it was out of love and not selfishness that his wife jolted him from his rut by wild expenditure, and lives happily and luxuriously ever after.

It cannot be merely coincidence or a shortage of good plots which accounts for the veritable epidemic of short stories on this theme which have recently appeared. We are loath to assume that it is another capitalist conspiracy between the authors and the profiteers. Rather it seems to be a sort of artistic insurrection on the part of the respectable salaried men who buy most of the magazines against the good advice which they are compelled to give themselves. Just as the most staid and sober of good citizens enjoy a moral holiday in stories of outlawry and desperate deeds, so do the most methodical of servants of the pay envelope and the Family Budget Book enjoy in imagination a break away from both. We trust that not too many take these stories as guides to real life. Out of every ten underpaid bank clerks or college instructors perhaps one would be morally and financially benefited by an extravagant or make-believe extravagant wife who would plant his feet on the highroad to fortune which lies thru the gateway of business risk. The other nine would come to extreme grief by taking up a line of work for which they were temperamentally unsuited. If all men could become rich by salesmanship there would be nobody left in other, and perhaps equally essential, occupations.

At all events, it is interesting to contrast this latest literary fashion with the short story of a decade or so ago. In those days the extravagant young man always came a cropper with his speculations on Wall Street or his gay raiment from Fifth avenue, and after a due interval of repentance married the sweet young girl who had loved him even in his wildest days, secured a steady job and settled down to a life of thrift that would have satisfied Poor Richard himself. There has since been what Nietzsche termed a transvaluation of all values. The sluggard is no longer asked to model himself after the industrious ant, but rather to imitate the self-indulgent grasshopper. The wife is no longer commended for doing her own housework, but rather for rebelling against housework. The subordinate is no longer to win the favor of his employer by obedience, but rather by some daring and fortunate stroke of disobedience. The three traditional virtues by

which Captains of Industry rose to wealth, or claimed that they did, were honesty, industry and thrift. In place of honesty the fiction writers would have us admire the ability to carry thru a bluff and swing a giant transaction with a shoestring capital. In place of industry, which means energy in an orbit, we have the related virtue of initiative, which means energy at a tangent. In place of thrift we have the virtue of the gambler spirit which will face any risk and assume any expenditure in the hope of ultimate profit. Which moral code is the sounder or truer we will not undertake to say, but if fiction is a witness to what people really admire we need not seek far for one cause of the increasing cost of living.

## Vice-Presidents

COOLIDGE and Roosevelt are not a whit too good for the potentially all important office of Vice-President, but they are too good for an inactive four years of presiding over the Senate. Let the next President establish a precedent of making his running mate an unofficial member of his Cabinet and a much-needed link between the executive and the Senate.

## The Rule of Three

### *The Constitution*

John Randolph of Virginia in 1787:

It shines and it stinks and it stinks and it shines like a dead mackerel lying in the moonlight.

### *The Covenant*

Warren G. Harding in 1919:

Either the Covenant involves a surrender of national sovereignty and submits our future destiny to the League, or it is an empty thing, big in name, and will ultimately disappoint all of humanity that hinges on it.

Warren G. Harding in 1920:

The Federal Constitution is the very base of all Americanism; the Ark of the Covenant of American liberty; the very basis of equal rights. The Constitution does abide and ever will so long as the Republic endures.

The Republican Nominee in 1960:

The Covenant of the League of Nations is the very base of all Americanism; the Ark of the Covenant of human liberty; the very basis of equal rights. The Covenant does abide and ever will so long as the world endures.

## Lynchings

TUSKEGEE Institute, which keeps tab on the matter, announces that during the first six months of this year twelve negroes were lynched. This is seventeen less than during the same period last year, and thirty-three less than in 1918. Minnesota heads the dishonor roll with three lynchings, Alabama and Georgia have two each, and Florida, Kentucky, Kansas, South Carolina and Texas have one each. All of those lynched were negroes.

As our Congress took it upon itself to pass a resolution championing the cause of Ireland as against England, it would now seem to be in order for the British Parliament to protest against our inhuman treatment of our "subject race."

## Root's Capitulation

ELIHU Root, the reputed author of the ambiguous Treaty plank in the Republican platform and a hostile critic of the President's foreign policy, has now gone the whole distance in accepting the League of Nations. When he first went to The Hague he may have had some idea of organizing the World Court as a thing apart from the Assembly and Council of the League; it is enough to know



that now he is the advocate of an exactly opposite policy. To quote word for word the Associated Press despatch: "The jurists' commission voted to adopt in principle the Root-Phillimore plan for the make-up of the Court. The jurists accepted Mr. Root's most important principle—his method for the election of the Judges by the Council and Assembly of the League of Nations voting separately on lists submitted by The Hague tribunal." Without repudiating Mr. Root it will be impossible for the Republican party to hold up "a World Court" or "some sort of association" as an alternative policy to an international Court depending directly on the Assembly and the Council of the League.

## The Puritan and the Bolshevik

By Preston Slosson

THERE are many striking parallels which may be drawn between the United States and Russia, which are all the more striking because one nation stands at the top of civilized humanity with respect to prosperity, stability and popular enlightenment and the other at the bottom. Yet one nation had almost as good a chance in the world as the other. Three hundred years ago the Puritans founded the first democratic commonwealth of the New World. At about the same time the Romanoff dynasty was established in Russia. Westward from the Atlantic to the Pacific the pioneers from the "Mayflower" saw a great land of stimulating climate, fertile soil and enormous natural resources awaiting settlement and development; a land inhabited only by wandering bands of savages. Eastward from the Baltic to the Pacific the Russian peasant and the Cossack pioneer saw the great land masses of Russia and Siberia, including millions of acres of fertile "black soil" and the greatest forests of the world as well as oil wells and metal mines of the highest value; an imperial domain almost empty but as well adapted to a white man's civilization as the greater part of Europe or North America. The two peoples most favored by nature were the Russian and the American.

Century by century the two peoples overspread the vast spaces open before them. The Slav and the American showed equal courage in facing the hardships of the frontier. Both peoples had stalwart bodies and keen minds; both showed a remarkable gift for assimilating alien stocks. The Russian Slav was strengthened by crossing his race with the sturdy Finn, the industrious German, the talented Pole, the business-like Armenian and, in spite of race prejudice on both sides, with the keen-witted Jew. The mixture of Englishman, Scotchman, Irishman, German, Swede, Italian, Jew and Slav which we call the American people is not racially very different from the Russian blend. The relatively small Turk and Tatar element in Russia is not much more important than the Indian element in the United States; and perhaps less important than the negro.

Neither in land nor race may we look for the difference between the happy fate of America and the dismal lot of Russia. Perhaps one difference lies in the fact that Russia lacked the Puritan tradition. At least it is certain that the virtues in which the Puritan specialized are just the qualities in which the American excels the Russian. If the "Mayflower" had landed in the Baltic instead of at Plymouth Rock, who can say what the destinies of the two nations might have been?

First of all, Puritanism exalts the individual. Every man has a soul—even if only a soul to be damned. The stalwart self-reliance of the Pilgrims is the note of American philosophy from Franklin thru Emerson and Thoreau down to William James. Each home on its own soil; each town with its own school system; each state with its own constitution. While Russia dangled its huge bulk in help-

less dependence on the bureaucrats of Moscow and Petrograd, the United States built self-government from the bottom up, beginning with the self-respecting individual and thence proceeding to the town, the county, the territory or state and the Union. No distant and almighty Czar; no overshadowing religious hierarchy; no peasant communism; no tradition of Oriental immobility, has ever established itself in any community erected on a Puritan basis. Had Russia been a Puritan nation it would no more have endured the despotism of the Czars or of the Bolsheviks than Puritan England endured the despotism of the Stuarts or Puritan Holland the despotism of Spain. Puritanism is sometimes called the enemy of "personal liberty" and yet wherever you find the Puritan tradition you find a free commonwealth.

Again, Puritanism emphasizes civic discipline and team play. The Russians knew no alternative to slavery but anarchy. They had never learned to respect the will of the majority of their fellow-citizens. Between obedience to an hereditary overlord and obedience to an elected representative of the people they drew no distinction. The Russian, like the Mexican, thinks in this fashion: "Here is an order. I must submit or rebel. Which shall I do?" The American thinks in other terms: "Here is an order. From what source does it come? If it comes from an authority which I have myself established I must obey, even tho I do not like this particular command or the particular individual who gives it. If it does not come from such an authority it is my duty to resist." The compact drawn up in the cabin of the "Mayflower" lies at the basis of every Congress and legislature, yes every labor union and debating society, in the nation. If Mr. Harding is elected this November every Democrat will recognize his title to the Presidency; if Mr. Cox is elected every Republican will do the same by him. But the Bolshevik has never seen in a political defeat any reason for not continuing the campaign with machine guns instead of ballots.

Thirdly, Puritanism emphasizes education. From John Knox to Horace Mann the Puritan has been athirst to acquire knowledge and eager to spread it. New England, like Puritan Scotland, has been a treasure house of intensive education. Individual Russians have achieved great things in art, science and literature, but the masses have always been content to remain in the grossest ignorance and the ruling classes were content that they should so remain.

Finally, the Puritan believes that all things sink into insignificance when weighed in the balance with character and conduct. He would be as incapable of the treachery and falsehood of the Bolshevik as he would be of their inhuman atrocities. Even about the nobler Russian revolutionists there clings an atmosphere of moral looseness; as Dillon pointed out they lack "bones" to their souls. Their great novelists teach a pity for human weakness and error which is perhaps nobler than Puritanism, but they also teach an indulgence and indifference to good and evil which is replete with danger. To the Tolstoyan the tyrant is to be pitied rather than resisted and the sinner is to be forgiven without exacting too much in the way of reformation. As to the Russians who were not revolutionists nothing need be said. To do them justice they never pretended to morality; a whitewashing of formal religion sufficed to cover any degree of self-indulgence and indifference to the public welfare.

The Russian has great virtues—a capacity for heroic self-sacrifice in a cause and for infinite depths of sympathy and compassion when his emotions are stirred. But what he needs more than anything else is a stiffening of the Puritan virtues—industry, public spirit, honesty, cleanliness, domesticity, sobriety and self-respect.



# The Story of the Week

## Germany Must Disarm

GERMANY is once more back in Europe. This is perhaps the chief significance of the present conference at Spa between Germany and the Entente Allies on the carrying into effect of the conditions laid down in the Treaty of Versailles. Two questions in particular are to the fore: reparations and disarmament. It is admitted that the Germans have not lived up to their pledges in either particular; their defense is that it was impossible for them to do so. The main purpose of the conference is to reach a basis of agreement as to the best practical solution of the problem presented by Germany's failure to live up to the terms of peace.

At the first session Premier Lloyd George insisted on the reduction of the German army to the 100,000 volunteers. The German delegates protested that internal conditions forbade any further reductions in the armed forces of the nation. They pointed out the dangers of Bolshevism on the one hand and of a reactionary conspiracy on the other. The Germans claimed that the present force of 200,000 was essential for the present emergency; the Allies not only contested this but contended that the German Government had organized "police" forces which were in reality a camouflaged army and had failed to surrender all the arms and ammunition demanded in the Treaty. After several days of discussion the Allies offered to Germany an extension of time for disarmament. By October 1, 1920, the German army must be reduced to 150,000 men and by January 1, 1921, to 100,000, the figure fixed by the Treaty. All civilians must be disarmed. The Allies will be permitted to occupy the neutral zone in western Germany with sufficient armed forces to ensure civilian disarmament. If the Germans violate the disarmament agreement the Allies "will proceed to the occupation of a further part of German territory." Chancellor Fehrenbach, Foreign Minister Simons and the rest of the German delegation eventually agreed to the terms demanded. The first difficulty was passed.

After the disarmament agreement the conference discussed the failure of Germany to deliver coal to France as promised in the Treaty, the delay in the punishment of the war criminals by the German courts, and the general question of reparations. At a preliminary meeting in Brussels the Allies attempted to formulate not only a common program with which to confront Germany, but a basis for



Wide World

### GERMANY'S PLACE IN THE SUN

Germany's "future is on the water" and Germany demands "a place in the sun," said the ex-Kaiser. Behold both predictions come true, for here are Germans on a holiday enjoying water and sunshine along the bathing beaches of the Baltic!

the division of the reparations sum among the Allies. The United States was represented "unofficially." The chief difficulty was Italy's demand for a share proportionate to her efforts in the Great War in spite of her comparatively small loss from invasion as compared with France or Belgium.

## Poland in Peril

REPORTS from Russia, Poland and Germany agree that the Polish army which undertook the invasion of Soviet Russia has met with reverses so serious as to imperil the safety of the Polish Republic. The Bolshevik armies attacked along a front of 720 miles and gained ground at almost every point. The fortress of Rovno is now in Bolshevik possession. Both Galicia and Lithuania are endangered. At one time the rumor ran that the Russians had entered Lemberg, the chief city of eastern Galicia, but the report appears to have been exaggerated, or at least premature. Poland has rallied in the face of imminent danger and even women and children have responded to Pilsudski's appeal for volunteers. Even the Polish Socialists have declared against the Bolshevik invasion.

The attitude of the nations of western Europe appears to be one of "watchful waiting." The British were inclined to view with disfavor the Polish advance into Russia, although Lord Curzon, the British Foreign Secretary, replied to Lord Robert Cecil's note urging the League of Nations to prevent Poland from attacking Russia that "such an attempt would certainly be regarded as intervention in favor of the Bolsheviks and against our allies—a result which it would be difficult to defend." The French, who favored active aid to a Polish war against the Bolsheviks last year,



Wide World

### UP FROM STARVATION

Austria just now is the world's hunger center, but these children are in luck for they are going to spend a few weeks in England where there is plenty to eat and where kind "enemies" will look after them





Underwood &amp; Underwood

## JAPAN AT PLAY

The most picturesque of civilizations delights in pageants such as this religious procession at Nikko. The banners are brave with all the colors of the rainbow and the marchers wear the robes and trappings of ancient Japan

now seem either unable or unwilling to send effective reinforcements.

The Allies, however, have promised to send aid to the Poles should the Bolshevik advance beyond the eastern frontier of Poland. It is understood that the Poles will evacuate Lithuania, White Russia and the Ukraine. The Ukrainian Government, allied with Poland, has collapsed under Bolshevik attacks and its leaders have been forced to seek refuge on Polish soil.

If the Bolsheviks accept the Allied proposal—a general peace in eastern Europe may be arranged, in which the republics of the Baltic may also participate; if the Bolsheviks continue to press their advantage against Poland they may find themselves openly at war with western Europe.

On the Crimean front another anti-Bolshevist army, mainly Russian, is fighting with uncertain fortunes. The Bolsheviks claim to have checked the progress of General Wrangel, the successor of Denikin in southern Russia, but the British War Office announces that General Wrangel's forces have recently annihilated a Bolshevik cavalry corps consisting of eighteen regiments.

General Brusiloff, commanding the Russian army against Poland, has appealed "to all former Russian officers wherever they may be" to forget the injuries they have suffered under Bolshevik rule and to fight in the cause of Russian nationalism against the foreigner. Brusiloff is the most distinguished of the old royalist generals who have consented to serve under the authority of the Soviet.

## Trade with Russia

IN spite of the objections of the London *Times* and the French Government, Leonid Krassin, the Soviet Minister of Trade and Commerce, carried on negotiations in London not only with the British cabinet but also with the Supreme Economic Council, which includes France, Italy and Belgium. He has now returned to Russia to consult with the Soviet authorities.

When Premier Lloyd George was questioned about the propriety of dealing with the Bolsheviks he replied: "It is a new doctrine that you must approve of the habits and customs of any Government before trading," and reminded the House of Commons that "this country has opened up most of the cannibal trade of the world."

It is calculated that by the resumption of trade with Russia, England will draw \$300,000,000 in gold from Moscow. This will greatly strengthen British credit by raising the gold reserve of the Bank of England, which is now reduced to \$570,000,000.

The chief cause of the French reluctance to enter into relations with the Soviet is that they will lose their large loans and investments in Russia under the old régime. But Krassin reaffirms the statement made many times previously by Bolshevik officials that the Soviet Government will re-

pay the external obligations of Russia in exchange for peace and commerce. The Soviet will also promise not to engage officially in propaganda outside of Russia, but, as Tchitcherin, the Soviet Foreign Minister, adds, "Of course, if revolutions break out in other countries we will rejoice."

The Norwegian Government has been authorized by the parliament to resume commercial relations with Russia immediately, but this does not involve the recognition of the Soviet as the legal Russian Government.

Trade with Sweden has already begun. A Swedish steamer carried a cargo of automobiles and harvesters to the Estonian port of Reval for the Russian Coöperative Societies and returned with \$5,000,000 in gold. The largest locomotive works in Sweden, the Nydquist and Holm at Trollhattan, is said to have been bought by the Soviet Government. It is reported that Ludwig Martens, the Soviet representative in America, has contracted with a Canadian firm for several million dollars' worth of Canadian agricultural and railroad machinery and flour to be shipped thru Sweden and Estonia.

The delegates of the British Labor party in conference at Scarborough, representing an enrollment of about three million, passed a resolution demanding recognition of the Soviet Republic, but voted by ten to one against affiliating with the Third International, the Bolshevik organization of world-wide socialism, started at Moscow.

The Italian coöperative societies, like the British, have sent a delegation to Moscow to negotiate trade.

And now at last the United States joins other nations in reopening trade with the parts of Russia under Bolshevik control, tho in no way recognizing the *de jure* or



Underwood &amp; Underwood

## NOT IN KANSAS

Premier Lloyd George is not standing in a field of sunflowers but posing for his photograph against a background of the quaint head dresses of the fishwives of Boulogne

even the *de facto* authority of the Soviet Government. The Department of State warns merchants that they still trade "on their own responsibility and at their own risk" and that "American citizens availing themselves of the present relaxation of restrictions are warned against the risks incident to the acceptance of commodities or other values, the title to which may later be brought into question." There is still, of course, restriction on the shipment to Russia of "materials susceptible of immediate use for war purposes," but for the rest Americans are as free to trade as the general confusion of Russia, the lack of facilities of transportation and the breakdown of the postal service between the two countries permit.

If the Bolsheviks persist in their invasion of Poland, in spite of the warning given by the Allies that they would make common cause with the Poles if the eastern frontier of Poland proper were crossed, all commercial negotiations will naturally come to an end.



## Japanese Hold Saghalien

JAPAN has occupied the province of Saghalien, in eastern Siberia, as a pledge for reparations from Russia for the massacre of several hundred Japanese at Nikolaievsk. After the Japanese captured the city they released a number of American, British and French prisoners whom the Bolsheviks had captured.

The Japanese have announced their intention to evacuate all of Siberia except Vladivostok and Saghalien. Vladivostok will be occupied temporarily as a security to Korea and to keep the Pacific coast open to Nikolaievsk. Saghalien will be evacuated when Russia has given "satisfaction" for the outrages at Nikolaievsk. Such temporary occupations, however, have a tendency to become permanent; especially in view of the fact that Japan has owned the southern half of the island of Saghalien (or Sakhalin) ever since the Russo-Japanese war and is very naturally tempted to round out her empire by annexing the northern part of the island and the opposite mainland. There is a movement on foot to organize an independent republic in eastern Siberia which would include the provinces east of Lake Baikal: Trans-Baikalia, Amur and the Maritime Province, which includes Nikolaievsk and Vladivostok. This neutral republic would form a buffer state between Japan and the Russian dominions.

## The League Reports Progress

WHETHER or not American politicians believe it, the League of Nations is already very much alive. The Council of the League is meeting frequently and has already had several important international controversies submitted to it for adjudication, such as the dispute between Finland and Sweden over the Aland islands. The Assembly of the League will meet for the first time on November 15. President Wilson, by special courtesy, was commissioned to summon the meeting in spite of the fact that the United States is outside the League. It is in the Assembly that the small nations will find their opportunity to take part in the consideration of international issues. The third principal agency of the League, the International Court, is now in process of formation and a committee of jurists are working on the final details. Elihu Root and Lord Phillimore together worked out a plan for the selection of judges by the Council and the Assembly, voting separately, which plan was adopted by the advisory committee.

Special agencies of the League are also very active. Dr. Royal Meeker, the United States Commissioner for Labor Statistics, and one of the ablest officials in the Department of Labor, has resigned his post at Washington to become editor of the monthly bulletin of the International Labor Office. A special Labor Conference, dealing with maritime labor, has met at Genoa to consider an international agreement on the limitation of the hours of labor of seamen and other improvements in the lot of the sailor. The League of Nations also has for several months had general supervision over the Government of the Saar Basin and the Free City of Danzig.



Kadel &amp; Herbert

### KIPLING WILL BE SHOCKED

In spite of all we have heard of the unalterable traditions of the immemorial east here is a group of Hindu ladies who attended the International Woman's Suffrage Alliance at Geneva. The equal suffrage idea is rapidly making progress in all countries, even India and the United States

procity and went down to defeat with it. Premier Borden remained in office thruout the Great War, tho he was compelled to face another general election on the issue of conscription. To carry thru the compulsory service law he welded together into one party the Conservatives and the conscriptionist wing of the Liberals and became chief of a coalition Government very similar to that headed by Premier Lloyd George in Great Britain. He attended the Peace Conference at Paris as representative of the Dominion of

Canada and did much to secure the separate representation of Canada in the Assembly of the League of Nations.

The Honorable Arthur Meighen, Minister of the Interior in the coalition cabinet, has been asked to become Borden's successor at the head of the Canadian Government. The coalition has decided to continue its existence under the somewhat clumsy name of the National Liberal and Conservative Party. The two chief opposition groups are the anti-coalition Liberals and the United Farmers, an agrarian party somewhat similar to the Non-Partizan League in the United States.

## North Dakota Primary

THE Non-Partizan League has captured the Republican primaries in North Dakota. Governor Lynn J. Frazier has been renominated over his "regular" Republican rival,



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### THE STATESWOMAN OF SUFFRAGE

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the International Woman's Suffrage Alliance, is representing America at Geneva



William Langer. Even more sensational was the result of the Senatorial primary. Dr. E. F. Ladd, President of the North Dakota Agricultural College, obtained a small but safe majority over Senator Gronna who now represents the state. Senator Gronna is a disciple of La Follette, one of the six senators who voted against the declaration of war with Germany, and a declared opponent of the League of Nations. His radicalism and his personal popularity with the farmers were relied on to secure his renomination in spite of the fact that the Non-Partizan League had put up a candidate of its own against him. The vote in three Congressional districts resulted in the nomination of James Sinclair, Non-Partizan and present incumbent; George Young, "regular" Republican and present incumbent, and O. B. Burtness, "regular," who defeated John M. Baer, the Non-Partizan Leaguer who now represents the district and is known to fame as the "cartoonist Congressman." In spite of the defeat of two candidates for the House of Representatives, the capture of the Republican nomination for Governor, Senator and the entire state ticket encourages the League to hope for a victory in November which will maintain its hold on the state and enable it to play an important part in national politics as well.

## Cox and the Democrats

THE nomination of Governor Cox seems to have restored the party harmony which had been stretched to the breaking point by the long continued and hotly contested fight over the Presidency in the convention. If he



Mrs. Maud Wood Park, of Boston, is national chairman of the National League of Women Voters, an organization which played an important part in the recent Democratic convention

was not the first choice of a large portion of the party he was a general second choice. He is "sound" on the League of Nations and President Wilson was one of the first men to send him congratulations, and it is reported that the President will write some articles during the campaign on behalf of the Democratic ticket even if his health forbids him to do any speaking. On the other hand the foes of the administration within the party are pleased with the nomination because Cox has never been directly associated with President Wilson in national politics. The half-rebellious chieftains of Tammany Hall and the wholly rebellious Senator Reed have expressed their delight that by means of Cox they were able to keep the main prize of the convention out of the hands of the President's official family. Mr. McAdoo, who has never admitted that he was really a candidate for the nomination, expressed pleasure that the choice of the convention did not fall on himself. Most of the other candidates for the nomination have added their congratulations. Even Senator Harding has sent friendly greetings "as an Ohioan and a fellow publisher."

William Jennings Bryan alone is openly cherishing disappointment. Not even the overwhelming defeat of the proposed "wet" plank in the Democratic platform can console him for the defeat of all his proposed amendments to the platform and for the nomination of a man who, in Mr. Bryan's opinion, is at heart hostile to prohibition. Former Representative Hobson of Alabama has warned Governor Cox that "dry forces are restive" and begged him to make some reassuring statement to the prohibition element of the party. On the other hand, the anti-prohibitionists are wistfully waiting for some word of encouragement of opposite character. Whether "beer and wine" will be an issue in the campaign or not rests on the decision of the nominee and will doubtless be made clear in his speech of acceptance.

Labor is very well pleased with the nomination because of the progressive legislation which the Governor has fathered in Ohio. Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, has come out openly for the Democratic ticket. The suffragists also are delighted to notice the zeal with which Governor Cox has urged immediate ratification of the equal suffrage amendment on the Democratic states which have not yet acted or have acted unfavorably. Louisiana, however, rejected his plea to have



Keystone View

WHO SAID HOT?

There is nothing like being thoro when you attempt to cool off this weather





Columbus Citizen

## THE BUCKEYE NEWSBOYS

This cartoon made history. Senator Harding, in sending his congratulations to Governor Cox, said: "I recall a much remarked cartoon which portrayed you and me as newsboys contending for the White House delivery"

the question reconsidered and the legislature adjourned without ratifying the amendment.

The League of Nations issue has been somewhat obscured by the readiness of the "bitter enders" in both parties to dull the sharp edge of their convictions for the sake of party regularity. Senator Hiram Johnson has at last come to the conclusion that in spite of all the vagueness of the Republican platform and the unsatisfactory character of the candidate, "the issue leaves those who believe in safeguarding, protecting and preserving our Americanism but one choice, and that is to support the Republican party." But Senator Reed, whose attitude to the Treaty was identically that of Senator Johnson, has sent his congratulations to the Democratic nominee.

## Roosevelt the Second

**A**FTER the nomination of Governor Cox for President on the forty-fourth ballot the convention adjourned. It met again the following day, July 6, to select a Vice-President. Seven men from western states were formally placed in nomination and various others were considered or privately suggested, but when it came time to vote all candidacies were withdrawn save that of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, who was warmly supported by Governor Smith of New York and nominated by acclamation.

In nominating Mr. Roosevelt, the Democratic party followed the example of the Republicans and chose a Vice-President with regard to personal merit and general popularity rather than geographical expediency. To balance a man from Ohio, which is today an "eastern" state, the choice should have fallen on someone west of the Missis-

sipi, but no Republican abler than Coolidge of Massachusetts and no Democrat abler than Roosevelt of New York could be found willing to take the place. The choice of Vice-President seems to have been the only act by either convention which pleased all parts of the nation and all factions of the party.

Franklin Roosevelt is only thirty-eight years old. Altho he is related both by blood and marriage to the family of the late Theodore Roosevelt he has all his life been a member of the opposite political party. Like his illustrious namesake he graduated from Harvard, like him he was an active reform leader in the local politics of New York State and, again like him, he first attained prominence in politics outside his native state by making a brilliant record as Assistant Secretary of the Navy. Altho he is a loyally regular Democrat on election day, in the fights within the party Mr. Roosevelt has always been found on the anti-Tammany side and his career in the Legislature sent many cold chills up and down the back of the Tammany tiger.

## What to Do with a Vice-President

**S**ENATOR Harding has announced that if elected he will invite Vice-President Coolidge to attend and take part in Cabinet conferences. He said further:

The sort of government I have in mind ought to take advantage of the capacity and experience of a man like Coolidge by bringing him into council. It will be a fine thing and I don't see why it shouldn't have been done long ago. Coolidge is an eminent American and has had experience as an executive and should be helpful. I think the Vice-President can be a most effective agency in keeping the executive offices in touch with the legislative.

The Senator's first formal utterance in the campaign will be his speech of acceptance on July 22. Governor Coolidge will accept his nomination for the second place on the Republican ticket on July 27. On July 31 the first visiting delegation to the Harding "porch" will initiate the active campaign. In the meantime he is using the porch as a "listening post" for conferences with party leaders in the interests of Republican harmony. Governor Cox will not follow the example of the Republican nominee, but will tour the country and make speeches in many states. His running mate, Mr. Roosevelt, will also go out after the votes in person.



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## CANNED CANDIDATE

An Alaskan native who had greatly admired the white man's skill in transporting food in tin cans remarked on first hearing a phonograph: "Ugh, canned missionary!" Senator Harding is now the chief canned missionary of the Republican party, and he is here shown in the act of putting his speech on Americanism into a phonograph





## Not a Drop to Drink

By Robert H. Moulton

The most valuable thing in any given region is apt to be that which is hardest to obtain there. In deserts, without any doubt, it is water. And next to the life-giving fluid itself, the desert traveler values any indications of where he will be able to find it—its direction, its distance, its character. The existence or nonexistence of such indications often spells life or death to him.

A little over a year ago Congress began the work of supplementing the few water signs that nature affords by sprinkling the desert regions of the Southwest with printed signboards, telling of the nearest water. It is also mapping the watering places and improving them. An appropriation of \$10,000 was made as a starter, and within a few weeks after it had become available, the United States Geological Survey had four outfits, each in charge of a geologist, at work in the hottest, driest, sandiest, and least explored part of the desert region. Within a few months more than 60,000 square miles of the region had been mapped, examined and signposted.

The geologists who did this work are now in Washington preparing maps that will show practically every watering place in the region and the roads leading to these watering places. These maps will be published in a series of guides which will contain descriptions of the routes, detailed information regarding each watering place, tables of distances between watering places, and analyses of the water. These guides will cover not merely the principal roads, but are especially designed to give information regarding the water places in the less frequented regions remote from the main routes.

The work was placed in charge of geologists, so that not only should existing water places be located and marked, but an intelligent understanding of the water supplies below the surface should be obtained.

A rather romantic event in connection with the field work was the planting of signposts in the vicinity of Tinajas Atlas, along the Mexican border, in Arizona, where between three hundred and four hundred persons once perished by thirst. It may be somewhat surprising to people in the East, however, and possibly to some in the West, to learn that Death Valley, whose unsavory name and reputation give it a certain terrifying notoriety thruout the country, contains



Some thoughtful Indian marked this spring in the days when to the tenderfoot the only water on the desert seemed to be a blue lake with palm trees toward which he set his weary feet only to find it a mirage

large springs which afforded excellent swimming to the Survey party that was in the valley last winter.

The entire region, that is so arid as to require guides to watering places and signposts directing to these watering places, comprizes a fan-shaped area covering approximately 570,000 square miles, or nearly one-fifth of the country. The handle of the fan is in Southern California; one side

is formed by the Sierra Nevada and Cascade mountains; the other side extends 800 miles along the Mexican border, while the outer edge is traced by a line extending from eastern Oregon, thru Salt Lake City and Sante Fe, to the mouth of the Pescos River. The highly developed coastal section of Southern California is situated, so to speak, at the handle of the fan, and the railroads and automobile highways that extend eastward and north-eastward from this section may be regarded as the ribs of the fan.

## Thingumbobs

The Australian high schools teach Japanese.

\*\*\*

The eggs of seafoal are conical in shape, so they only roll in a circle.

\*\*\*

France has prohibited the importation of artificial teeth as "luxuries."

\*\*\*

It is 2,750 miles across the United States from east to west at its greatest length.

\*\*\*

The haters of the vile weed will rejoice to learn that it has been estimated that the time lost by smokers merely scratching



Will our water hold out until we reach Johannesburg, seventy-nine miles straight ahead in the Mohave Desert, or had we better turn off the main road and tank up at Drinkwater Spring, nine miles away? In the desert, one's life or death may depend upon a decision made under this signpost



their matches is worth \$513,024 in each eight-hour working day.

\*\*\*

Over a thousand patents have been granted to negroes for inventions made in this country.

\*\*\*

The moving picture theaters of the United States have a combined seating capacity of 8,000,000.

\*\*\*

In India last year snakes killed 22,600 persons, tigers 1,000, wolves and bears 338, leopards 325, and crocodiles 194.

\*\*\*

Because of the dearth of beds in China, twenty-five young Y. W. C. A. workers have just left for China, taking their beds with them.

\*\*\*

Since 1820 over 33,000,000 immigrants have entered the United States. Half of this number have come within the last thirty years.

\*\*\*

The granite monument to Mrs. Eddy, discoverer of Christian Science, erected in Mt. Auburn Cemetery, Cambridge, Mass., cost over \$150,000.

\*\*\*

The American Bible Society has distributed 140,000,000 copies of the Bible since it was founded. It is easy to see what book is every year's "best seller."

\*\*\*

Out of every ten inhabitants of the Philippine Islands nine are Christians, seven (excluding children under ten years) can read and write, and two habitually speak the English language.

## More Delay in the Mail Service!

There is no greater professional happiness to a journalist than getting an event on to paper without delay, and no greater exasperation than being compelled to announce news a few days overdue. We can sympathize, therefore, with the Harvard astronomers who have chronicled an important event which happened 217,120 years ago. It is two years since a new star was first noticed in the constellation of the Eagle (Aquila) and was christened Nova Aquila. Since then astronomers have watched it grow, and by noting the time taken for this star to reach a particular size as seen from our planet they have at last been able to estimate the length of time the light from the star required to reach us. They believe that it has taken the light from the new star 217,120 years to bring us the news. Nova Aquila is evidently on the very "edge" of our universe for this is almost the greatest distance ever measured. Most of the visible stars are very much nearer. Our next-door neighbor Alpha Centauri is only about four "light years" away from us; light traveling at the rate of 186,000 miles a second.

What is the nature of this news which is over 200,000 years stale? The bursting into visibility of a star which was previously invisible probably means a big accident. A "dark star" which, like our own world, is too cool to radiate any light on its own account, hits something and then blazes

up like the sun. Such accidents do not happen very frequently in our well-regulated universe, but astronomers have recorded several instances. Usually we get the news a little quicker than in this instance, but perhaps it doesn't matter, for if the light from Nova Aquila had reached the world the day the big explosion took place there would have been no astronomical observatories on earth to record it. Two thousand centuries ago there were men on the earth, but they were a practical folk, more interested in chipping flint knives and keeping the cave warm than in looking up to



© Kadel & Herbert

It is not often that an opportunity is given to see yourself as others see you, but here the cameraman caught his own reflection in the eye of a champion Airedale

## Mexican Metric System

Ten bandits make one revolution.  
Ten revolutions make one government.  
One government makes ten revolutions.—*Boston Transcript*.

## Another Objection to the Metric System

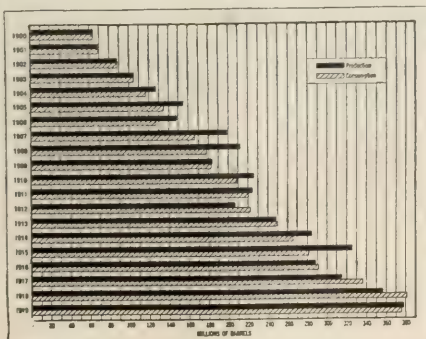
The editor of a religious denominational paper makes objection to the metric system on the ground that he would not want the Bible to read "neither do men light a candle and put it under a hectoliter. . . ."

## Must We Get Out and Push?

With the railroads consuming about fifty million barrels of fuel oil a year, the steamship companies converting their boats into oil burners and a new American merchant marine that is largely oil burning, what is America going to do about Tin Lizzie when the available oil supply is exhausted? Geologists connected with the United States Geological Survey estimate that only 6,500,000,000 barrels of oil are yet underground in the United States, a

reserve that Director Manning of the Bureau of Mines has predicted will be exhausted in less than twenty years at the present rate of consumption or much sooner than that if the demand for gasoline and other oil products continues to increase as it has during the last few years. From 70,000,000 barrels of oil in 1901, the consumption in the United States grew to 421,000,000 barrels during the last year of the war and to 433,500,000 barrels—or approximately 40 per cent of the available supply—in 1919.

Meanwhile all the oil fields discovered since 1901 continue to decline rapidly. The Spindletop, in the "salt dome" section of the Gulf Coast of Texas, originally a 50,000,000 barrel pool, is now down to about 1000 barrels a day. The Cushing pool in Oklahoma, which produced 71,000,000 barrels in 1915, dropped to 41,000,000 in 1916, 24,000,000 in 1917, 17,000,000 in 1918 and 13,500,000 in 1919. Together with Kansas, Oklahoma reported a falling off of 33,000,000 barrels, or 22 per cent, in last year's production, according to preliminary figures issued by the United States Geological Survey. All of which means that if Central and North Texas had not developed high-pressure wells recently there would have been a decrease in the country's production in 1919 instead of an increase which just covered the year's consumption. Production from the Ranger field, the Stephens County pools, the Desdemona pool and the Burkburnett field in Texas jumped 7,000,000 barrels in 1918 and 50,000,000 barrels more in 1919, thus covering the falling off in Oklahoma. However, they, too, are failing fast. From 260,000 barrels a day in August, 1919, they came down recently to only 164,000 barrels a day. The same thing holds true of the Homer field in Louisiana,



© World's Work



the Big Sinking field in Kentucky, and were it not for California oil, the general falling off would be to probably one-third of our present production.

The oil land leasing bill, however, which was passed by Congress in February, should result in an early increase in production from California and from the Salt Creek field in Wyoming, but not enough to take care of

the possible demand for 850,000,000 barrels of crude oil that will be made in 1925. To meet this increasing demand, oil prospectors are already exploring foreign fields, in Venezuela and Colombia, as well as in Mexico, altho some of the present Mexican fields have already gone the way of our own fields by beginning to spout not crude oil, but salt water.

## The Best Woman in Our Town

By Mrs. James R. Pomeroy

The definition of best which applies to the woman of whom I write is "utmost endeavor." During the whole of her life of nearly eighty years, she has put forth her utmost endeavor to make this earth the clean and beautiful place God intended it to be.

Why do I consider her the best woman in our town? For many reasons. A town is not houses and lots, streets, parks, office buildings! These do not make a town. What does? Is it not the people who live in its houses and who go to and fro upon its streets? This best woman never misses a chance—indeed goes out of her way to make a chance—to meet and welcome all strangers who enter our town, be their stay long or short. No inquiry is first made as to their wealth, social standing or prospective business—just one thought uppermost—to make them feel welcome. Now if every man and woman in this town should so greatly desire to make it pleasant for newcomers there would be at least one spot on earth where loneliness and home sickness would be merely words in the dictionary.

Our best woman is a born teacher. Will you understand me when I say that she teaches because she cannot help it—solely for the love of it. How many young men and young women in our town have her to thank for hours of her valuable time when in their younger days she carefully and patiently made plain to them knotty problems in arithmetic, algebra, grammar.

Our best woman knows that "the pen is mightier than the sword" when used to defeat evil in its various forms. And this is perhaps her strongest and most far-reaching weapon of warfare against wrong. In her work as correspondent for our leading papers she ever takes her pen in support of the right. No subject is too unpopular or too "delicate" for her to pass it by. Her ideals are the highest and purest.

During the earlier years of her life she was known in many states as a W. C. T. U. lecturer. In this work she has engaged heart and soul the greater part of her life. No other cause is nearest to her heart unless it be her



Mrs. C. S. Haney, one of the very best women in the South

love for the mountaineers of our southern states.

In a certain county of Kentucky there is a school established by this good woman of our town. It came about something in this wise: While traveling some years ago she found on the seat beside her in the train a leaflet entitled "Soul Winner's Mission." She did not read it then, but took it

home. As mission work had always appealed to her, she became so interested in this particular branch of it that she corresponded with those in charge of the work. The result has been the establishment of a school which has now one hundred and forty pupils, a good faculty and the prospect of soon becoming one of the leading mission schools of the state. Now these few hundred dollars which put this work under way did not come from a well filled purse. The giving called for real sacrifice. Since the establishment of the school her benevolences have centered mostly there, for she sees in this work great possibilities for service to young people.

On learning that one young girl of sixteen would have to drop out of school and earn her living as best she could, our best woman decided that by a little more work and sacrifice on her part she could send the sixty dollars a year which was necessary to keep the girl in school a few more years. This was done and her protégée gives promise of repaying her benefactress, as she has developed into a noble young woman who will go among her people as a teacher.

For some years our best woman was district superintendent of the East Coast for the Children's Home Society of this state. At least once a year a large box of clothing, food and toys is sent from our town to the Home, all the soliciting and packing being done by our same best woman. She often even does needed repairing on the garments that they may be in good shape when they reach their destination.

Much that I have told of her has been of work done in other places; it is the only way in which I can give you an insight into her real character. However, there is no good cause in our own little town in which she does not put her shoulder to the wheel and merit the definition of "best" which I feel truly belongs to her—the "utmost endeavor."

## Big Water-Wheels

The dam across the Mississippi at Keokuk, Iowa, contains some of the largest water-wheels ever built. Each turbine furnishes 10,000 horsepower, and weighs about one million pounds. Many of the "runners," or water-wheels for the turbines, were cast in one piece. They each weigh about 140,000 pounds. The largest runners previously cast in one piece, either in this country or abroad, weighed about 35,000 pounds.



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SINGING TO A RECORD AUDIENCE

Lina Cavalieri and Lucien Muratore recording a duet from "Faust" at the Pathéphone studio in New York. It is interesting to note the position of singers and orchestra in front of the machine so as to give the proper distance in blending the music. At the left is the conductor, Dr. G. W. Roufort





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## You Can Lead a Donkey to Water But the Jackass Won't Drink

(Continued from page 68)

of Ohio. But no one of them was an Administration candidate. There was no such animal. Mr. Wilson evidently chose to abdicate his leadership when the platform had been completed. So the problem had to be solved by the delegates themselves. A long job they made of it. Forty-four times the roll of states was called. It was not until the thirty-ninth time that the outcome began to be foreshadowed. Until then the changes from ballot to ballot had been inconsiderable. They had shown no falling away from any of the three principal candidates. Merely a shifting here and there among the independent group of delegates who were committed to none of the three. This group began with 400 votes and dwindled to 100 before the final slide began. The balloting began Friday night and lasted all thru Saturday and Monday and it was nearly 10 o'clock on Monday evening before any sign of a break in the deadlock came. Then the manager of Palmer's campaign came to the platform and formally released the Palmer delegates. When they had found their allegiances Cox had passed McAdoo and in five ballots it was all over. The "wets" candidate had won.

Cox had been an able Governor of Ohio for three terms. I believe that he has stood for progressive legislation there. He is a supporter of the President's view of the Peace Treaty and the League of Nations. I got a Democratic view of him on a street car going downtown after his nomination. The two men were evidently from Ohio. "Harding will be glad to hear this news—not," said one. "Jimmy Cox will send him on his head on the stump," said the other, and then finished it off by concluding with, "The Republicans would have paid all the expenses of this convention not to have had Jimmy nominated."

I believe that Cox is a good man just as Harding is. I see nothing to prevent the regulars in either party from supporting the party candidate with enthusiasm. But what the poor independent voter is to do I have no idea. There is only one consolation that I can see on either ticket, a fine, virile, progressive young man as candidate for the Vice-Presidency. If you are interested in coincidences you may like to recall that in nineteen hundred a Roosevelt from New York who had been Assistant Secretary of the Navy was nominated for the Vice-Presidency on the ticket with a Presidential candidate from Ohio. As I said in writing of the corresponding subject in relation to the Republican convention, "absit omen," but perhaps there is a grain of hope in the nomination of Franklin Roosevelt at San Francisco as there was in the nomination of Calvin Coolidge at Chicago. It's the only hope in sight.



## All the World Likes a Roosevelt

(Continued from page 72)

Franklin Roosevelt is impulsive. Usually his impulses have been right, tho there are some he has regretted. His friends in Washington did not believe he would accept the nomination, but he had an impulse to do so and he did. He took the next of the footsteps left by his "distant relative."

Roosevelt's nomination added to the journalistic flavor of the campaign in which the heads of both tickets are newspaper owners. Back in his college days Roosevelt was a member of the staff and later president of the *Crimson*, the Harvard daily. It was obedience to an impulse that made him a member of the *Crimson* staff.

A heated political campaign was in progress and there was great interest among the student body and the townspeople as to how a certain professor would vote. No one had been able to find out. The learned doctor seemed to be enjoying the mystery.

Young Roosevelt called upon him one night and in the midst of the conversation an impulse registered itself and received immediate attention.

"Doctor, how are you going to vote?"

"Why, er . . . ah," the professor hesitated. "Damn it, I'm going to vote for So-and-so."

Roosevelt wrote the story. With it the *Crimson* "scooped" the local dailies and on the basis of the "scoop" Roosevelt was made a member of the staff.

Roosevelt has the reputation in the Navy Department of being a "yes and no" man. Any subordinate with a question requiring an immediate decision by the head of the department tries to hold it until Secretary Daniels leaves town to make a speech, so that it may come before Franklin Roosevelt, as the acting secretary. Secretary Daniels is not a "yes and no" man.

In his impatience over Secretary Daniels' inability to make a quick decision, Roosevelt has sometimes yielded to the impulse to criticize the methods of his superior in other than private conversations. These are the impulses he regrets.

My first glimpse of the apparent conflict between the two officials came on the day the President signed the declaration of war. What I saw I then thought boded ill for American naval effort in the war.

I went to the office of Mr. Roosevelt and begged for an answer to the question, "Has the fleet been mobilized?"

"I can't tell you," he said, "but you have a right to know. Come along and we'll find out."

When we reached Secretary Daniels' office, Mr. Roosevelt said:

"Here is a newspaperman. He wants to know and all the rest want to know whether the fleet has been ordered mobilized."

"Tell the young man," said Daniels quietly, "that an announcement will be made in due course."



## The problem of housing workers



BUILDING WITH FORESIGHT

"THE American people are all agriculturists except one Benjamin Franklin," an 18th Century foreign diplomat informed Europe. Small craftshops with bounden apprentices satisfied that day. The waterpower factory of the following century, operated with help from the neighborhood, bears little resemblance to its descendant, the modern corporation, directing and housing armies of workers.

The thought of industrial housing of a generation ago summons a vision of tenements in dreary rows surrounding the mill—then considered adequate, though now shabby by comparison. Foresight—the business creed of today—coupled with higher living standards and a better knowledge of sanitation, extends to the building of inviting communities with pleasant homes, day nurseries, kindergartens, recreation centers and inns for single workers. Created environment has been enlisted in the cause of industry.

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When we had left the room:  
"You see . . ." said Roosevelt, " . . . It was the best I could do."

He did not on that occasion, except by the implication of his tone, criticize his superior. There were other occasions, however, when he was less tactful. The public has had more than a hint of impulsive opinions he has expressed, and the conclusion has been drawn that Secretary Daniels and Assistant Secretary Roosevelt did not get along at all. This opinion has been fostered by naval officers seeking dissension in the department.

Assistant Secretary Roosevelt is popular with naval officers. He knows the traditions of the navy and respects them. He is orthodox in his methods. Secretary Daniels is unorthodox. He insists on running the navy instead of letting the navy run itself. Consequently he is not as popular with the officers as some other secretaries have been.

The relationship of Secretary Daniels and Assistant Secretary Roosevelt has been not unlike that of a father to a son, the son intensely loyal and working for the same objects, but sometimes becoming impatient with the father's slower methods. What Secretary Daniels has thought of Roosevelt's occasional impetuous outbursts he has kept to himself. When Roosevelt was nominated for the Vice-Presidency he made a fulsome speech in his praise.

The only duty of the Vice-President of the United States while he remains Vice-President is to preside over the Senate, a dreary job at best and one for which the young and active Mr. Roosevelt is not particularly well fitted. Since the armistice there has been a great deal of talk in Washington of the desirability of reorganizing the executive departments of the Government and reforming the methods of Congress. Something of the kind is likely to be undertaken at the next session of Congress. Under each of the plans proposed new duties would be given to the Vice-President. One scheme would make him a sort of business manager for the Government. Such duties as are contemplated for the Vice-President under these plans would be far better suited to Mr. Roosevelt than the ones he will assume under the present system, if elected.

"The entire system or relationship which exists between Congress and the executive departments is fundamentally wrong," he wrote to Congressman Ireland, who sought his opinion as to how the Government establishment could be placed on a more modern and scientific basis.

By way of illustration he told of an offer he made to the Appropriations Committee to discharge 15 per cent of the employees of the Navy Department, if he could be given authority to take one-half of the salaries of those discharged and add this one-half to the salaries of the employees who remained.

"Of course, however, under the present system Congress would not think of giving executive discretion of this

kind," he said. "Congress, for various reasons, has so tied the hands of the executive officers of the Government that they have no discretion in the fundamental questions of employment. I do not believe, of course, that the civil service system should be wiped out or that we should return to the spoils system, but there is altogether too much assumption in this Government that executive officers will use their authority for political purposes. My own wonder is that, considering the existing circumstances, the employees of the Government are as efficient as they actually are."

To a question as to whether any consolidation of bureaus could be made in such a manner as to increase efficiency his answer was "yes."

"But," he added, "only if the whole question of the executive departments can be considered at the same time. For instance, there is a lot of work being done in other departments which ought properly to be under the Navy Department, and in the same way there is a lot of work being done by the Navy Department which could perfectly properly be transferred to other departments."

Three years in Albany and seven in Washington had forced him to the conclusion "that our governmental methods in this country are cumbersome and wasteful." He thought, however, that the first improvement must come from the source of governmental activities, the legislative branch.

He recommended that Congress:

"1—Create a true budget system, not the small beginning already attempted.

"2—Consolidate the appropriations in one general committee, with subcommittees to deal with the separate subjects.

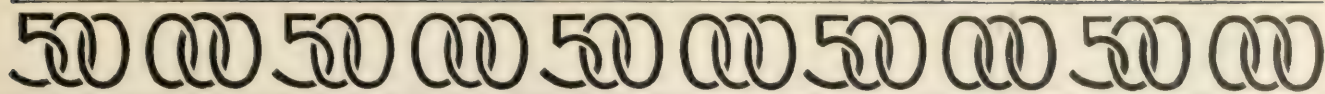
"3—Put into law the general principles recommended by the Reclassification Committee's report, together with the authorization of adequate salaries to Government employees.

"4—Invite a conference with the executive branch of the Government, looking to a reclassification and redistribution of the work of the departments.

"5—Give by law greater authority to the heads of the executive departments in conducting their executive business, at the same time holding these heads more directly responsible for the successful administration of their work."

Franklin Roosevelt is frank—sometimes too impulsive in his frankness. He has no talent for dissembling. He is young and he is friendly. He is an excellent administrator, as his service in the Navy Department has proved, and is an energetic fighter for progressive principles. He will not make an ideal Vice-President. He is certain if elected to that office to get off the vice-presidential reservation, as at present restricted. If you, the people of the United States, decide to elect him, you should decide also to enlarge the Vice-Presidency, else you will make him a prisoner in office.





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What is the best kind of roofing for my summer camp in Canada?

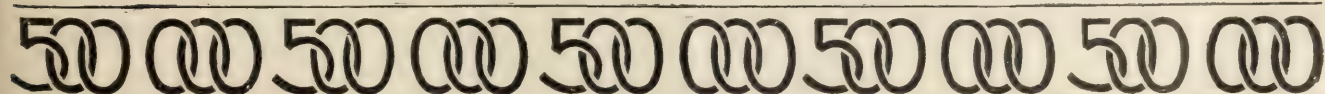
Can paint intended for interior work be used for porch floors?

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G. D. MILNE, Treasurer.

## DIVIDEND NOTICE OF THE American Light & Traction Company

The Board of Directors of the above Company, at a meeting held July 6th, 1920, declared a CASH dividend of 1 1/4 per cent. on the Preferred Stock, a CASH dividend of 1 3/4 per cent. on the Common Stock, and a dividend at the rate of 1 3/4 shares of Common Stock on every One Hundred (100) shares of Common Stock outstanding, all payable August 24, 1920.

The transfer books will close at 3 o'clock P. M. on July 15th, 1920, and will reopen at 10 o'clock A. M. on July 29th, 1920.

C. N. JELLIFFE, Secretary.

### FEDERAL SUGAR REFINING CO.

July 6, 1920.

The regular quarterly dividends of One and Three-Quarters Per Cent. (1 3/4%) on the Common Shares and One and One-Half Per Cent. (1 1/2%) on the Preferred Shares, and an extra dividend of \$5.00 on the Common Shares of this Company will be paid August 2nd, 1920, to stockholders of record at the close of business July 10th, 1920. Transfer books will not close.

PIERRE J. SMITH, Treasurer.

### MIDVALE STEEL AND ORDNANCE CO.

Dividend No. 15.

At a meeting of the Board of Directors of Midvale Steel and Ordnance Company, held Wednesday, July 7th, 1920, a quarterly dividend of \$1.00 per share was declared, payable August 2nd, 1920, to stockholders of record at close of business July 17th, 1920.

Books will remain open.

WM. B. DICKSON, Treasurer.

## Can the Leitch Plan Fall Down?

(Continued from page 74)

the dollar runs amuck. We visited John Leitch. He had so many calls from employers that he could not listen to our query. He referred us to his book. He is not an institution. He cannot delegate his methods to a staff of subordinates. He must go in person.

For many years he went from job to job, on his own wages, seeking an answer to his question. He saw "employees come and go, live and die, without a thought on the part of employers as to their welfare." He saw "employees show an equal lack of interest in the employers, and demonstrated their disinterestedness by pointedly doing just as little as they possibly could for their wages." He could find "no relation between work and wages. The employer paid the lowest wage at which he could get men, and the worker gave the smallest return which he could possibly give and still get the highest wages." Inside each business concern he found "ruinous competition between labor and capital—the one to get more, the other to give less." "Out of that first-hand investigation," he goes on, "pursued without theories and without a knowledge of philosophy, came a gradual comprehension that there could be a better way. Seeking the why and the how led me into philosophy—into the causes behind what we call results—and step by step unfolded that which I now call Industrial Democracy."

At last he found his opportunity. He was superintendent of a small plant, without a labor union. He held mass meetings. They "talked over the management of the factory, better ways of doing work, etc."

It worked. His "fundamental ideas were right." "The men liked the meetings; they liked the chance to air their troubles, to have it out over anything that did not satisfy them; and gradually it dawned on me that this desire to talk and to have a say in things was the bubbling to the surface of the innate spirit of democracy—of the desire which is in almost every man to have a voice in his own destiny and a means for self-expression. Analyzing my personal work, I found that what I had really done was to capitalize fair play—to sell the management to the men, to convince them that their meetings were of importance and not merely opportunities to blow off steam."

The next quest was to find a method of industrial organization that would make these meetings a fixed part of the business. So far industrial democracy was only "a state of mind." It must have a body and a constitution. This was the final discovery. "The organization of any factory or other business institution into a little democratic state, with a representative government which shall have both its legislative and executive phases." There was but one such model—the constitution of the United States. So he seized

upon it. "I am taking as settled without argument," he exclaimed, "that American principles of democracy are right and then making application of these principles to the governing of a factory."

So it came about that industrial democracy has its Cabinet, the President and Chiefs of the Business; its Senate, the foremen and heads of departments; its House of Representatives, the workers elected by their fellow-workers on a basis of equal suffrage in each department or section of the shop.

Thus industrial democracy is the repetition of political democracy.

Madison, Wisconsin

## How You Can Help Italy

(Continued from page 69)

had been utilized. Up to 1918, in comparison with the territorial surface, Italy was third in the amount of hydraulic power utilized per square mile.

Very recently, I have been confidentially informed that from 1918 to the present year, nearly another million horsepower has been torn from nature; nearly 6000 kilometers of railway will be electrified, and in this way the reservoirs of water falls from the Alps in the north, thru the Appennines to the southern provinces of Calabria, will be utilized helping the solution of the most serious problem of Italy.

During the war Italy saw her imports of coal greatly reduced from 10,380,000 tons imported during 1913, to only 5,890,000 tons imported during 1918. We might say that in 1918 the imports of coal were nearly one-half of her imports in normal times. Italy was not discouraged during the war. She did not throw up her hands waiting for help from the outside. She had vast deposits of lignites in different districts which previous to the war had been absolutely unexploited, but partly utilized for a very small local consumption.

Between 1917 and 1918 more than 5,000,000 tons of lignites were extracted and due to the faulty process the utilization has not fully answered the expectations of first class industrial operations. There is every hope that very shortly with the collaboration of American concerns, the problem of the industrial exploitations and utilization of lignites will be a very important and determining factor in the industrial and economic rehabilitation of Italy.

Two very important factors in determining the balance of trade of Italy were the emigration and the tourist traffic, combined with the exports. From 1913 to 1918 Italy has seen her emigration greatly curtailed.

Tourist service has been shut off completely, while her population from 1914 to 1918 has increased nearly 3,000,000 inhabitants.

Prior to the war, our emigrants were directed mainly to the United States.



Notwithstanding the restrictions governing the immigration into the United States, and while the tide of Italian emigrants is now principally flowing toward South America, very shortly, Italian labor will be absolutely required also by the United States and thus this important factor which is now playing an important role in the economic resumption of Italy, will fully play its part in favor of that country.

The tourists' traffic, which on account of the conditions of war has been suspended and remained at a standstill, will necessarily improve from next year on.

The main sources of export, also for the products of southern Italy, I am sorry to remind, were, before the war, the Central Empires, Austria and Germany, but this source of revenue was completely shut off by the war. Relations will, no doubt, be resumed, and this other important factor will contribute also in establishing a satisfactory balance of trade.

During 1919 the monthly rate of imports was about 1,100,000,000 lire, or 8,800,000,000 during the first six months and 7,600,000,000 during the latter half of the year; this means a reduction of more than 13 per cent. Exports on the other hand, from January to December, were more than trebled and in the second part of the year there was an increase of more than 100 per cent.

Another very important item showing how courageous and strong Italy will successfully emerge from the conditions created by the war, is given by her shipping situation. Italy lost 62 per cent of her tonnage during the war, which loss left her with only 1,000,000 tons of shipping. According to the latest data given by the Lloyds Register, Italy has been given fourth place among the shipbuilding nations of the world.

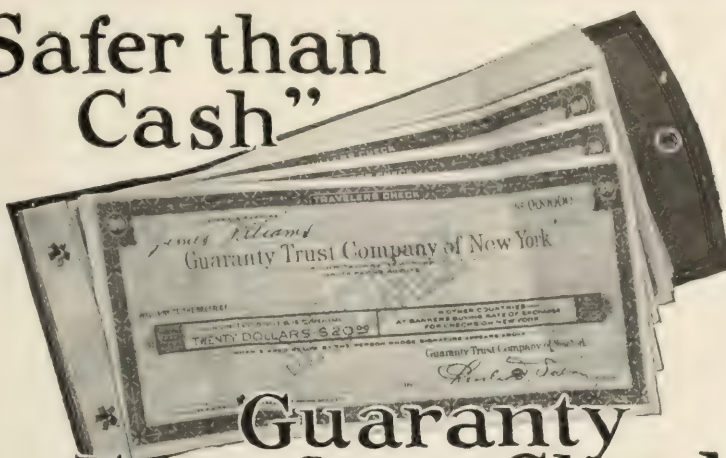
It must be remembered by everybody in general, and in the United States in particular, that, while during the war Italian shipowners and Italian crews supporting the Government did their best in order to offer Italy rates of freight as economically as possible, other nations, where the tonnage was controlled by Government agencies, were asking excessive rates of freight. During the war Italian shipping transported coal to Italy from the United States at the rate of \$6 or \$7 per ton, while other agencies thought nothing of asking as much as \$26 per ton.

This great moral factor, if it gives an idea of the willingness of the Italian people to endure sacrifices, unknown to other nations, is also an indication of their ability to work hard for the reconstruction of their country. As an American friend, not pro-Italian, has said:

Of all the European nations that are on the way to reconstruction, Belgium has given solid proof of her progress since last year. Belgium will be first among all the nations to emerge from the state of war. The second place in the matter of reconstruction will be taken by Italy.

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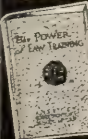
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# The Independent

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## The Cover

For several months the Public Library in New York has given its main hall to an exhibition of posters issued by the Paris-Lyon-Mediterranean Railway of France. In color and composition these posters set a new artistic standard, one notably above that of most commercial art in this country. We have obtained permission to publish on the cover of *The Independent* this week one of the more striking of these posters, and we hope perhaps to present two or three others during the year.

## New Plays

*The Night Boat* is just what one might expect of a musical comedy by that name. (Liberty Theater.)

George White's *Scandals of 1920*. A modern musical review of jazz scenery, scant costumes and assorted stunts. A pseudo-naughty frivol. (Globe Theater.)

*Cinderella on Broadway*. An extravaganza of lilting music, nimble dancing and catchy dialog. Presented by the Shuberts. Al Brendel improves over recent vaudeville capers and does some clever clowning. (Winter Garden Theater.)

*The Girl in the Spotlight*. Music by Victor Herbert. Book and lyrics by Richard Bruce. Staged by George W. Lederer. A tuneful musical comedy fully up to the title, or down to it, if one doesn't like musical shows. (Knickerbocker Theater.)

## Pebbles

He—My clutch is awful weak.  
She—So I've noticed.—*Cornell Widow*

Norah—I hit her and she hit me back.  
Her Mistress—You should say "my back." Norah!—*Octopus*.

We are living, we are dwelling  
In a grand and awful time.  
And the things we pay a dollar for,  
We used to pay a dime!

—*Blightly*.

"Is it true you are going to marry again?"

"Yes, dear."

"But you are still in mourning."

"I know, but then Harry's the black sheep of the family."—*Blightly*.

Down in dear old Greenwich village, where  
they're dancing after tea,  
There's a Yankee girl a-jazzing, and I  
know she thinks of me.

For the wind is off the Hudson, and the  
steamship syrens talk.

Saying: "Pack your grip and beat it, back  
to little old New York!"

From the Battery to the Bronx  
Where the automobile honks  
Come to God's own good Republic,  
Where they haven't got no konks!  
Come back to the Great White Way  
Where the shimmy skysigns play,  
And a roar goes up like thunder  
From the "L" and the Subway!

—*London Herald*.

## Including Harper's Weekly

Hamilton Holt  
Editor

Edwin E. Slosson Associate Editor	Hannah H. White Managing Editor
Franklin H. Giddings	Norman Hapgood
Shailer Mathews	Talcott Williams
Preston Slosson	John Spargo

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## Remarkable Remarks

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN—My heart is in the grave.

CARL SCHWIZ LOWDEN—Have you a little prejudice in your home?

REV. GEORGE CHALMERS RICHMOND—The Republican party hates Jesus.

MISS ELIZABETH MARBURY—I am as big as a whale, but I am as nice as a smelt.

WARREN G. STONE—Moral courage is required to run a train a mile a minute.

QUEEN MARIE OF RUMANIA—I don't own up when I know I don't know a thing.

BABE RUTH—Making a home run is about the finest sensation that I know of.

SENATOR PENROSE—The people are determined to restore the Republican party to power.

MRS. WARREN G. HARDING—I lived with my husband for twenty-six years and I know him.

MRS. CALVIN COOLIDGE—I have my ambitions and the dearest one of these is to own a Ford.

JOHN BURROUGHS—The best way to deal with a bee hive is by a bold and decisive manner.

FANNIE HURST—The women delegates were not selected by either Mr. Ziegfeld or Mr. Sennet.

DOLLY MADISON—I predict that Gloria Gould will follow in her sister Edith's footsteps, and elope.

MRS. VINCENT ASTOR—The dress I am wearing most frequently at present I bought ready-made.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT—All I ask in the coming political campaign is that there be no mud-slinging.

W. H. TAFT—The approaching Presidential election will result in the success of the Republican ticket.

CHRISTOPHER MORLEY—We have yet to learn whether either of the Presidential candidates wears pink elastic sleeve suspenders.

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CHAIRMAN HOMER S. CUMMINGS—The Republican meeting at Chicago was not a convention but an auction.

ROBERT W. CHAMBERS—With a charming little sound in her throat like a young bird, she snuggled closer, pressing her cheek against his.

LUKE McLUKE—Father hates to tell mother he has found a bed-bug. He knows that mother will wreck the house until she has found another one.

DEAN INGE—God is not the kind of a person to send some dire calamity for dining one of thirteen, or for walking under a ladder, or for getting married in May.

LAURENCE L. DRIGGS, president, American Flying Club—Avoid stunt-flying and fog-flying, and aeroplane fatalities, per machine, will actually show a lower percentage than automobile fatalities.





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NEW YORK

WORKS: PROVIDENCE AND NEW YORK



# The Independent

July 24-31, 1920

## Europe's Crisis and America's Problem

By Frank A. Vanderlip

*A year ago when Mr. Vanderlip, then President of the National City Bank of New York, returned from a tour of the war-stricken countries he presented so serious a view of "What Happened in Europe" as to startle this country. But gradually financiers have come to realize that he did not exaggerate the crisis and that he had pointed the only way out of the difficulty. Mr. Vanderlip's survey of the present situation is given in the following article which is to form the introduction to a revised edition of his book shortly to be published by Macmillan*

A PEACE Treaty was signed a year ago which took into account pretty much everything except economic factors. As a matter of fact, European people themselves did not see clearly those economic fundamentals. The statesmen who were charged with the responsibility of writing the Treaty of Peace were almost as blind to the economic factors of the situation as was the general public. But economic factors have to be reckoned with. It is idle to take into account ethnological considerations or political differences, if the people within the new political boundaries are cold, unclad and hungry.

America a year ago suffered from an almost complete lack of appreciation of the nature of the economic structure of Europe. It has taken most of the year for the general opinion in this country to comprehend the existing economic data of the European situation and to grasp the principles necessarily involved in the recuperation of the industrial life of Europe.

With us, as with the Entente nations, there were fundamental misconceptions in regard to the economic principles involved in the payment of indemnities. Indeed, the statesmen who drew the Peace Treaty seemed least of all, for a time, to understand how indemnities may be paid by one nation to others. These misconceptions were increased rather than cleared up by superficial comparison with what was accomplished by France in the payment of indemnities following the Franco-Prussian war.

Time helped to a clearer view of the economic factors at work in the European situation. Today we have a fair understanding of the economic structure of Europe, of the complicated industrial and commercial organization which developed there in the last fifty years, of the special difficulties owing to the extent of the area of disorganization resulting from the Great War, of the obstacles hampering reconstruction, and of the nature of the indemnities.

We now comprehend more clearly what an involved, complicated and interdependent organization had been built up in Europe during the era of industrial development included in the period from the Franco-



Orr in Chicago Tribune

The Pied Piper

Prussian War to the development of the Great War. We better understand how that industrial development enabled a great and rapidly increasing mass of people in Europe more easily to command a livelihood by sending out into the world manufactured products to be exchanged for the cheaply produced food which the opening of the grain fields of the Mississippi Valley, the Argentine and Russia afforded. The improvement in transportation, bringing the grain from those distant and rich agricultural districts, made it possible for Central Europe to develop its great workshops and

feed its increasing population by exchanging manufactures for food.

Fifty years ago the population of Europe was beginning to press with a good deal of severity upon the productive powers of European fields. The cost of food production was high and would have rapidly become higher if there had been an attempt further to increase domestic productivity. It was discovered that by developing industrially and drawing food from distant and fertile fields conditions of life could be made much easier. So an increasing mass of the population of several countries of Europe began to devote its energies to manufacturing and to the commerce which resulted in the exchange of these manufactured products for food, raised in distant lands.

These easier conditions of life were followed, as easier conditions always have been followed, by a rapid increase in population. It has been estimated that, at the outbreak of the Great War, one hundred million people in Europe were gaining their food supply by manufacturing goods for export. Those goods paid for the food and raw materials which this increasing population needed, and which Europe could not produce directly.





L'Assommoir, 1919

The Ghost of a Soldier: "Can you tell me, please, where I shall find the independence, liberty and fraternity of the people?"

The Common Man: "They are unknown!"

The Ghost of a Soldier: "But it is for them that I gave up my life."

Something of the difficulties confronting manufacturers and traders in their effort to reconstruct the old industrial order was set forth in my observations published last year. I still believe that the statements then made were conservative, that they were an under-drawn and restrained description of those difficulties.

We have witnessed in the period which has elapsed since these observations were made a valiant effort on the part of European people to overcome the obstacles standing in the way of getting back to the old industrial order.

In some countries these efforts have been at least partially successful. In others the difficulties proved too great to be overcome and there has been steady disintegration.

England has made marked progress in the direction of recovery. Belgium, having in some ways fewer difficulties, particularly a comparatively small accumulation of war debt, has made more progress toward recovery than any other Continental nation. In Italy there has been recovery in some lines of industry, but prostration has continued in others. Italy was in some ways more severely hurt than any other Entente nation. The problem of balancing her international trade is extremely difficult. She is making a noble effort to put her house in order. Italy seems to me especially to merit our interest, sympathy and help. France has in some directions made considerable recovery. Her recovery is noteworthy in parts of the devastated district. But her international trade balance is distressingly unfavorable; her post-war domestic budget extremely high and unbalanced. Her taxes have been largely increased; but there is still a gap between Government income and expenditures that will test the genius of her financial administration.

The difficulties presented to the newly-formed nations, stretching all the way from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, have in part proved insurmountable. Industry is still paralyzed. Transportation has deteriorated. National credit has had to face unbalanced domestic budgets. Currency inflation has been used to help meet budget deficits. The standard of value has consequently depreciated. Taken altogether, the difficulties that these nations are facing seem greater today than they were a year ago.

Russia presents a story by itself. Under a communistic régime industrial production has been disappointing. Communism saw its way

clearly thru a division of existing property, but seems to have been woefully lacking in the genius for efficient production. The transportation system in Russia has continued to deteriorate and is today perhaps the chief obstacle in the way of normal economic national life. With a grain crop in Southern Russia the best in seventeen years there has been wholesale starvation in some of the cities. Transportation was inadequate to move the products. The almost unlimited inflation of the currency so depreciated its value that peasants would not willingly part with their produce in exchange for worthless money which would not buy the manufactured products which they needed. The embargo on Russia has prevented the exchange of her produce, could it have been moved to the ports, for the manufactures that she needed. There has been a development of primitive manufacture, but of course that could not replace the supplies which modern industrial methods formerly produced.

The developments in the labor field in Europe offer interesting grounds for survey. The disturbances in the labor situation in England which threatened the political order in February, 1919, have been in part composed. Higher wages were granted to miners, to men engaged in transportation, and pretty generally thruout the industrial organization. This has for the time, at least, averted violent outbreaks. The aspirations of the Labor party for the nationalization of the coal mines have crystallized into definite political demand. That has been clearly refused by the existing government and a compromise measure is now being debated in Parliament. The outcome of the divergent views on the subject of the nationalization of coal will be one of the main features of future political struggles. Organized labor is well united in its demand for nationalization. Opposition has crystallized, and the general body of opinion outside of organized labor seems opposed to such a step. The demand for the nationalization of the railroads is less insistent and the opposition is probably more general.

England has shown masterly ability in dealing with its foreign trade policy. As a result various industrial lines, and particularly its textile manufacturing, have been urged to an activity which results in production on a great scale. The British demand for imported raw material, food, and in a less important measure, manu-

factured products has, however, far exceeded her ability to make counter-balancing exports. For the calendar year 1919, British imports exceeded exports by £669,000,000. These imports were in part paid for by "invisible exports" in the form of ocean freight, insurance, and income, on foreign investments still owned by the British investors. The gap between imports and exports is still so [Continued on page 128]



Nebelspatter, Zurich

The real victors—Hunger, Despair, Bolshevism



# Forced Labor in Russia

By Edwin E. Slosson

THE act of Lenin and Trotzky in converting the workingmen of Russia into an industrial army under military discipline confirms what the critics of Socialism have always contended, that the Socialistic state was impossible without a considerable restriction of the individual liberty which the masses in modern times have secured. All the labor that supports civilization is fundamentally forced labor, for few of us would work hard enough to accomplish much if we did not have to. But the compulsion under capitalism is less in amount and less obnoxious in proportion to the compensation than under any other system. The modern workingman gets more for what he does and has greater freedom and variety in the choice of his work than the slave and the serf or the peasant proprietor of the primitive period or the independent craftsman of the succeeding era. There is good prospect of vast improvement in the same direction since man has only begun to substitute the forces of nature for human muscle and the system of distribution of this increased wealth could be made more equitable.

BUT the Socialists have held up before us beautiful pictures of a new order where competition should be eliminated, prizes abolished, inequalities obliterated, dictation unnecessary and compulsion unknown; where a few hours devoted to some light and congenial employment would suffice to provide for all the ease and freedom hitherto enjoyed by a few. Such a land as William Morris's "Nowhere" is as faultless as the author can make it, tho not always so enticing as the author believes. A utopia cannot be attacked—because it does not exist. It is only when it is brought down from the clouds to the solid—and sordid—earth that it can be directly compared with the systems it proposes to supplant.

Those of us who were skeptical of such visions averred that Socialism would fail on those points where capitalism is strongest, that is in efficient management and productivity. We questioned whether such deep-seated traits of human nature as laziness and the disposition to do what one likes best rather than what is most useful to the community could be eradicated and whether such incentives as emulation and self-interest could be dispensed with without serious loss in efficiency. But our Socialist friends accused us of taking too mean a view of human nature and assured us that everybody would work harder and waste less when they were their own masters and when what they produced was all their own. So tho we remained unconvinced we could not prove them wrong for their plan had never been tried.

Now fortunately for us it is being tried on a larger scale than the United States and it apparently is not working well even according to its own reports. Judging from the Bolshevik papers the Soviet system is in danger of shipwreck because of the insufficiency of the necessities of life due primarily to the impossibility of keeping work going continuously and effectively except by sternest compulsion. The first step was taken last January when Lenin, instead of demobilizing the Third Red Army which had defeated Kolchak, converted it into the First Revolutionary Labor Army with Trotzky as commander-in-chief. This was followed by the organization of a Labor Militia by enrolling for service wherever needed all the able-bodied workingmen and making the trade unions into military

machines. Finally it was found necessary to apply forcible means to the peasantry. To show what this means we may best quote from Trotzky's report on the militarization of labor made at the Ninth Congress of the Russian Communist Party, as published in the Moscow *Izvestia*, March 21, 1920:

At the present time the militarization of labor is all the more needed in that we have now come to the mobilization of peasants as the means of solving the problems requiring mass action. We are mobilizing the peasants and forming them into labor detachments which very closely resemble military detachments. Some of our comrades say, however, that even tho in the case of the working power of mobilized peasantry it is necessary to apply militarization, a military apparatus need not be created when the question involves skilled labor and industry because there we have professional unions performing the function of organizing labor. This opinion, however, is erroneous.

At present it is true that professional unions distribute labor power at the demand of social-economic organizations, but what means and methods do they possess for insuring that the workman who is sent to a given factory actually reports at that factory for work?

We have in the most important branches of our industry more than a million workmen on the lists, but not more than eight hundred thousand of them are actually working, and where are the remainder? They have gone to the villages, or to other divisions of industry or into speculation. Among soldiers this is called desertion and in one form or another the measures used to compel soldiers to do their duty should be applied in the field of labor.

Under a unified system of economy the masses of workmen should be moved about, ordered and sent from place to place in exactly the same manner as soldiers. This is the foundation of the militarization of labor and without this we are unable to speak seriously of any organization of industry on a new basis in the conditions of starvation and disorganization existing today. . . .

In the period of transition in the organization of labor, compulsion plays a very important part. The statement that free labor, namely, freely employed labor produces more than labor under compulsion, is correct only when applied to feudalistic and bourgeois orders of society.

IF Trotzky's concluding paragraph is justified and he finds that compulsory labor is more productive than freely employed labor it will indeed be a surprising reversal of all previous experience. What becomes of "the divine right to strike" under this régime may be seen from this item in the *Krasvaya Gazeta* (Red Gazette) of April 18, 1920:

#### THEY HAVE REPENTED

Of the workmen employees who were sentenced for striking in the main wagon shops of the Moscow-Kursk Railway, sentenced to deprivation of freedom for various terms, forty-four have sent in petitions asking to be freed. These railway men write: "We will try to raise the productivity of labor as much as we can, and not to practice sabotage and not to carry on agitation against the Soviet authority." By order of the highest authority, these have been liberated.

The rest of the strikers will doubtless have to suffer "deprivation of freedom" until they, too, promise to be good and work as hard as possible and support the administration. They were lucky to get off so lightly for the death penalty may be imposed for slackers in the labor ranks as for deserters from the army.

But there are evidently some even of the laboring men who cling to the old fashioned idea of freedom. They then must be declared heretics and ruled out of the narrowing circle of orthodox communism. How it



must hurt the feelings of a lifelong Socialist to be officially found guilty of being a bourgeois. But that is how they are characterized by no less an authority than Karl Radek, former Bolshevik envoy to Germany, in the Moscow *Pravda* of April 4, 1920:

#### THE COLLAPSE OF THE LAST BOURGEOIS ILLUSION

The decisions of the Congress of the Russian Communist Party on economic questions represent in final analysis a plan for the organization of labor. They destroy the last bourgeois illusion, the illusion of freedom of labor. And it is precisely because this is the last illusion that these decisions will arouse opposition on the part of all that is bourgeois in the workmen's world and will arouse bitter shouts from those elements who are interested in the existence of bourgeois illusions among the working class. But from the point of view of the working class, the organized overthrow of this last bourgeois illusion represents the most important step taken by Communist Russia since the overthrow of capitalism. . . .

The progressive section of the proletariat, personified in the Communist Party, has handled this last bourgeois illusion, exposing it with the same passion as it struggled with arms in hand against Yudenich and Kolchak. It will put the working masses on their feet to perform this heroic work, just as it led them to the heroism of war. Soviet Russia has lit up for the working masses of all Europe the road of civil war, as the condition of victory over capital. It will now point out to them the organization of labor as the road to the victory of Communism.

The British Labor party, which from the point of view of Mr. Gompers is dangerously revolutionary, is from the point of view of Radek decidedly bourgeois. Ben Turner, chairman of the British Labor delegation which returned from a visit of investigation to Russia in June, says on this point:

They are giving an inducement of extra food, and so on, to sections of the workpeople to increase their output, and they are limiting the Government ration to those who do not give their best production considering their physical condition and general efficiency. There are no strikes, because the Government won't have them. There is not the freedom on the industrial side that we have in this country. Indeed, some of their proposals regarding production and the abolition of the strike would gladden the heart of some employers of labor here, but they do not suit me or some of my colleagues.

Not only has it been found necessary to apply compulsion upon the low-

er level of the industrial scale, but it has likewise been found necessary to apply incentives at the upper level in the way of rewards and the stimulation of desire to surpass others, altho competitive spirit was one of the moral evils from which the Socialists promised to free us in the future. For instance, Shaw, who holds to absolute equality in the distribution of wealth, would be shocked at the Bolsheviks for regulating pay by piece-work, establishing bonuses, and giving high salaries to managers and experts. But the Central Executive Committee of the Russian Communist Party in March laid down the following as one of their principles for the economic reconstruction of Soviet Russia:

4. *Labor Competition.* Every social régime, whether one of serfdom, slavery or capital, had its own methods of labor coercion and labor education in the interests of the exploiting upper class. The Soviet régime is confronted by the task of developing its own methods of procedure for the purpose of raising the intensity of labor on the basis of social economy and in the interests of the toiling masses. Together with the influence of propaganda and moral influence on the toiling masses, together with repressions applied to idlers, parasites and disorganizers, competition is a powerful means of raising the intensity of labor. In a capitalist society competition led to the exploitation of one human being by another. In a society where the means of production are nationalized, competition in work will not destroy solidarity but will only raise the total output of labor. Competition between factories, districts, unions, workshops and individual workmen must form the subject of attentive investigation and careful organization by trade unions and economic organizations. The system of rewards must be one of the most powerful means of creating competition and in accordance with it must be established a system of food supply. While the Soviet republic is short of food, the conscientious and diligent workers must be better provided for than the idlers.

All this means merely that the leaders of Soviet Russia are not such blind and uncompromizing fanatics as they have been accused of being. On the contrary they are rather to be classed as opportunists, for they have shown themselves very adroit at changing their practice to suit the circumstances and then adapting their principles to their practice.

They have run their heads up against a stone wall—which was foolish  
[Continued on page 127]

## Provincetown

By Marie Louise Hersey

All summer in the close-locked streets the crowd  
Elbows its way past glittering shops to strains  
Of noisy rag-time, men and girls, dark skinned,—  
From warmer foreign waters they have come  
To our New England. Purring like sleek cats  
The cushioned motors of the rich crawl thru  
While black-haired babies scurry to the curb:  
Pedro, Maria, little Gabriel  
Whose red bandana mothers selling fruit  
Have this in common with the fresh white caps  
Of those first immigrants—courage to leave  
Familiar hearths and build new memories.

Blood of their blood who shaped these sloping roofs  
And low arched doorways, laid the cobble stones  
Not meant for motors,—you and I rejoice  
When roof and spire sink deep into the night  
And all the little streets reach out their arms  
To be received into the salt-drenched dark.  
Then Provincetown comes to her own again,  
Draws round her like a cloak that shelters her  
From too swift changes of the passing years  
The dunes, the sea, the silent hilltop grounds  
Where solemn groups of leaning headstones hold  
Perpetual reunion of her dead.

At dusk we feel our way along the wharf  
That juts into the harbor: anchored ships  
With lifting prow and slowly rocking mast  
Ink out their profiles; fishing dories scull  
With muffled lamps that glimmer thru the spray;  
We hear the water plash among the piers  
Rotted with moss, long after sunset stay  
To watch the dim sky-changes ripple down  
The length of quiet ocean to our feet  
Till on the sea rim rising like a world  
Bigger than ours, and laying bare the ships  
In shadowy stillness, swells the yellow moon.

Between this blue intensity of sea  
And rolling dunes of white-hot sand that burn  
All day across a clean salt wilderness  
On shores grown sacred as a place of prayer,  
Shine bright invisible footsteps of a band  
Of firm-lipped men and women who endured  
Partings from kindred, hardship, famine, death,  
And won for us three hundred years ago  
A reverent proud freedom of the soul.



# Open the Door to China

A Message from the Japanese Government to the American People

By Baron K. Takahashi

Japanese Minister of Finance

CHINA is one of the great treasure-houses of the world. She is blessed with a vast area of soil populated with 450,000,000 people, and containing inexhaustible natural resources, but has been very slow in introducing modern civilization. Among other drawbacks, the miserable condition of the industrial and transportation systems and the serious political controversies often resulting in the shifting of the reins of government, have considerably hampered her economic development and almost all kinds of industry still remain in a very primitive state. With her rich soil and great natural resources neither developed nor utilized, most of the inhabitants are still satisfied with a low standard of living and the Government suffers from chronic financial distress. Such being the case, it is clearly the duty of more advanced nations to develop her latent resources under the modern system of industry, offering their surplus capital for this purpose. The criticism one so often hears that the Chinese people are constitutionally incapable of operating modern industry is based upon a superficial view taken by those who have no knowledge of Chinese history. In the ages gone by China was the center of a civilization which flowed all over the world. Later on, however, the conservative tendency which she shows in politics as well as in education made her gradually fall back in the race of civilization and prosperity. But China of today is not the China of yesterday. It is worthy of note that China too has felt the wash of the waves of world civilization, and is now awakening in her political as well as her social life, while at the same time her industry stands on the eve of a fundamental reformation. Availing himself of the appointment of the "Committee on Post-War Finances," President Hsu-Shihchang lately called the attention of his fellow citizens to the fact that every great Power is using its best endeavors to meet the economic competition after the war, and declared that were her natural resources duly investigated, developed and utilized, China would certainly be able to play an important rôle among the great Powers. In other words, the only means by which the welfare of China can be promoted is the development of the unexploited treasures of her land. Does not this give a pointer as to what China will be tomorrow? We can already see how this great nation has begun to awaken to a consciousness of its own power and the opportunity seems now ripe to improve her industrial organization, but China, short as she is at present of capital and technical skill, must have adequate assistance from other countries in order to achieve this happy end.

With regard to the national finance of China, the revenue year after year fails to keep pace with the



Baron Takahashi

expenditure, the deficits always being barely covered by foreign borrowings. The necessity of a fundamental readjustment of her financial system has been widely recognized, but up to the present time no actual step has been taken.

The principal measures to be adopted for this purpose may be, among others, reformation of taxation and the monetary system, establishment of Government monopolies and extension of Government undertakings. As the realization of these schemes naturally demands an immense sum of money, the bulk of the funds will have to be obtained from abroad.

In view of the vital necessity of China getting foreign financial assistance for the development of her industry and the consolidation of her national finance, those who desire the welfare of the Chinese people and the improvement of the economic life of the world at large should not hesitate to spare a part of their capital for the benefit of this great land of treasure.

When the great Powers first began the work of rendering financial and economic assistance to China, each of them acted individually and sharp contests between them were frequent. International competition in investment of capital in a country like China where the financial situation is so difficult to gauge and the center of political power can be so easily shifted, is productive of various evils and might even bring about the ultimate financial collapse of the country, and international competition has gradually given way to international coöperation, for which, in July, 1909, a financial group of British, French and German interests was formed. In the following year the United States entered this group, but neither Japan nor Russia, in spite of their specially close relation to China, had an opportunity to participate in it. In autumn, 1911, the revolution was launched at Wuchang which was followed by the fall of Ching dynasty, and with the inauguration of the new republic their urgent financial needs necessitated large foreign loans. In these circumstances both Japan and Russia found it inadvisable to act independently, and with a view to preserving the integrity of China as well as the peace of the Orient, they at last accepted an invitation to enter the four Power group. Thus a six, and not a four, Power group was organized. In 1913, however, with Mr. Wilson's inauguration as President, the United States withdrew from the group on account of a change in her policy toward China.

Altho an international combine had thus been formed for investment in China, it was only for loans of political nature, and those for economic purposes were still left to free competition among [Continued on page 125]





Photograph by U. S. Signal Corps.

Before the war a good-sized town occupied Vaugouis Hill, hereshown, but early in 1915 the town and the top of the hill were blown off leaving this huge crater. To blind the enemy on the next ridge, one hundred feet away, to the fact that an American attack was impending, divisions of the Second French Army occupied trenches in front of the barbed wire entanglements here shown until September 26, 1918, when Colonel Harry S. Howland's regiment, the 138th Infantry, 35th Division, in the general Meuse-Argonne attack, captured this position

# Covered with Mud and Glory

The First Complete Story of Our Combat Operations

By Captain Joseph Mills Hanson

**T**HE brilliant operation of the First American Army resulting in the suppression of the St. Mihiel salient was, as has already been pointed out, merely preliminary, in a strategic sense, to a greater and far more important attack which was planned against the German front northwest of St. Mihiel, between the Meuse River and the Argonne Plateau. This attack was designed by Marshal Foch, ably seconded by General Pershing, partly to free the fortress of Verdun from the state of semi-investment in which it had lain ever since the first battle of the Marne, in 1914; partly to threaten the important Briey coal fields northwest of Metz but, more important than all else, to cut the great trunk railway line extending from the Rhine at Strasbourg northwest thru Metz, Sedan and Mezieres to Valenciennes. This railway line was the one by which the enemy supplied all of his armies between Metz and Cambrai and it was absolutely essential for his larger troop movements. No trunk lines traverse the mountainous, wooded region of the Ardennes, lying northward of Sedan and Mezieres, and the northern part of the German front, from Cambrai to the English Channel, depended upon east-and-west lines thru Liege, in the narrow neck between the Ardennes and the frontier of Holland.

Marshal Hindenburg and General Ludendorff were, therefore, well aware that the security of their western front depended absolutely upon the uninterrupted use of the Metz-Valenciennes railway and they had spared no pains to make it impregnable to attack, particularly in the

region between Metz and Sedan because, if it should be broken there, their armies along the entire 250 kilometers of front reaching over to Cambrai would be exposed to overwhelming disaster. This region was, in fact, the hinge of the German western front and tremendous but unsuccessful efforts had been made in 1916 to increase its security by the reduction of Verdun. In the section between the Argonne Plateau and Ornes, twelve kilometers northeast of Verdun, all the fortified withdrawal lines, or stellungs, laboriously erected during several years, came together like gigantic cables in what amounted to one continuous fortified zone which was, near the Meuse River, about 18 kilometers deep. Further west these defensive lines spread apart, fan-wise, there being near the English Channel as much as 65 kilometers interval between the front line and the last withdrawal position. Consequently an army attacking between the Meuse and the Argonne would be obliged to plough its way without respite thru the whole succession of defenses which other troops, operating further west, would be able to attack one at a time.

The artificial strength of the Meuse-Argonne front

was based upon a topography lending itself peculiarly to a tenacious defense with the long-range weapons of modern warfare. The forested recesses of the Argonne Plateau, on the west, and of the Heights of the Meuse, on the east, constituted what may be termed gigantic bastions from which masses of artillery could cross their fire over all [Continued on page 121]

This is the fifth of ten articles in which Captain Hanson tells the complete story of what the American troops did on the battle line in France—a series written from a thoro study of the official records and with the background of actual experience overseas. "Up the Line from Cantigny" was published in The Independent of March 27, "Those Desperate Days at Chateau-Thierry" in the April 24 number, "Zero Hour Along the Marne" May 29, and "One Day's Work at St. Mihiel" June 19-26. The others will follow in the fourth issue of every month.



# Why I Like the English

By Preston Slosson

The average Englishman's three favorite characters in history are George Washington, William Wallace and Joan of Arc—victorious enemies! And it requires an almost superhuman virtue to forgive a triumphant foe

THERE is a perfervid sort of patriot who dares not confess to admiring any foreign nation lest he be suspected of unfaithfulness to his own; Columbia being in his view a jealous bride who will not permit a compliment to the golden tresses of Britannia or the saucy locks of French Marianne. Perhaps this feeling is keener with regard to England than to any other country, for we were once a British colony—or, more accurately, a set of British colonies—and any attempt to revive the attitude of colonialism is rightly frowned upon. So let me say by preface that I am not what is called an Anglomaniac, that I never speak of the "mother country" or make remarks about the relative thickness of blood and water, and that I have never set eyes on the Prince of Wales and regard him in any case like Burgess' Purple Cow: "I'd rather see than be one!"

In fact I do not care for the English things on which the Anglomaniac sets special store: cricket, the London fashions, hunting, manor houses, respectful peasants, dignified squires, the House of Lords, the Church of England, Oxford University, and the curious English habit of giving everything a wrong name. I mean the habit which calls the expensive private schools "the public schools," insists that England is a monarchy when every student of political science knows it is really a republic, and refers to the British Empire when what is meant is the Alliance of British Commonwealths. I simply admire England as an American might admire Ireland, Norway, Czechoslovakia or Siam; an admiration that has nothing to do with ties of blood, history or tradition.

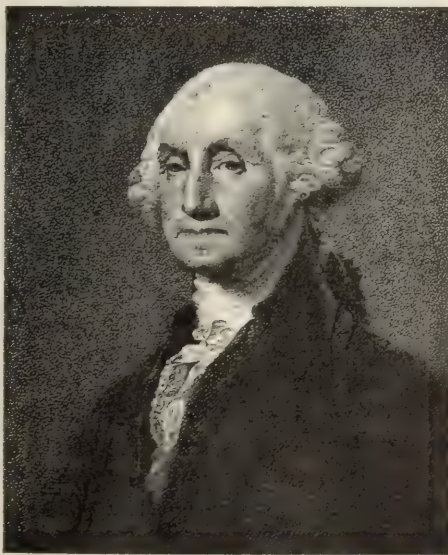
It is liberal England that I admire; an England of which few Americans seem to have heard, for even those Americans, such as the Astors, who enter British life do so too frequently from the Tory angle. There is, indeed, not a little to admire about the English aristocracy, but the best thing about it is the vein of liberalism which runs even thru the most conservative classes. The kings and nobles of continental Europe were deliberately haughty in manner, oppressive in policy and class-conscious at all times; refusing to permit social relations with the bourgeoisie or to recruit their numbers from lower social strata. But, in recent years at least, the British kings and nobles have courted public favor by being what is called "democratic," that is to say being as little like kings and nobles as possible. It has become "bad form" to "snub" and thus even snobbishness has become useful by engaging in suicide. Where the Prussian and Austrian aristocracies remained rigid to democratic pressure they were broken like dry wood; but the British aristocracy bent like a live twig before

the forces of the age and has (unfortunately) saved itself.

The real England, however, is not the admirable but perhaps over-lauded squiredom of the conventional English novel; it is the England of the Puritans, of the Bill of Rights, of the Chartist movement, of the *Manchester Guardian*, of the Labor Party, of John Stuart Mill, of Darwin, of Faraday, of H. G. Wells, of Dickens, of woman suffrage, of coöperative stores, of municipal tramways, of the "nonconformist conscience." It is the England which has always been in revolt and yet always moderate and constructive in the midst of revolution. It is the England which has given support to every liberal movement in Europe, Asia and America. It is the England which abolished slavery in her colonies a century ago and sent her warships around Africa to put down the slave trade of others. It is the England which spoke for the revolting American colonies thru the mouth of Chatham and which patiently endured starvation in Lancashire because the workmen had heard the great message of Lincoln. It is the England which was sought by political refugees from every other European country as the only haven of the exile. It is the England which saved Europe from Philip of Spain, from Louis Fourteenth and Napoleon of France, and from Wilhelm of Germany. It is the England which defied Metternich and supported the United States in demanding the freedom of Spanish America. It is the England which welcomed the revolutions of 1848, and which Gladstone forced, by sheer appeal to the national conscience, to break away from the immoral entente with Turkey. It is the England which gave enthusiastic support to the principles of President Wilson and which devoted much constructive thought to the up-building of the League of Nations.

There can be no question of the strength of the liberal current in English life. Let anyone who doubts make a list for himself of the things which are characteristic of England, but less characteristic of continental Europe; for example: free speech, free trade, laissez faire economics, private (as opposed to public) education, the dissenter, the "conscientious objector," local option, colonial home rule, habeas corpus and trial by jury, volunteer (as opposed to compulsory) military service, the Aborigines Protection Association and so forth. Surely this is sufficiently miscellaneous! And yet there is a common thread which unites all these diversities. That which is good in them is the spirit of individual freedom, of good nature, of live and let live. That which we may dislike in any of them is the fault of the same merit; laxity, weakness, indulgence.

The finest [Continued on page 132



From a painting by Gilbert Stuart

"The Virginian rebel who took from the British Empire its most valuable colonies"—But British magnanimity regards George Washington not as an enemy but as a hero



# Ja-di Talks for Publication

Parents and Philologists Especially Invited

By Clement Wood

Author of "Jehovah," "The Earth Turns South" and "Mountain"



Here is Ja-di in her *to*—a frock made by her great grandmother for her great aunt—which she would have you understand is a very different garment from the *shweh*—the dress—of every day

English	Janet	English	Janet	English	Janet
bath }		cup		pin	
bear }	ba	cooky		pillow	
		cushion }	cuh	pig	
book }		curl }		piggy	
bug }	buh			picture }	pi

Two-syllabled words, it will be noticed, often have the fate of one-syllable ones. In the following list, the vowels are nasalized *a la Paris*:

English	Janet	English	Janet	English	Janet
aunt }		man	ma	lamp	la
ankle }	a	hand			
bank }	ba	handkerchief }	ha	one	wuh

More often, there is no trace of the nasal, as in these words:

English	Janet	English	Janet	English	Janet
candy	ca-di	beans	bce	phone	who, fo
pants	pa	pin	pi	pound	pow
pain	pa	nine	ni	moon	moo
cent	sheh				

So much for the general rule. Is this open-syllable method unique with Janet, or do other children—and, indeed, races—share it with her?

Endlicher, in his "Chinesische Grammatik," says "It is, for instance, one of the most characteristic features of the literary Chinese, the dialect of Nankin, or the idiom of the Mandarins, that every syllable ends in a vowel, either pure or nasal." Aha! On a trail at last! Perhaps Janet had a remote ancestor who was Chinese, or at least interested in china. But the rule is largely true of surrounding peoples; until the open-syllable speech reaches its climax in the classic sentence of Annam, *Ba ba ba ba*, each syllable accented differently; which means, on the authority of Muller, "Three ladies gave a box on the ear to the favorite of the prince."

To turn to other races, Hale's "Polynesian Grammar" says of the Pacific Islanders, "In all the Polynesian dialects every syllable must terminate in a vowel . . . . The longest syllables have only three letters, a consonant and a diphthong, and many syllables consist of a single vowel." Bleek, Appleyard, and Hahn, three of the great authorities on South African dialects, say that all the members of the Ba-ntu family, which includes the Kaffir, and of the great Hottentot family, originally ended all syllables on a vowel.

We should be justified in placing Janet's linguistic stage with the ancient youthfulness of China, the lan-

**F**EW sports are as fascinating as the cross-country word-hunting prosaically known as philology. Digging for buried treasure palls beside digging for buried word-roots; and the amazing etymological treasures brought to light outshine the wealth of Ormus and of Ind—ianapolis, even according to the 1920 census. No tongue, from pre-Sanskrit Aryan to the modern dialects of Yonkers, Kalamazoo, and the ouija-board, has been overlooked. Yet, despite this activity, much remains unsolved. And there is a speech near at hand which the word-hounds have largely overlooked, and which offers material aid in these perplexities. That speech is the speech of children.

"When I was a child, I spake as a child," a great teacher wrote his pupils at Corinth. Our question is, how did the child speak? Some scientists find that the stages of growth of the human embryo embody a recapitulation of the growth of the race. Just so the stages of growth in a child's speech throw light on the wanderings of human words; and present, in tabloid form, much of the history of human language.

With this in view, it occurred to the parent of Janet, the voluble subject of this study, to list her changing vocabulary at intervals, as a contribution to the ponderous science of philology. Let us begin by stating that this child is no prodigy. In fact, she was backward in speech, if we are to believe the mothers of her playmates. Why, at fourteen months Gwendolyn Elaine could talk—and at twelve months little Phyllis spoke easily—and, to cap it all, a young cousin, at eight months—(we have her mother's word for it)—articulated distinctly, "I want my dinner, mother dear, if you please." You have heard it all; and so did we. Not so with Janet. Her three vocabularies, here discussed, were listed when she was twenty-two, twenty-eight, and thirty months young. The first one contained forty words; the second, a hundred and twenty-five; and the third, which is not complete, contains more than three hundred and fifty. The accepted psychological test places the vocabulary of a "superior adult" at 13,500 words and of a child of eight at 3,600 words. Perhaps her brother would have been more restrained; but Janet belongs to the speaker sex.

The first general rule in her imitative word-building is that each syllable ends with a vowel. In rare cases, this is nasalized, as in French. Below are typical words, the vowels remaining unchanged:

English	Janet	English	Janet	English	Janet
bed	beh	apple	a	nice	
				night	
bib	bi	cow }	cow	nighty	
		couch }		nine }	ni



During her second summer Ja-di found a *tosh*—squash—growing on a *tosh*-vine. Six months later she called it a *shosh* and eight months later a *whosh*. What will she call it when she is three?



# The Republican Platform

## A Debate by Norman Hapgood and Talcott Williams

### Cowardice and Reaction

By Norman Hapgood

IN putting cowardice first I do not mean to deny that the Republican platform is as reactionary as it is cowardly. I put the cowardice first because it is more obvious. Some attempt has been made to disguise the reaction with words and with planks that deal with matters not in controversy.

Mind you, I do not complain of the platform. If the party chooses to be led by Lodge and Penrose it is as well to have a platform in harmony with those statesmen. If the party chooses to nominate Harding it is better to have a platform that resembles Harding's mind. Platforms are written less to stand on than to get in on.

Take the League of Nations plank. It has been jeered at by independent papers from one end of the country to the other. But why is it not a perfectly good plank, because representative? True, it is meaningless, but so is the policy which it follows. Senator Harding said on September 11 of last year: "I could no more support mild reservations than I could sanction mild Americanism." In the same speech he said: "I welcome the moment when we can go to the people of the United States on the issue as to who is responsible therefor." If Mr. Harding will act like a man and welcome the moment, now that it has come, by sticking to those words, we shall know what the treaty plank means. Penrose is with him. His lofty contempt for the treaty equals his scorn for any other idealism. Idealism is for amateurs. But what about Lodge? Shall we interpret this plank to correspond with the Lodge who said: "The repudiation of the President in such a matter as this is to my mind the humiliation of the United States in the eyes of civilized mankind, and brands us as a people incapable of great affairs, or of taking rank where we belong, as one of the greatest of the great nations." That was at the end of a Republican war, but during the world war it was the same until Wilson seemed likely to get the credit if a League was formed. It was in 1915 that he said: "The great nations must be so united as to be able to say to any single country, 'You must not go to war,' and they can only say that effectively when the country desiring war knows that the force which the united nations places behind peace is irresistible." In 1918 he said: "We cannot make peace except in company with our allies. It would brand us with everlasting dishonor and bring ruin to us all also if we undertook to make a separate peace." Now that all the important nations of the earth who

are eligible, except China, have agreed on the peace and the League, Lodge becomes one of the sponsors for this plank that is the masterpiece among all the planks of cowardice. Is it possible to discuss that plank seriously? Has not the country agreed to call it a straddle, a vacuum, on the most pressing of all subjects? Is the party not guilty of cowardice in the face of the effort to get together to prevent any nation from doing hereafter what Germany did in 1914.

Closely connected with the mean cowardice of the plank about the League is the greedy cowardice of the plank about Mexico. Mr. Hearst seems to be out for a war with Mexico in order to inflict on her the blessings of our civilization, even as Germany in 1914 undertook to inflict her civilization, her kultur, on the rest of the world. The Germans were genuinely grieved that the world could not appreciate the contemplated gift. Senator Fall, Mr. Hearst, and the slightly more prudent people who drew the platform are also grieved and astonished that some of us do not exult over the idea of having a Fall and Penrose civilization forced on Mexico by American boys dying to stain the American name for the benefit of a handful of oil investors. As far as I know, the opinions of Lincoln and Grant on the former war with Mexico are not much quoted by the party which can boast of the membership of those great men.

One more plank will be enough to illustrate the high leadership of the Republican convention as far as our foreign relations are concerned. The speeches of some of the men in the Senate, especially the bitter-enders, almost made me sick with their fulsome noise about the superiority of Americans to the unhappy denizens of all other lands. Well, here is one way the Chicago aggregation undertook to show that superiority: "We recommend that all ships in coastwise trade and all vessels of the American merchant marine shall pass thru the Panama Canal without premium or tolls." Mr. Root is not the most squeamish man in the cosmos, but he said that this attempt to lie and steal our way into a little extra prosperity would make the nation "like

unto a man known to be false to his agreements, false to his pledged words, astute and cunning in his own behalf." It is too disheartening to discuss.

Most of the difficult domestic questions are either ignored or treated in a foggy manner, with a squint toward reaction. The strike clause is not as clear as it might be, but we know that Senator Harding favored

#### An Open Debate on the Issues of the Campaign

The Independent's leading feature for the coming campaign will be a serial discussion of the candidates and the platforms by its editors and readers. As announced in a previous issue, we have enlarged our editorial staff by the addition of Mr. Talcott Williams as advocate of the Republicans and Mr. Norman Hapgood as advocate of the Democrats. In order that our readers may have both sides of pending questions presented not merely in the same periodical but in the same number, the discussion will be carried on as a regular debate for four weeks beginning July 24. Mr. Hapgood will open with an attack on the Republican platform and his article will be given to Mr. Williams in order that the latter may reply to the arguments and finally Mr. Hapgood will be given a short space for a rejoinder. On the following week Mr. Williams will take the offensive and Mr. Hapgood the counter-offensive.

After the issue of August 21 the questions will be thrown open to the floor and all of our readers are invited to join in the debate by sending in brief letters telling frankly what they think of platforms and candidates and how they propose to vote and why. We will publish a large number of such letters and as an inducement we will give a year's subscription to The Independent for every one we print whole or in part. Since the reward is uniform the shorter the letter, the higher the compensation and the more probable that it will be printed. Communications of over 150 words are likely to be cut down or left out. Make one point and make it pointedly. We suggest that our readers keep together the four issues containing the Williams-Hapgood debate so as to get the run of the argument, then after rereading the debate as a whole send in their comments promptly. Manuscripts will not be returned.

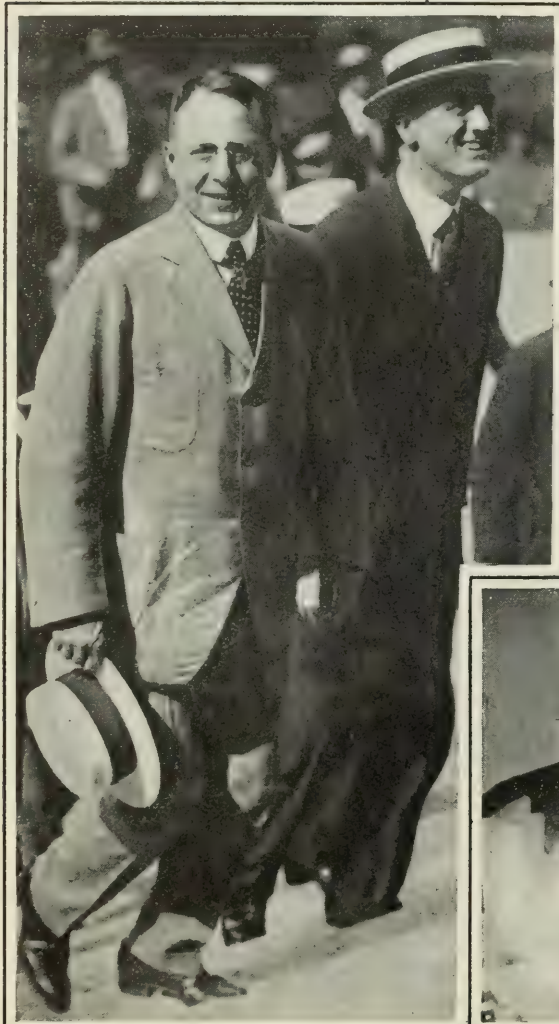


# Which Shall It Be?

Cox and Roosevelt  
or  
Harding and Coolidge



© Underwood & Underwood  
James Middleton Cox, the Democratic nominee for President, is now leader of the Democratic party, following a conference held with President Woodrow Wilson on the south portico of the White House a few days ago. Governor Cox wants a frank campaign and a progressive but not radical government



Underwood & Underwood

No porch campaigns for the Democratic candidates! They may not visit every town and crossroads but, according to Mr. Roosevelt, they intend to "know the nation"



Underwood & Underwood

The parents of Senator Harding, Dr. G. T. and Mrs. Harding, as they looked when they were Sweet Sixteen



© Keystone View

Warren G. Harding, the Republican nominee for President, held a conference recently with two of his most important advisers, Chairman Will Hayes of the Republican National Committee and Governor Calvin Coolidge, Republican nominee for the Vice-Presidency



© Underwood & Underwood

Both Governor Cox and Senator Harding own papers. Governor Cox's are the *Dayton News* and the *Springfield News*, Senator Harding's, the *Marion Star*. All three papers, once pretty good-for-nothing, now play an important part in forming public opinion in Ohio. These newsies are waiting for the noon edition of *The Star*



the anti-strike clause of the Cummins bill without any compensating protection for the employees. Both the platform and the candidate want to reopen the tariff controversy in favor of the artificial trusts and put it back where it was in the days before one of Wilson's greatest reforms took it out of politics. The platform is impossibly long and on safe issues it expresses some sane ideas. It forgot, however, to say anything against either the mosquito or the man-eating shark. The two domestic planks I have just mentioned, plus Mexico and Panama tolls, are enough to show that the platform's heart is true to money. That faith is as secure as its faith to our allies and the world is shaky and low.

## The Real Issue

By Talcott Williams

COWARDICE is an easy charge to make at the opening of any campaign, but it is unwise and ineffective. All parties have their reserves. This is the term I prefer in speaking of the acts of the representatives of half my fellow citizens. The Democratic party is silent on lynching, the civil oppression of the negro, the deprivation of his constitutional vote, the shameless neglect of his education. This is the price Northern Democrats pay for Southern votes.

On the League of Nations the Republican plank is a frank and open compromise. Any "agreement" between nations as to all the various ends and objects for which the Republican platform asks the mutual action of the United States with other nations (as to a permanent court, its decisions, their support and the preservation of peace) is in the nature of a constitution. All constitutions are a compromise.

The Declaration of Independence was not a compromise. Neither was the Great War. One destroyed royal despotism on this continent. The other destroyed royal despotism in Germany and the world. Both jobs were done once for all.

From 1787 to 1789 the same men who wrote the Declaration of Independence and made it good on the battlefield, without concession or compromise, came together to draw a Federal Constitution. The call was a compromise. The Federal Constitutional Convention was a compromise from start to finish. When the Constitution was drawn with the august signature of George Washington, President of the Convention, first on the roll, a compromise was proposed in the shape of a Bill of Rights, accepted under a "gentlemen's agreement" and passed after ratification.

Woodrow Wilson insists on having for the constitution he drew for the League of Nations what was not even asked by George Washington for the constitution "to form a more perfect union" of thirteen free independent states which fought and won the war of independence. Wilson demands that his constitution shall be ratified without any vital change. No constitution should be passed in this fashion. No man is wise enough to draw a constitution to be adopted without any change, save of explanation. What Washington did not ask for his constitution should not be granted to his successor, Wilson, the first of all of the successors of the first President to require a great treaty to be accepted by the Senate without amendment.

The issue before the country is not one of a League of Nations or no League. The issue is whether the most important form for the government alike of nations and of men ever drawn shall be accepted without amendment or change as it comes from its maker, or shall go thru the revision, change and compromise which has marked the constitutional progress of the English-speaking folk for 700 years from Magna Charta to this hour, when one man demands that his wit, will and wisdom shall decide the ringing grooves of change down which a new world shall spin for ages to come.

The League as it was drawn by one man and forced by

him on his party, full of dumb protest against it, or a League revised as have been all our great instruments of rule, by the joint compromise of both parties: this is the issue of the hour. It is a fair issue, so fair that the only way to meet it is to use this quotation and that from Harding and from Lodge. When I remember what fool things I heard said in the raucous debates of months at Washington, I am amazed that so little is found to fling in quotations which in controversy are like brickbats in a fight. They may raise a disfiguring bruise. They neither win nor convince.

Harding, of course, is charged with being a "tool" of this boss and that. So Lincoln was charged with a corrupt bargain to make Simon Cameron Secretary of War, McKinley with being led about by Hanna, Roosevelt by Tom Platt. History does not believe this, nor will it of Harding. He voted to ratify the treaty with the Lodge reservations. As President, he will want still more a treaty which adds to a President's powers.

Why should not the United States do in Mexico what it did in Cuba? But the Republicans ask only for the protection of American rights. Does any one ask for less, except perhaps Woodrow Wilson? Could anything be worse than his Mexican policy? Why did not the Democrats "point with pride" to that? Mexico cannot continue, worse as it is than Cuba under Spanish rule, indefinitely.

The clause on the Canal is a blunder, but it points to a sure end, a free Canal. Current tolls, if abolished, would cost us little if free tolls were offered to the ships of every nation which gave our ships free tolls on their ship canals.

The strike clause called for moral courage. The same courage which drew and passed the railroad bill. The Republican party from its beginning has stood for liberty thru law. It does now thruout its platform, and most of all in its courageous utterance on labor. No fair-minded man will feel that Harding can be called weak when he voted for a bill which did not do enough for labor, did not give compensating protection for employees. When the Ohio Senator cast this vote, he was certain to be a candidate for re-election. Weak men truckle to labor. Labor was out for blood, and still proposes to defeat every man who failed to obey its demands. Neither branch of a Republican Congress hesitated to enforce law and justice. Nor did Senator Harding. The issue here is clear between the two parties. See on the tariff. England and other Ally countries are taking up tariff revision to provide against Germany, which must produce cheaply to provide funds for reparation payments. Can the United States do less than meet this new peril?

## That Wondrous Platform

By Norman Hapgood

THE more one reflects on the Chicago platform the more one feels that detailed analysis of it really belongs not so much to grave publicists as to such talents as, for example, Mr. Dooley's. The Independent's correspondent, Mr. Aiken, however, did pretty well in the issues of July 10, when he reduced it to five words: "Damn Wilson; Dodge the Issues."

It has its points, nevertheless. The elephant is a slow and heavy animal, principally of use in circuses. One of his most familiar circus tricks is standing on wooden objects to which he is not by nature suited. He is careful and can often be seen using his trunk in meticulous investigation to make sure that he is not going to step onto some spot that will let him thru and break either his leg or his neck. In Chicago a platform was constructed on which the most intellectually timid Senator that ever originated in Ohio can walk about safely with absolutely no danger of treading upon an idea. The only good chance of breaking Harding's neck is to scare him off the platform and tumble him down to earth.

When I was a boy I had the usual trouble with Cicero's



*evasit, excessit, erupit.* It all came back to me as I tried to lay my hand on the Republican platform. It was completely evasive. It eluded the most determined search. It seemed to be nothing but a vacuum. Whenever I did find anything I could understand it was on some topic where there is no dispute. "Good old-fashioned folks are they, they say an undisputed thing in such a solemn way." Or it was a subdivision of the "damn Wilson" heading that was as unworthy a misrepresentation as the pretense that Wilson is opposed to the budget system. I am afraid of the structure. If I dealt with it seriously I should be in dread of breaking my intellectual backbone.

The newspapers have been carrying announcements (that look like advertisements) scolding the Democrats for quoting Senator Lodge's statement that a separate peace would be a national disgrace. It is pointed out that Senator Lodge said this away back in 1918, ever so long ago, while we were still fighting, before the Republicans came out fearlessly for victory without peace. Well, Senator Lodge has said so many things about the peace treaty and the League of Nations that we can give up this one, altho Herbert Hoover is one of those who have recently quoted it.

Let us remind ourselves of a few of Mr. Hoover's observations, made as a Republican: "The treaty is now in effect and cannot be scrapped, as so many have urged. . . . The League of Nations Covenant is an essential part of the treaty. . . . All talk of making a new treaty is bunk. . . . A separate peace involves a series of negotiations from a disadvantageous position, not only with the enemy but with all the new states that have been created, and with each of the Allies and the neutrals who have joined the League. . . . The Treaty of Versailles is the web that holds Europe together today. . . . Statesmanship looking to separate peace is plain foolishness—and worse." The Democrats ought to turn this whole statement by Mr. Hoover into a pamphlet and circulate it broadcast, printing with it the League of Nations' planks from the two platforms and Governor Cox's cry that when our boys went to France they did not go with reservations. Senator Lodge claims for the Republican plank that "it has the value of keeping in the party the irreconcilables." Yes, bless its heart, it has that merit and not another. The plank on Mexico is cowardly also, to keep it in general harmony with the whole platform, but its bearing is distinct enough to suit the oil interests and the jingoes. Either we are for Wilson's patience, tolerance and freedom both from money influences and from insolent bully's pride, or we are for greed and aggression under fancy names, preferably the flag, law and order, and American rights. Hence this issue is clear and our voters should realize next November that their decision will have a strong bearing on whether or not we wish to kill a few of our boys, a larger number of Mexicans, and still further to kill the spirit of mutual confidence between nations, particularly the confidence that South America has begun to have in us.

The Republican plank calls the President's policy "wordy." The party wants not words, but deeds. Words are the vehicle by which ideas are exprest and spread. Words are what distinguish man from the beast. Incidentally words, the words of Woodrow Wilson, are what defeated Germany. The President's policy of words instead of guns to Mexico "has earned for us the sneers and jeers of Mexican bandits, and added insult upon insult against our national honor and dignity." So you know what to expect from the Republicans. Does it not make you wish you had never heard of national honor and dignity? If the Republicans come in and start an oil war against Mexico, for our national honor and dignity, will it not tend to make you turn next time in despair to the Socialists? Senator Fall is the leading Republican authority on Mexico. Referring to the Mexican constitution, his report to the Senate says: "None

of the provisions of Article 27 with reference to limitations of rights of property heretofore acquired by Americans, or which may hereafter be acquired, shall apply to Americans except where the limitation is written in the deed, lease or other instrument of title." As it is expressed by the League of Free Nations Association: "No American oil company could have expected even its paid attorney to ask for more."

## Wherefore Art Thou Romeo?

THE Republican Party is officially committed by its platform to "an agreement among the nations to preserve the peace of the world," which it further defines as "an international association." The platform of the new Farmer-Labor Party advocates "a league of free peoples." But neither will have anything to do with "the League of Nations." Words are still despots over meanings.

## "Farmer-Labor" Reactionaries

By John Spargo

THE recent foregathering of various independent, liberal and radical groups in Chicago can hardly be regarded as encouraging in its results by those who believe that the time has arrived for the formation of a new political party. I confess myself one of that not inconsiderable body of American citizens. Except upon the issue of the ratification of the Peace Treaty and the League of Nations, both the major parties seem to me to be about equally unprogressive and lacking in idealism and constructive statesmanship. With the single exception noted, the framers of both the Republican and Democratic platforms seem to have been wholly influenced in their political and economic thinking by the revolutionary changes consequent upon the World War. On the other hand, the Socialist Party, far from being uninfluenced by those revolutionary changes, has been swept by them into a dangerous state of political insanity.

There are probably several millions of voters in this country who believe that the best interests of America and of mankind would be served by the creation of a new party—a party of enlightened constructive radicalism, of political and economic democracy. Truly American in spirit and purpose, such a party could gather up and coördinate and direct much of the social idealism that is now wasted. For one, I do not believe that it is inevitable that every voter who rejects the idea of voting for one or other of the two great historic parties, whose candidates are so like purveyors of last year's almanacs, must accept, as the sole alternative, the necessity of futilely voting for a branch of the Third International directed from Moscow.

To decry and ridicule the attempt to form a "Third Party" there has been much waste of paper and printers' ink during the past two or three weeks. Because certain American citizens calling themselves "The Committee of Forty-Eight"—among them men and women of undoubted integrity of character and high intellectual ability—sought by conference with labor unionists and farmers to bring about the union of the scattered liberal and radical forces upon a common platform, their efforts have been the target for cheap and puerile witticisms. Yet anybody reading the accounts of the several separate but affiliated conventions in Chicago with intelligence and discernment might well wish that there had been in the Senate during the last year a tithe of the moral sincerity and the genuine patriotism that were displayed by many of those who participated in those conventions.

So much ought to be said in justice to men whose praiseworthy but unsuccessful efforts have been subjected to much unmerited derision and scorn. I say "unsuccessful efforts," because there can be no substantial doubt that the attempt of the Committee of Forty-Eight to bring



# The American Cup Races

Two victories for the challenger and one for the defender was the score when The Independent went to press, with a fourth race scheduled for the following day off Sandy Hook and a possible fifth race for the day after



Paul Thompson

Sir Thomas Lipton is a good loser. After the third race, which was won by the defender "Resolute," Sir Thomas gave three rousing cheers for the American crew. He is here shown talking to some of them



Paul Thompson

Grand stand seats for the cup races were on planes, blimps and liners. Disaster, however, overtook the sight-seers on "C-10," a naval blimp dirigible, which fell 3000 feet into the bay

Keystone View.

Both the first and second races were won by "Shamrock IV," Sir Thomas Lipton's green scow. The "Resolute," America's white defender, might have won the first race, in which she was ahead, if her halyard and mainsail had not broken





about the union of all the independent liberal and radical forces in a single party was about as complete a failure as their worst enemies could have predicted or desired. The so-called Farmer-Labor Party is a poor little runt of a mouse to come from so big a mountain. A "Farmer Party" from which the great farmers' organizations, including the Non-Partizan League, hold aloof can only be a joke to the politicians of the old parties; and a "Labor Party" from which the American Federation of Labor holds aloof, and which is actively opposed by most of the officers of that organization and the greater part of its rank and file, can be no more than a companion joke to the other. Even two jokes don't make a political party.

When one reads the platform of this aborted Farmer-Labor Party it is easy to understand why so many of the delegates to the convention from which the document emanated wanted to name Mr. Debs as the party's candidate for the presidency. Except for verbal changes, apparently laboriously contrived, the platform is essentially the same as that of the Socialist Party. This is not surprising in view of the fact that many of the leading spirits among the "Labor" wing of the Farmer-Labor Party are ex-members of the Socialist Party. Even more striking than the identity of the two platforms is the parallelism of the resolutions adopted by the two parties further defining their respective positions upon questions not dealt with in their platforms. In the circumstances, one is compelled to wonder whether the leaders of the new party can possibly seriously expect to accomplish much more than to split the Debs vote. So far as can be judged from its formal declarations of purpose and policy, the Farmer-Labor Party must be regarded as another Socialist faction. Votes honestly and intelligently approving that purpose and policy ought to be cast for Mr. Debs, in common decency and fairness. He is not only entitled to them by reason of his priority, but also because he has suffered, and is still suffering, for his advocacy of that purpose and policy. It will not be at all surprising if such men as Duncan Macdonald and Max Hayes—both old Socialist Party members—reconsider their position and decide that the logical and consistent course for them is to support Debs.

In the platform of the Farmer-Labor Party, and the resolutions—so far as the text of these has been published in the daily press—there is apparent the same irresponsible demagoguery, the same tendency to exalt bombastic words above sober realities, and the same lack of sequential and consistent thinking as contributed so largely to the degradation of the Socialist Party. It has been the habit of Socialist parties here and abroad to declare that "the people are kept in poverty" for so long that it has become a tradition. Never was this so little true, as a generalization, as in the United States today, but the tradition weighs heavily upon the new party. Tho it is nowhere so stated in forthright and unequivocal language, by implication the platform demands rejection and nullification of the Peace Treaty and the League of Nations. Of course, this party—like the Republican standpatters in the Senate—is in favor of another kind of league. Its platform, as published in *The Times*, declares:

We stand committed to a league of free peoples, organized and pledged to the destruction of autocracy, militarism and economic imperialism thruout the world, and to bring about a worldwide disarmament and open diplomacy, to the end that there shall be no more kings and no more wars.

Precisely what this means in an American political platform is left to conjecture. It would seem to mean that the Farmer-Laborites (or should it be "Farmerites-Laborites"?) pledge themselves, and their elected representatives, should there be any, to oppose the entrance of the United States into any league unless all its members are "pledged to the destruction of autocracy" and to bring about worldwide disarmament and open diplomacy "to the

end that there shall be no more kings and no more wars." If the people of Belgium, Italy or Great Britain, for example, should decide in their own way that they prefer to keep their limited monarchical government, rather than to adopt the republican form of government, we must say to them, if we are to accept this declaration: "You cannot enter our league, because you are not pledged to the abolition of kings." It is quite clear that the new Farmer-Labor Party is opposed to the only League of Nations now within the sphere of practical possibility. In this it stands with the militarists and monarchists of Europe and our own reactionaries in both the major political parties.

There is much that is admirable in the platform of the Farmer-Labor Party, much that is thoroly consistent with the best traditions of American democracy. But this does not and cannot hide the fact that upon the greatest issue now confronting the American people, the issue that will perforce dominate the campaign, the new party has taken a position that is reactionary and subversive of the best interests of all who toil, whether in industry or agriculture.

## Curiosity

We wonder what Senator Harding is now thinking about Governor Clement of Vermont.

## A Case for Arbitration

As in the case of the Republicans, so in that of the Democrats, we must interpret their platform declarations in respect to the League in the light of what their representatives in authority did when the League was dealt with. A two-thirds majority of Republican Senators voted for the League with the Lodge reservations. We have every reason to expect, therefore, that they will do so again if opportunity offers, and that one of this two-thirds, if he be elected President, will give them that opportunity.

WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT.

Both Republicans and Democrats in their platforms have indulged in the usual political verbosity, but nevertheless these platforms, in direct opposition to each other, sharply define and clearly present the question for decision in the November election. . . . Both parties reject the pleas for the adoption of the League with reservations, the Democrats because they were for the League as presented, and the Republicans because no reservations devised by the human mind could anticipate the contingencies which might arise in the future from an instrument of such potential possibilities for harm.

HIRAM JOHNSON.

**E**ITHER a former President of the United States or a distinguished Republican Senator will cast his vote this November under a serious misapprehension as to the party policy and the meaning of the Chicago platform. Ex-President Taft declares that the Treaty plank means "the League with the Lodge reservations"; Senator Johnson declares that by this same plank the Republicans "reject the pleas for the adoption of the League with reservations." Only one man alive can decide this controversy and make plain the real meaning of the Republican platform. Senator Harding, it is your move!

## A Hint to Cartoonists

**I**N our political zoo we have the Republican elephant, the Democratic donkey, the Tammany tiger, the somewhat shop-worn Prohibition camel and the skeleton of the extinct Bull Moose. But if every little party is going to be accommodated with a totem the menagerie must be enlarged. The militancy and gregariousness of the Socialists might be symbolized by the bee, which lives in hives and which stings you and which buzzes a lot. The Socialist Labor Party buzzes and stings too, but it is much smaller; perhaps the mosquito would be appropriate. The Communist and Communist Labor parties seem indistinguishable to the outside world, but they hate each other so much that different emblems must be found for them; perhaps a Russian bear and a Russian wolf would indicate their



Bolshevist affiliations, and they could draw lots to see which would be which. The Farmer-Labor party might well be typified by a centaur: the blend between the laboring man and the agricultural horse. For the Single Tax party we suggest the crane or any other bird that makes a habit of relying on one leg to sustain its weight. The Committee of Forty-Eight might be represented by a centipede with one leg for each committeeman and each leg starting off in a different direction. We do not insist on any of these proposals, but we do insist that the opponents of the League of Nations be typified as the ostrich, which hides its head in the sand to shut out the rest of the world from its vision in the fond belief that thereby it becomes invisible to the rest of the world.

### Cox vs. Knox

Campaign poets regret that the Republicans did not nominate Knox.

## If We Were Ireland

By Thomas Steele

**F**EBRUARY 28, 1920—The United Kingdom of Great Britain and America is in a terrible state. Lord Lieutenant Geddes at Washington Castle has notified the Secretary for American Affairs at London that the Independent America Party will send no representatives to Parliament, but will hold a Congress of its own. It has chosen a "President," a former Princeton professor named Woodry O'Wilson, who is now in Japan raising funds to finance the revolution.

March 17—Columbia University trustees voted today to drop English from the curriculum and to revive the native American language. There is some dispute as to whether some one of the aboriginal Indian tongues should be recognized, or the more modern Hoosier dialect of Indianshire. A third faction believes that in the immortal works of O'Henry, the essays of Mr. Dooley and the delicate fairy tales of George Ade the true linguistic genius of the race is to be found.

April 1—The County Council of Illinois proclaims allegiance to President O'Wilson, whose latest address is rumored to be either Bangkok, Siam, or Teheran, Persia, and to the Independent Congress which is now in session in Sonora, Mexico. All patriots are required to dress in red, white and blue and to carry sprigs of the national golden rod under penalty of arrest.

April 2—Viscount Lodge of MacHachusetts, on behalf of the Royal, Loyal, True Blue, Strictly Protestant Order of the Orangemen of New England, issued today a proclamation denouncing the action of the Illinois County Council and asserting that the real purpose of the rebels is to establish the Spanish Inquisition and to massacre all Protestants. He concluded with the following loyal sentiment:

If Great Britain does not protect America from the Americans we will shoot every policeman that stands between us and the rebel foe! We cling loyally to the crown of England even if we have to beat down that crown about the ears of the indifferent monarch and the venal ministry who have abandoned us to our fate!

The aggressive "loyalty" of the Orangemen of the industrial provinces of northeast America is almost as embarrassing to the British as the open rebellion of the south and west. If "Home Rule" is so much as whispered the loyalists trumpet open defiance to the British Government.

May 15—As General Pershing was out fishing on Lake Michigan ("Michigan mavourneen," "By Chicago's rocks and rills"—every reader of American literature will recognize the environment) he was kidnapped by the rebels. An order has been issued to all loyal generals not to leave their homes after nightfall.

June 30—The elections will be lively this fall. The Independent America Party has put up for President County Councilman Shamas M. Ceoughghaich (pronounced Cox) of O'Hio. Its platform denounces the Nationalist Party as "the catspaw of the British lion." The Nationalist Party has nominated Mike MacHarding, member of Parliament from Marion Borough, and has designated the Independent America Party as "offscourings from the iron heel of British tyranny." Neither party seems to have kissed the blarney stone very earnestly of late.

July 4—A grand patriotic demonstration in honor of the famous "rebellion of 1776" took place today. Many Englishmen have come to wish that it had succeeded! The celebration was an orderly one compared with last year's. Several hundred people were killed with the fireworks and nearly as many by the instruments used in the brass bands, but neither the Orangemen nor the Nationalists used tanks or airplanes.

The Fourth of July oration by Lord Mayor Hylan of New Cork created great enthusiasm. It ran in part:

Remember the death of Nathan Hale! Remember the Boston tea party! Remember the egg of Columbus! Remember in general everything that happened more than a century ago! Think of the cruel laws of 1660 and the atrocious persecutions endured in 1740! Never mind the petty details of today but cast your patriotic eyes back to the days of the remotest past when Pocahontas saved Captain John Smith and the Viking keel first grated on the sands of the New World. Turn backward, turn backward, O time in your flight; Revive the Middle Ages just for tonight!

This was felt to be in the very spirit of the modern revolutionary movement.

July 15—Search for firearms reported complete in Saint Louis.

July 16—Thirty policemen shot in Saint Louis.

July 20—Japan refuses to join the League of Nations. About a hundred million Americans having emigrated to the Far East in consequence of the potato famine of 1848 the American-Japanese vote must be reckoned with by Oriental politicians.

August 1—The Independent America party splits. The followers of Ceoughghaich (Cox) insist that the Rattlesnake flag of the rebellion of 1776 is the only true national emblem, whereas the MacAdoo faction hold that the Pine Tree banner of the same rebellion is really the more ancient. Both agree that the Stars and Stripes is too modern. The Orangemen propose the British flag with a union showing an orange boot trampling on the Papal tiara.

August 4—The American question referred to Parliament.

August 5—The American question referred to a special Convention.

August 6—The American question referred to the League of Nations.

August 7—The American question referred to a ban-shee, as the only individual in this world or the next likely to understand it.

## The War in the East

**W**HEN the Poles were invading Russia we watched the war with somewhat divided sympathies. It was democracy going up against the reactionary oligarchy known as Bolshevism, but it was an imperialistic democracy intent on removing its neighbor's landmark. But now that Poland fights with her back to the wall we can once more give our moral support to the Republic on the Vistula. Poland may not be good enough to interfere in the destinies of Russia, but Russia has never been good enough to rule the Poles. And who is going to speak a word on behalf of the innocent bystander, the Lithuanian and the Ukrainian, whose fields are being trampled by the rival Russian and Polish armies?



# The Story of the Week

## Too Many Cooks at Chicago

THE attempt to organize a third party at Chicago in the convention called for July 10 served to prove the truth of the old adage that "too many cooks spoil the broth." First of all there was the Committee of Forty-Eight, an organization of liberals desiring a simple platform calling for the abolition of economic privilege and the restoration of civil liberties. Secondly, there was the Labor Party, a group of trades unionists hostile to the leadership of Mr. Gompers and anxious to fight the election on a "class-conscious" basis. Thirdly, there was the Non-Partizan League, not directly represented as a national organization but closely in touch with the other groups and ready to affiliate if its own desires were adequately met. Fourthly, the Single-Tax group, wedded to its rigid formula, but pleased to find something resembling it in the plank denouncing speculation in land in the platform of the Committee of Forty-Eight. Two military organizations of a radical slant, the World War Veterans and the Private Soldiers' and Sailors' League, were represented; also the American Party of Texas and the American Constitutional Party. There were also outside forces viewing the events in Chicago with sympathetic interest. Senator La Follette and his group of radical and pacifist Republicans from Wisconsin and the Dakotas were expected to join the movement for a third party. The Hearst newspapers gave encouragement. The Irish-Americans, disappointed by the inadequate Irish plank in the Democratic platform, were hopeful. Many Socialists, discontented with the policies of the Socialist Party, were pleased with the prospect of a radical labor party. The relics of the old Populist and Progressive movements and many radical Republicans and Democrats and independent "intellectuals" thought that American liberalism was inadequately represented by Harding and by Cox. Perhaps it was an impossible task to blend these many elements into a common organization.

The Single Tax group was the first to secede. Afraid of the possible nomination of Senator La Follette and disheartened at the adoption of a platform containing many "paternalistic" planks, they withdrew and nominated a ticket of their own, with Robert C. MacAuley, a Philadelphia journalist, for President and R. G. Barnum of Cleveland for Vice-President.

The Labor men put thru their own platform in spite of



Underwood & Underwood

### THE BIRTH OF A PARTY

A demonstration at the joint convention of the Labor party, the Committee of Forty-eight and other radical groups which resulted in the organization of the Farmer-Labor party. La Follette's picture appears on the platform but his name eventually failed to get on the ticket



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### A political catastrophe

protests from the more conservative members of the Committee of Forty-Eight. The platform adopted was almost as elaborate as that of the Republicans and Democrats and almost as radical as that of the Socialists. It demanded the restoration of free speech, election of federal judges by the people, equal suffrage, direct legislation and the recall, withdrawal of the United States from the Treaty of Versailles, recognition of the Irish Republic and of the Soviet Government in Russia, relinquishment of the Philippines and other American colonies and dependencies, "a league of free peoples" in place of the League of Nations, democratic control of industry, public ownership of "all public utilities and natural resources," increase of the Federal income tax, payment of a bonus to veterans of the war, collective bargaining and the right to strike, the eight hour day, old age pensions and workmen's compensation against industrial disability. The Labor group also secured the adoption of a class name, the "Farmer-Labor Party," in spite of the desire of the Committee of Forty-Eight for some more general designation which would make an equal appeal to radicals of all classes. As the Non-Partizan League has not yet officially endorsed the new party it is practically the Labor Party under a new name and the "Farmer" stands for hope rather than realization.

Senator La Follette refused to run on the platform adopted and the nomination was given on the second ballot to Parley P. Christensen, a lawyer of Salt Lake City. The labor leader, Max S. Hayes of Cleveland, was nominated for Vice-President. Some members of the Committee of Forty-Eight decided to stay with the new Farmer-Labor





Wide World

## COW AND COOLIDGE

How is that for an alliterative ticket? The cow occupies the foreground but the modest Governor is making her give down with the same steadfast efficiency that marked his political career

Party, but others, including such well-known radical leaders as Amos Pinchot, Allen McCurdy and George L. Record, bolted the convention. In addition to the five old parties, the Republican, the Democratic, the Socialist, the Socialist Labor and, probably, the Prohibition Party, there will be at least four new parties in the field this fall, the Communist and Communist Labor factions, the Farmer-Labor Party, the Single Tax Party, and possibly several more if the secessionists from the Chicago convention decide to nominate rival tickets.

## Clement the Inclement

IN spite of a direct personal appeal from the Republican nominee Governor Clement of Vermont has definitely refused to permit the legislature of his state to vote on the nineteenth amendment in a special session. He was of the opinion that "a Legislature should not pass upon a question which has arisen since their election, and upon which their constituents have had no opportunity to express themselves." He admitted that the recent decision of the Supreme Court in the case of Ohio made it perfectly legal to call the Vermont legislature into special session to consider the nineteenth amendment, irrespective of the constitutional law of Vermont, but he objected to the decision of the Supreme Court on grounds of public policy as an invasion of the sovereignty of the individual states. He even permitted himself the startling statement that "As it stands and is interpreted by the Supreme Court today, the Federal Constitution threatens the foundation of free popular government."

Senator Harding was much disappointed over the failure of his efforts to secure ratification of the equal suffrage amendment by the vote of a Republican state, tho he declared that the important thing was for the amend-



Keystone View

## ROOSEVELT AT HOME

Franklin D. Roosevelt, Democratic nominee for Vice-President, with his wife and his mother at their home in Hyde Park, New York. Is he looking at the camera—or at the future?

ment to be enacted before November even if the honor of completing ratification fell to a Democratic legislature. He pointed out that twenty-nine of the thirty-five states which have taken favorable action were Republican and that only one Republican legislature, that of Delaware, had voted against it. But apparently the only remaining chances are Democratic. Vermont and Connecticut, Republican, cannot ratify this year because of the hostile attitude of the state Governors. Tennessee, North Carolina and Florida, all Democratic, have still a chance to act. The suffragists are hopeful of getting either Tennessee or North Carolina as the necessary thirty-sixth state. That is certainly the only essential step, as the attempts of anti-suffragists to set aside the action of the legislatures in Ohio, West Virginia, Missouri and other states, on various technical grounds, have been defeated in every instance by the courts.

## Japanese in California

THE Japanese question in California has reached an acute stage thru the issue of a lengthy report by the State Board of Control, reviewing the increase in population of Chinese, Japanese and Hindus since 1910, and the amount of land now under their control thru ownership and lease. In view of the representations of this report Governor Stephens has appealed to Secretary of State Colby for Federal action to meet the situation. Without the figures of the last census, the increases in population of Orientals are determined from annual reports of arrivals and departures thru the port of San Francisco and the record of births and deaths. These indicate a decrease of 8.2 per cent in the Chinese population on the basis of



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## SKIING THE SKIES

This airplane is equipped for crossing the snow-clad Alps. Instead of the usual wheels underneath it has skis so that it can rise easily from the ground if it happens to land in a snowbank or on a glacier

the census figures of 1910, an increase of 33½ per cent in the Hindu population and of 111 per cent in the Japanese. There are two sources of inaccuracy in these results. Many of the Chinese and Japanese resident in California in 1910 and later immigrants have moved out of the state. The census figures of 1910 were considerably below the population at that time acknowledged by the Japanese in their own reports. The surprising increase in the number of Japanese results from a large birth rate, as well as from a considerable net addition of immigrants. The excess of arrivals over departures for the ten-year period is 25,592. Japanese laborers returning after a visit to Japan numbered 18,217. It is noteworthy that of the total immigration since 1910, about 60,000, 28,000 came from Hawaii, and 27,000 returned to Japan. The transfer of such a large number from the island territory of the United States to the mainland brings an added burden to California, but is not the fault of Japan. It is probable that most of the departures of Japanese were to Japan



rather than back to Hawaii, so the net increase directly from Japan is relatively small. It is not fair to charge that Japan has been lax in observing the "gentleman's agreement" when half of the arrivals and probably very few of the departures have been Japanese residents in Hawaii.

Figures given by the State Board of Control show 87,279 Japanese in California. The Japanese Association of California published in 1918 the results of a special census made by their organization, showing nearly 70,000. With the increase by immigration and births since then there would probably be an admitted population of 80,000. The difference between this and the figures of the State Board is doubtless due to removals from California to Southern Idaho and Utah, where there has been a very large increase of Japanese population since 1910.

The land question is quite as serious a problem as the increase in numbers. Chinese hold under lease or contract, 85,181 acres in California, Hindus 86,340, Japanese 383,287. The amount owned by Orientals is 88,944 acres, and 1593 city lots, of which the Japanese have 74,769 acres and 1036 city lots. The total acreage occupied in the state is 3,839,500, making that occupied by Orientals, either owned, leased or farmed by contract, 16 1/3 per cent.

## The Unpacific Ocean

THE panic in California over the growing Japanese immigration and the leasing of land by Japanese residents of the country has brought about a disagreeable state of tension which is worrying the sober minds and infuriating the unsound minds in both the United States and Japan. Legislation is pending in California which would prevent the purchase or even the leasing of land by a subject of the Mikado. The Governor of California has requested the Federal Department of State for better protection against Oriental immigration than is afforded by the present "gentleman's agreement" between the two countries. On the other hand, it is understood that the Japanese Government has made informal protest against the proposed California land laws.

The British-Japanese alliance has been temporarily renewed in order to permit negotiations for its revision. The British Dominions strongly desire the insertion of safeguards against Japanese immigration, and the British Government will consult Dominion representatives on this and other points before extending the alliance over any considerable term of years. The Chinese Government also has raised objection to certain clauses of the Anglo-Japanese treaty.

Japan is also absorbed by the negotiations with China over the Shantung rights claimed under the German treaty, by fights with Korean bandits along the northern frontier of Korea, and by the unsettled condition of eastern Siberia. It is reported that the Japanese have agreed to evacuate the Trans-Baikal region of Siberia; but will remain in occupation of northern Saghalien and Nikolaievsk. In view of the many problems pressing on the Japanese Government, the budget for new warships this year will come to more than \$22,000,000.

## Railwaymen's Pay Goes Up

IN June President Wilson appealed to the Railroad Labor Board for quicker action on the new wage schedules. The Brotherhoods were getting restive and making plans for a strike if the decision were indefinitely delayed or unsatisfactory when issued. They felt that in disavowing the "outlaw strike" after the railroads were returned to private control, and in waiting for many months the final decision of the Labor Board, they had at last earned a verdict and favorable one. At length July 20 was fixed as the date of the award.

The decision of the Labor Board grants about three-fifths

of the increase asked for by the unions. Increases averaging 21 per cent over present rates of pay and amounting in the aggregate to about \$600,000,000 were conceded. As practically all classes of the two million railway workers in the United States benefit considerably from the increases, this is equivalent to saying that the average railway worker is to get about \$300 a year over his existing rate of pay. The largest proportionate increases go to the more poorly paid ranks of labor. The decision is retroactive to May 1, 1920.

Some of the railway corporations fear that they will not be able to meet the new salaries without retrenchment. The Pennsylvania Railroad Company announces that it intends to dismiss 12,000 men in its eastern region. Clerks, shopmen and maintenance of way men make up the bulk of those affected. Many of these men were taken on temporarily during the war to meet emergency needs and their services are no longer necessary to the present business of the company.

## The Spa Settlement

A CRISIS in western Europe has once more passed—or been postponed. Germany and the Allies have reached a basis of compromise with respect to Germany's payment of indemnity in coal. Germany agrees to furnish 2,000,000 tons of coal a month for the six months beginning August 1, 1920. The food and living conditions of the German coal miners are to be improved. An agreement is to be made for the distribution of the coal mined in Upper Silesia, disputed by Germany and Poland. Germany will get a loan, valued at about \$100,000,000 based on the value of her coal deliveries. Hugo Stinnes, the German coal magnate, denounced the Allied terms as wholly unacceptable and prophesied that they could never be enforced. However, the Allies have still a card to play. They reserve the right to occupy German territory if there is any attempt at evasion of the Spa agreements on disarmament and coal indemnities.

Reparations, other than the coal indemnity, are still largely undetermined. Further conferences between the Allies and Germany will be necessary to reach a settlement on many points. The Allied Premiers agreed that reparations paid by Germany should be distributed among the belligerent nations in the following proportion: France, 52 per cent; Great Britain, 22 per cent; Italy, 10 per cent; Belgium, 8 per cent; the balance divided among Serbia, Rumania, Poland, Japan and Portugal. The payment to Belgium is additional to her priority right to the payment of her war loans from the Allies. Premier Lloyd George expressed deep regret that the United States was not officially represented at the Spa Conference.

It would have been easy for the Allies to have imposed



Underwood & Underwood

A ROYAL SUICIDE

Prince Joachim, the youngest son of the former German Kaiser, brooded too much on the tragic destiny of the House of Hohenzollern



severer terms at Spa by the same method used to force German compliance with the compromise terms actually agreed on—the threat of military force. But Germany's very weakness has become her ally, and the Allies are unwilling to push the nation to desperation. With Poland already collapsing under Bolshevik pressure, another revolution in Germany might bring Bolshevism at one leap from the Dnieper to the Rhine, and the hope of any indemnity whatever would be gone until order was once more restored throughout Germany. There is the equal and opposite danger of spurring German national spirit into a royalist reaction. Such straws in the wind as the proposal to reimburse the Hohenzollerns for their loss of property, the truculent behavior of Hugo Stinnes at Spa, and sundry alleged insults to allied officials in Germany, show that there is a tendency toward reaction with which the infant republic must reckon. Republican institutions are insecurely bolstered up by the pressure of Prussianism to the right, almost exactly counterbalancing the pressure of socialism on the left, and at any moment the balance may turn one way or the other.

## The Spoils of the Turk

**W**ILL Turkey sign the peace and if she does will the Treaty be more than a scrap of paper? Damad Ferid Pasha, Turkish Grand Vizier, favors signature of the Treaty, but two members of his cabinet have resigned rather than consent. The extreme nationalist party, organized under Mustapha Kemal Pasha, is openly at war with the Greeks, the Armenians and the Allies and openly in rebellion against the existing Turkish Government. The Bolsheviks are reported to be cooperating with the Turks in the campaign against Armenia. The Nationalists threaten the Turkish peace commissioners with death if they sign the Treaty.

To force compliance with the Treaty, the Allies have delivered a severe ultimatum to the Turkish peace commissioners:

If the Turkish Government refuses to sign the peace—still more if it finds itself unable to reestablish its authority in Anatolia or give effect to the Treaty—the Allies may be driven to reconsider this arrangement by ejecting the Turks from Europe, once and for all.

In other words, not only the Turkish Government but the rebel Nationalists are warned that the principal clause of the Treaty in their favor, the retention of Constantinople as part of the Turkish Empire, may be annulled by further resistance to the conditions imposed on them.

Unfortunately, as the Turks well know, the brave words of the Allies conceal important divergences of policy. The Greeks and Italians are again at odds over their respective spheres of influence in Anatolia. The French and Arabs actually came to blows over the occupation of Syria. Under pressure of a French invasion Feisal, the Arab King in Syria, consented to acknowledge a French mandate in Syria, but protested against a French military occupation.



Keystone View

### A TAME TURK

Damid Ferid Pasha, the gentleman in the Turkish headgear, agreed to the severe terms of peace imposed by the Allies. The extreme Turkish Nationalists have threatened him with death on his return to Turkey for not resisting the peace treaty



Morris for the George Matthew Adams Service.

### But can they make him drink?

The British are seriously embarrassed by their occupation of Mesopotamia. The French are putting forth renewed claims to the oil bearing region of Mosul, and the Government has been attacked by political opponents for sacrificing French interests to British friendship in this matter. The Turkish Nationalists and the Bolsheviks threaten invasion and there are stirrings of discontent among the Arab population. The London Times estimates that the British are maintaining an army of 88,500 British and Indian troops in Mesopotamia and Persia. This is a high price to pay, even for oil wells.

## Civil War in China

**A**T the very time when China most needs a single, stable government for negotiation with Japan and other Great Powers and to protect her frontier against the menace of Russian Bolshevism, she is caught in the network of a civil conflict between rival generals. The chief antagonists are General Tuan Chi-jui, former Premier, head of the An-fu faction, and General Wu Pei-fu, chief of the Chi-li faction. Between these contending forces, and the ambitious efforts of many other generals who take sides with one party or the other, or fight for their own hands, President Hsu Shih-Chang maintains with difficulty a nominal authority over the vast expanses of the republic and fails altogether to make that nominal authority equivalent to real power. Japan and the other Great Powers are officially neutral in the Chinese civil war, but they have endeavored to prevent the capture of Peking by any of the rival factions in order to safeguard the lives of foreign residents.

## Mexico Rounds Up Rebels

**T**HE shade of Carranza will watch with a certain complacent self-satisfaction the difficulties of his successors in pacifying Mexico. New rebellions crop out every week or so, just as they did under all the former Mexican régimes. It is due to the Government to say it is meeting these outbreaks with firmness and a considerable measure of success. Villa



offered to abandon his insurrection and adhere to the existing Government on condition that he retain the rank of general and the command of 500 soldiers in Chihuahua. The Government refused his terms and demanded unconditional surrender. Civil war was renewed, an initial success near Parral falling to the Federal armies.

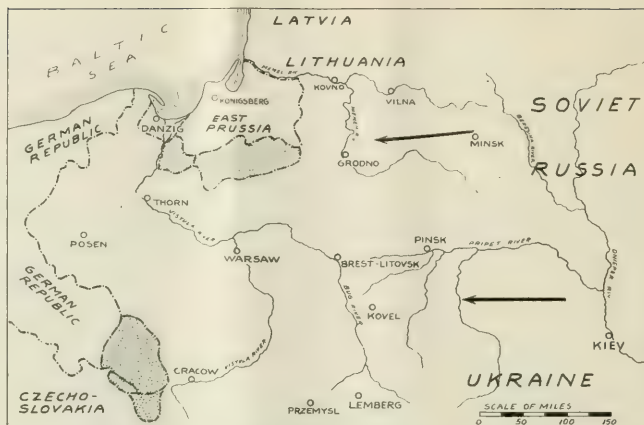
General Pablo Gonzales, who had made common cause with General Obregon against President Carranza, attempted to stir up a new rebellion in the state of Nuevo Leon in north-eastern Mexico. He was captured near Monterey and placed on trial for treason before a military court. This insurrection was stamped out before it got fairly under way, but Gonzales was set free after conviction by a special pardon from the Government.

Passing from military to civil politics, the Obregon-De la Huerta Government is opposed by a newly organized political party known as the National Republican. Its platform is the restoration of the old constitution of 1857 in place of the reformed constitution put into effect by the partizans of Carranza. Behind the new party are the conservative elements who were powerful under Porfirio Diaz and who dislike the radical ideas embodied in the new constitution and the whole atmosphere of revolutionary rule; the Catholic clergy, who wish to abolish the anti-clerical laws enacted under Carranza, and some of the oil interests, who oppose the constitutional provisions restricting the property rights of foreigners in Mexico. General Dominguez is favored by the new party as its candidate for President. Whether the National Republicans will remain content to vote under conditions fixed by the Government or will appeal to the sword, as other opposition factions have done, remains to be seen.

## The Bolivian Revolution

**Y**ET another Latin-American republic has been visited by revolution. President Gutierrez Guerra of Bolivia and his cabinet have been overthrown by an insurrection headed by Bautista Saavedra, a former Minister of Public Instruction. The army supported the revolutionists and little serious resistance seems to have been offered to the coup d'état. The new Government deported ex-President Guerra and his chief adherents.

As a mere incident of the internal history of Bolivia the revolution would be of little importance, for Bolivia is not one of the Latin-American countries which has attained political stability. But the real significance of the Bolivian revolution is its entanglement with the more serious issues of international politics. For many months there has been an acute diplomatic controversy, involving Chile, Peru and Bolivia, over the possession of the northern provinces of Chile. Bolivia, a land-locked state, covets a seaboard on the Pacific. The Guerra Government desired to obtain an outlet at Arica, now held by Chile but claimed by Peru. In March of this year feeling between Peru and Bolivia ran so high that there were popular outbreaks in both countries and the war clouds hung dark over the Andes. The new Government has brought into office with it an alternative



BELEAGUERED POLAND

This map shows the war zone in the Russo-Polish conflict. The western frontiers of Poland are well defined, save for the shaded areas which are disputed with Germany or with Czechoslovakia. In the east the Poles claim a protectorate over Lithuania, White Russia and Ukraine. Now the tide of battle sweeps westward over the disputed lands and Poland is threatened with an invasion from the northeast, in the region of Minsk and Vilna, and from the southeast in the region from Kiev to Lemberg

to see that the frontier is properly guarded.

## Reds Take Vilna

**T**HE fortunes of war remain adverse to Poland. The Bolsheviki continue their advance in the north thru Lithuania and in the south thru White Russia and the Ukraine. In substance the Bolsheviki have rejected the offer of mediation advanced by the Allies. They refuse to negotiate at all with General Wrangel's army in southern Russia, consider that they have already reached an agreement with the Baltic States, and announce that they prefer to negotiate directly with Poland. It is reported that France has made an alliance of "economic defense" with Hungary against the Bolsheviki.

Two important cities have fallen to the invader, Minsk and Vilna. The Bolsheviki occupied Minsk on July 11 after a stubborn battle. Vilna was captured on July 14. Elaborate preparations had been made to defend the city, even to the arming of the Polish women, but the Bolsheviki met with little resistance. A few days later the invader occupied Lida, about a hundred miles south of Vilna. The Russians have made an agreement with the Lithuanians to turn over the occupied districts and also to pay a sum of 3,000,000 rubles to the Lithuanian Government in return for the right to march armies thru Lithuanian territory for the invasion of Poland.

## The Quandary of Persia

**W**HEN the Bolsheviki took Baku the Denikin and British vessels on the Caspian Sea escaped to the Persian port of Enzeli. Here they were pursued and caught by the Bolsheviki who occupied the port of Enzeli and the adjacent inland city of Reslet. The small British garrison withdrew to Teheran, the Persian capital.

Persia appealed to the League of Nations for protection against the Bolsheviki and the question was considered at the London meeting of the Council on June 16. The French were opposed to intervention by the League because it would necessarily involve official recognition of the Soviet Government as one of the parties to the dispute. The British had no troops to spare for the purpose and the League had no forces of its own. So in this, "the first test case of the value of the League idea," as Lord Curzon, chairman of the Council, called it, the Council could do nothing more than commend Persia for bringing the matter to the attention of the League.



# A Little of Everything



## The Oldest Law Code

The discovery and translation in 1903 of the Code of Hammurabi added a new chapter to the history of jurisprudence at its very beginning for it showed that at least as early as 2250 B. C. the Babylonians had a carefully compiled system of several hundred laws and precedents. This was almost a thousand years before the time of Moses and the body of so-called Mosaic legislation was not formulated till long after his death. Dr. William Hayes Ward, then editor of *The Independent*, took Assyriology as his avocation and he was the first to make this unparalleled historical document accessible to American readers by translating it from the German of Abbe Scheil and running it entire as a serial in this magazine. Dr. Ward pointed out at that time that the Code of King Hammurabi gave evidence of being the outgrowth of judicial practice stretching thousands of years farther back into antiquity.

This surmise is confirmed by the translation by Dr. Scheil of two earlier clay tablets from collection in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. These contain fragments of a Sumerian Code dating back to about 3000 B. C., before the era of Sargon the Elder. The later Babylonian Code of Hammurabi is in part based upon them and some of its provisions are the same. The tablets translated were apparently used as textbooks in the law school of the University of Nippur and therefore give us a first-hand and contemporary picture of society as it existed in the earliest seat of civil-

ization five thousand years ago. On account of their unique interest we print them complete as they are published in the *Museum Journal* of the University of Pennsylvania:

Should the owner have granted a fallow land to a gardener to be planted as an orchard, if the latter has not entirely completed his work when they share, the fallow part shall fall to the gardener's lot.

Should a man enter another man's orchard and abide in the plantation, he shall pay 10 silver shekels.

Should a man cut down a tree in another man's orchard, he shall pay a half silver mine.

A house owner has a right to extend over a neighboring waste ground provided he has given notice to the owner of the waste ground and they agree as to the terms of the rent, and he insures him against any damages done.

Should the owner of a house not knowing how to manage it, let another man undertake it, the latter shall during three years profit by his industry, the owner not being empowered to turn him out.

Should a man shelter a fugitive slave during a month, he shall give slave for slave, and in case he should not be able to do it, he shall pay 25 silver shekels.

Should a slave contest the rights of his master concerning his bondage he shall be convicted anew and sold.

Should a mercenary driven by fear have neglected to face a danger threatening his master's property, he is not guilty and shall stand before the court that suits him.

If he was notoriously powerless, he is not guilty, nor is there any ground for a law suit.

Should a man marry a second wife who bears him children, this woman's dowry belongs to her children, but the children of

the first and of the second wife share equally the goods of their father.

Should there be living children of the wife, the children of the servant shall not share with them the house of the father, but the servant and her children shall be released from slavery.

Should the wife die and the husband marry the servant who bore him children, their condition is changed and they do increase the family.

If the wife has borne no children and the husband has some children from his relations with another woman, he shall provide for her food and clothing, and the children of the other woman shall be heir to their father, but their mother shall not abide by the husband, so long as the wife is alive.

Should the wife be unfaithful, she shall live in a state of seclusion at home, and a second wife may eventually take her place and rank as first.

## Gadgets

A bat cannot rise from a level surface.

\*\*\*

Centipedes usually have thirty-four legs.

\*\*\*

China imports half of its automobiles from the United States.

\*\*\*

Since 1900 the use of news print in the United States has increased three-fold.

\*\*\*

Three-fourths of the foreign-born population of the United States live in the cities.

\*\*\*

Los Angeles makes four out of every five moving picture films produced in the United States.

\*\*\*

There are more than four hundred newspapers in the United States published by negroes.

\*\*\*

The largest yield of bone from a single whale was taken in 1883, and amounted to 3110 pounds.

\*\*\*

The Federal Bureau of Education prepared and collected 6,000,000 feet of moving picture film in 1919.

\*\*\*

The Commissioner of Immigration at New York estimates that at least 4,000,000 Europeans will rush to America by 1921.

\*\*\*

Boy Scouts collected 2,343,497 Liberty Loan subscriptions valued at \$354,180,687, and sold over \$50,000,000 of War Savings Stamps.

\*\*\*

Before the American Government shut down on amateur wireless stations as a wartime precaution, the United States contained 175,000 wireless outfits.

\*\*\*

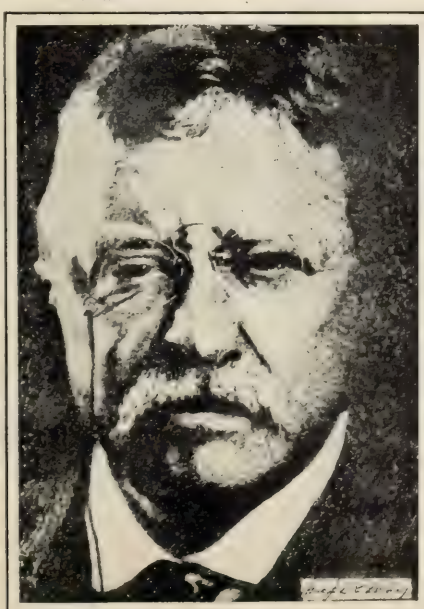
It is planned to construct an elevator shaft more than 3000 feet high to enable visitors to the Yosemite Valley to ascend rapidly to the crest of Glacier Point and get the view.

\*\*\*

A girl can be called a girl until she is thirty, according to the rule laid down by

## Portraits on the Typewriter

The accompanying impressionist sketch of the late President Roosevelt, reproduced from *Remington Notes*, was the work of Mr. Joseph Levy of Scranton. He is the creator of a new art, typewriter portraiture. Not a single line drawn by pen or pencil appears in the sketch and no photography underlies it. Mr. Levy simply placed a sheet of paper in his Remington typewriter and struck the keys of his machine, striking heavily and repeatedly where dark shadows were needed and with a faint touch where lighter shading was requisite. A close study of the lighter shadings the picture will show with what care different keys of the typewriter were selected for the best effect. Can you make your typewriter draw pictures? Why not try and see? Every artist delights to try his hand in a new medium and the more difficulties he encounters the greater his pleasure if he produces a passable result.





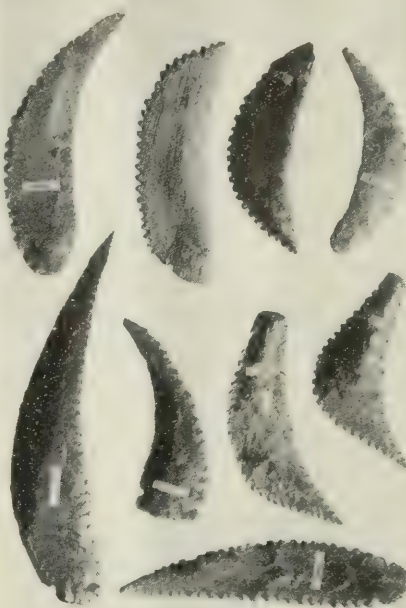
John D. Rockefeller in donating the home for young women opened this week by the Y. W. C. A. of New York City.

### In the Tree Tops

The New York man who discovered that the quietest part of New York after business hours is the financial district and has now filed plans for a \$15,000 private dwelling on the top of a big business building near the harbor, does not act without precedent. Dust and roaring traffic, and lack of sunlight have already sent a number of imaginative New Yorkers to the high roofs of the city. Two hundred and fifteen feet above the street, on the top of a big office building near the edge of the shopping district, a New York architect has his studio and bachelor quarters. They comprise a spacious garden court in addition to working and living rooms. From this garden is visible the green privet hedges that are on three sides of another roof haven. The house here has seven rooms, including a spacious living room. A broad green awning provides a good-sized veranda on one side, comfortably equipped with hammocks and deck chairs, and at the rear, off the dining-room, is an open air court. In the garden are flourishing nasturtium beds.

Farther north, on a very high office building overlooking the Grand Central Terminal, one of the most prominent of New York architects has his city home. Farther west on the top of a twenty-story building a goldfish pool, fed by a little stone fountain, is the feature of the garden in which is set another of these charming refuges from the dust and confusion of the streets below. Geraniums, blue periwinkles, and trailing vines grow within the garden limits. The house itself provides ample living quarters, and has on one side of it a large handball court. In the same neighborhood, a popular actress has a roof home on the top of a private dwelling. But as it is situated in a neighborhood where tall houses are the exception, it has all the advantages of sunshine and fresh air afforded in more closely built sections only at fifteen or twenty stories above

the street. John Barrymore, the actor, has planted apple trees in the garden of his roof-top residence which is built on the roof of a five-story building in Greenwich Village, a quarter in the older part of New York frequented, as is the Latin quarter in Paris, by artists and writers.



### Stone Saws

The Indians of Central California made saws before Columbus ever visited America. Mr. James A. Barr has made a hobby of collecting prehistoric implements and he has made a collection of 158 Indian saws. Three of these, possibly used to skin game or fish, were fragile implements of soapstone; all of the rest were of hard, black obsidian. The Indians not only had no metal of which to make their saws, but they had no metal tools with which to make them. Each saw had to be slowly chipped or ground or polished with other bits of stone until it was shaped for use. Some were ser-

rated on the outer edge, some on the inner and some on both; most of them were also notched near one end as for a handle. Considering the difficult conditions under which they were made they show remarkable craftsmanship and skill in manufacture. In a single tomb were found thirty-one of these saws distributed in a semi-circle around the feet of an Indian who may in life have been either a wealthy chief or a professional saw maker. In the same tomb were found many pieces of obsidian ready for shaping. The accompanying illustration will give some idea of the specimen's in Mr. Barr's collection.

### Those Welsh Lads Are Clever!

The Central Welsh Board gave the following uniform examination in geography to school children from thirteen to nineteen years of age, corresponding to our high school grades. Geography teachers in this country may be interested to compare the questions with those which they give in their own classes:

I. Imagine an island 740 miles from north to south and 500 from east to west, with varied relief, rising to 3,000 feet near its center which is situated at 178 degrees east longitude and 5 degrees north latitude. Draw a sketch map, adding numbered latitude and longitude signs at one degree intervals and indicate the leading facts with regard to probable drainage and climate.

II. Draw a full-page map of your school town, indicating parks and open spaces and marking carefully the relation of the chief public buildings to the chief lines of communications. *What improvements could you suggest?*

III. Select three different types of forest regions. Give their exact situation and climate and describe the human activities in each.

IV. Compare by means of scale diagrams the area and density of population of Australia, South America, Africa and Asia.

V. Give the exact course of any one political boundary which has been changed in course of time and any one which has been fairly permanent. Suggest reasons for position and alterations.

We wonder if Premier Lloyd George could have passed this examination when he was a schoolboy in Wales?



The "Candle Ceremony" of the Intercollegiate Cosmopolitan Club in New York City, consists of one each of the forty-four nationalities represented arranging themselves, with an unlighted candle in their right hands and with the blank side of their placards showing. The person at the left end of the line then lights his candle, saying as he does so, "I represent Syria," at the same time turning over his card so that the name of his country appears. He then lights the candle of his neighbor, who says, "I represent Canada," turns over his card and lights the candle of Australia. In this way the light is passed the entire length of the line until "Uncle Sam," at the right end, has received it.



## Covered with Mud and Glory

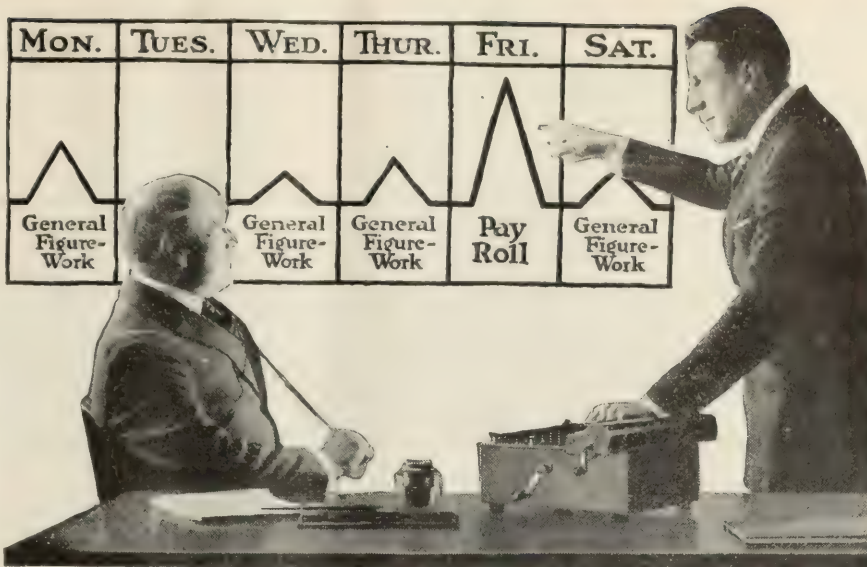
(Continued from page 104)

the country between, forming the curtain of this natural bastioned front, while the edges of the hill slopes themselves furnished excellent machine gun positions for the immediate defense of the heights. Almost in the center of the lower ground between the two latter, the high, isolated hill of Montfaucon afforded to the enemy unobstructed observation over the entire battle-front, while northward the rolling hills piled up in higher and higher ridges, each commanding the one below it, until they reached a summit in the heights of Barricourt, nearly 25 kilometers north of the front lines.

It was the general strength of the Meuse-Argonne sector, briefly indicated above, rather than the strength of any particular feature or segment of it, which made it the most formidable 30 kilometers on the whole western front and led Marshal Foch to believe that it could be broken thru, if at all, by but one of the armies under his command—namely, the American Army, young, vigorous and far less sapped by the weariness of long warfare than any other body of troops of like numerical strength which could be used for the purpose.

It was not the Marshal's intention, however, that the American army should attack alone, while the enemy in other quarters should be left free to concentrate his reserve divisions for the defense of the Meuse-Argonne sector. From the first, his conception had been of a grand general offensive to be launched along the entire western front by the French, British and Belgian armies, as well as the American, so soon as the forces should be in hand to justify such an enterprise. Owing to the great influx of American troops, the time had now arrived for thus compelling the enemy, decidedly outnumbered in the whole theater of war, to defend himself at all points at once and, hence, at all points to fight with inferior numbers. By pressing such a general attack with unremitting vigor it was the hope of the Allied high command to drive the enemy from his fortified lines and possibly to compel him to sue for peace before the advent of winter weather should bring active operations to a close for the year.

The reduction of the St. Mihiel salient had been virtually a great and most instructive maneuver for the First American Army, seasoning the participating troops for more stubborn fighting. That attack had jumped off on September 12; the attack in the Meuse-Argonne was scheduled to begin just fourteen days later, on September 26. The period of preparation for the new attack was thus extremely limited, but a considerable amount of work was done even before the St. Mihiel battle while, so soon as the new front began to stabilize in that sector, General Pershing was already withdrawing from there most of his corps and army troops and getting them, together with divisions drawn from the



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same region, from quiet sectors or from training areas, into positions immediately behind the Meuse-Argonne front. Here, in order to blind the enemy until the last moment to the fact that an American attack was impending, the forward trenches were still being held by divisions of the Second French Army, while the staff organization of the latter was also placed at General Pershing's disposal to assist him in his preparations.

Field headquarters of the First American Army were established at Souilly, southwest of Verdun, on September 22, and General Pershing took over active command of the sector extending from Fresnes-en-Woevre to the western edge of the Argonne, which, added to the St. Mihiel sector, reaching from Fresnes to a point beyond the Moselle, gave to the American army a total front of approximately 120 kilometers. The portion of this front lying east of the Meuse was held in part by General Dickman's 4th Corps and in part by the French 17th Corps and 2nd Colonial Corps, which were under American army command. None of these troops were at first to participate in the approaching offensive. For the opening of the latter, General Pershing brought together three corps staffs; the 3rd from the Aisne front and the 1st and 5th from the St. Mihiel salient, and concentrated fifteen American divisions, of which nine were to be used in the first line, leaving three for corps reserves and three for army reserve. He had, besides, a large number of corps and army troops, 821 airplanes of which 604 were operated by Americans and 381 tanks of which 239 were French and 142 American. More than 2700 pieces of artillery were available for the preliminary bombardment and barrage, an average of about one piece for each ten meters of front.

The movement into position of all these troops and this material, at night and under all weather conditions, on roads limited in number and constantly subject to the harassing fire of the enemy, was a task which seemed almost insuperable. The First American Army, concentrating upon this field, was a stupendous organization, containing almost twice as many men as Napoleon provided in his Grand Army for the invasion of Russia in 1814. According to the daily reports of the Assistant Chief of Staff G-4 (Supply Section) of the First Army, supplies were provided on September 26 for 777,809 men and 129,900 animals; by the 1st of October the number of men had risen to 878,694 and the peak was reached on the 6th of that month, when 896,000 men were supplied. In addition to the traffic involved in bringing in this host and providing it with food, ammunition and other necessities, another complication was presented by the necessary relief, before the attack, of the eleven French and Italian divisions of the Second French Army which had been occupying the sector.

But all difficulties were eventually

overcome and at 2:30 o'clock on the morning of September 25, when the three-hour artillery preparation began, the attacking troops were all in position. From right to left the line was held by the 3rd Corps under General Robert Lee Bullard, extending from the Meuse River to Malancourt; the 5th Corps under General George H. Cameron, occupying the center, from Malancourt to Vauquois; and the 1st Corps under General Hunter Liggett, from Vauquois to La Harazee, on the western edge of the Argonne. Each corps had three divisions in line and one in reserve, the line divisions being, from right to left: General George Bell's 33rd Division, General Adelbert Cronkhite's 80th Division and General Mark A. Hersey's 4th Division, of General Bullard's corps; the 79th Division, General Joseph E. Kuhn, the 37th Division, General C. S. Farnsworth, and the 91st Division, General William H. Johnston, of General Cameron's corps; and, finally, General Peter E. Traub's 35th Division, General Charles H. Muir's 28th Division and General Robert Alexander's 77th Division, of General Liggett's corps.

The enemy, who was apparently looking for a continuation of the American advance from the old St. Mihiel salient in the direction either of Metz or Briey, had a group of eleven divisions in reserve or rest near the former place but, at the moment of the attack, only five divisions in line between the Meuse and the Argonne, belonging to the Fifth Army under General von der Marwitz, of the Army Group of General von Gallwitz. These holding troops do not appear to have gotten wind of the impending blow until just before it fell, when they hastily retired from the forward trenches into their support positions. Nevertheless, the bombardment of the American artillery was so violent and accurate that it demolished most of the support positions as well as the forward ones and put a large proportion of the enemy's artillery out of action. When the attack went over at 5:30 o'clock in the morning, the troops everywhere pushed unchecked across the terribly devastated "No Man's Land" of four years' standing and overran several kilometers of enemy territory without serious opposition. Then they began to encounter positions which the Germans were prepared to defend fiercely and progress became slower. But by the evening of the first day the American front had fought its way forward to an average depth of seven kilometers, going as far as Danneveux, the Bois Septsarges, Cuisy, Very, Cheppy and Varennes, capturing 5000 prisoners and everywhere penetrating the German second lines.

Progress had been most marked on the extreme right, where General Bell's men had cleared up the west bank of the Meuse nearly to the bend above Briculles and had then faced east toward the enemy's great bastion, the Heights of the Meuse, across the river. On the opposite flank General Alexander's New Yorkers had gained only

about two kilometers thru the mazes of the Argonne Forest but, in view of the difficulties of the terrain, it was an excellent achievement, for the general plan of operations contemplated that the forest should be outflanked by the advance of the American army on the east and of General Gouraud's Fourth French Army on the west, rather than by direct attack. In the center, before General Cameron's corps, the enemy made a very stubborn defense of the large woodlands of Malancourt and Montfaucon and when, after finally pushing thru them, the men of General Kuhn's division came up before the eminence of Montfaucon on the evening of the 26th, they failed to carry it in their first assault.

It was necessary that Montfaucon should be taken before further progress could be made on other parts of the front. The plans of the American command contemplated that the center corps should constantly keep slightly ahead of the flank corps and the axis of its attack was a line thru Montfaucon, Romagne and Buzancy, thus inclining to the northwest in conformity with the direction of both the Meuse River and the Argonne Plateau. The result of pushing ahead on this line would be that when the front should have passed the Bois de Bourgogne, which marks the detached northern extremity of the Argonne Plateau, the left flank of the American army would come closely in contact with the right flank of General Gouraud's army, which had attacked on the Champagne front at the same moment in which General Pershing's forces had attacked on the Meuse-Argonne front and, inclining slightly to the eastward in its progress toward the Aisne River, was gaining ground with equal rapidity. The enemy remaining in any portion of the Argonne would then, of course, be flanked and would be obliged either to retire or be captured.

Montfaucon was assaulted again by the 79th Division shortly before noon on the 27th and after a stubborn conflict it was captured. The attack was covered only by the long-range guns still in place south of the old Allied front, as it had proved impossible to get any field batteries across the utterly devastated waste of No Man's Land in time to support the advance. In fact, during the first several days of the battle the American army was in greater danger of having its efforts paralyzed by the failure of its communications than by the resistance of the enemy. In this sector only four roads existed across No Man's Land and these had been practically destroyed by the artillery fire of four years, while the wet, spongy soil and the mazes of trenches and wire made it impossible to move guns or vehicles for any distance off the roads. But the splendid work of the American engineers and pioneer infantry and the French territorial battalions soon placed the roads in such condition that the most essential supplies could be forwarded and troops and field artill-



lery could move. As but one of the countless instances of such work, the 4th Engineers, of General Hersey's division, by the second day of the battle had completely repaired the destroyed road from Esnes thru No Man's Land to Malancourt, using 40,000 sandbags in accomplishing the task.

Supported at last by their batteries, the Americans drove ahead thruout the 27th, 28th and 29th of September. The troops of General Cronkhite and General Hersey conquered the woodlands of the Cote Lemont, in the bend of the Meuse south of Briulles, some men of the 80th Division capturing in one immense dump near the edge of the river various sorts of construction and war material worth about \$10,000,000. Beyond Montfaucon the 79th Division progressed yard by yard thru Nantillois and the Bois de Beuge against violent counter-attacks, but neither the help of tanks or artillery could carry the attacking waves up to the deadly strong point of Madeleine Farm. The 37th Division took Ivoiry and approached Cierges. Epinonville fell to General Johnston's men and the 35th Division, altho swept by artillery and machine gun crossfire from the edges of the Argonne, in very severe fighting gained Charpentry and Baulny and reached a line across the uplands south of Exermont. Struggling down the valley of the Aire River, with its left flank entangled in the woods and precipitous hills of the edge of the Argonne, General Muir's division found progress very difficult, but, after conquering Montblainville, a flank attack overcame some of the outstanding spurs and carried the front of the division on south to the edge of the little plateau at Apremont. General Alexander's troops, ever persevering in their follow-up attack, each day gained a little ground thru the Argonne.

On the evening of the 29th of September, which ended the fourth day of the battle, all of the attacking troops but particularly the divisions of the Fifth Corps, in the center, had suffered severely. At that time the 79th Division was relieved by General Beumont B. Buck's 3rd Division and the 37th was relieved by the 32nd, under General William G. Hahn, while in General Liggett's corps the 35th Division, having already sustained losses of nearly 7500 men in the fighting south of Exermont—greater losses were sustained by only two other divisions thruout the battle of nearly seven weeks—was replaced by General Charles P. Summerall's 1st Division on September 30.

But if the strain of the battle was proving severe to the American army, it was becoming almost insupportable to the enemy. Already on the 29th he had lost 9000 men and over 100 guns captured and had been driven back over eleven kilometers of strongly entrenched territory. So alarmed were the German commanders by the steady progress of the attack that by the evening of the 29th they had thrown six fresh divisions into the struggle



## One third of America underfed —say high authorities

Rich and poor alike suffer from malnutrition without knowing it

**W**HY do we hear on all sides complaints of "that tired feeling"? Why do nervous break downs and rest cures multiply?

"It's a great life if you don't weaken," says the man on the streets; and the speed of events seems to quicken all the time.

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These conclusions are inevitably drawn from statistics of the army draft and from Dr. Wm. Emerson's work among children of all classes.

What we call "lack of vitality," "run down," "not thriving" is now definitely traceable in most cases to an insufficient supply of certain food elements.

Whole wheat grain enlarged



### The sixteen vital elements of nutrition

Oxygen	Chlorin	Calcium	Sodium
Nitrogen	Fluorin	Potassium	Sulphur
Hydrogen	Iron	Magnesium	Silicon
Carbon	Phosphorus	Manganese	Iodine

### The 16 vital elements

Sixteen natural food elements (listed above) are needed to keep the normal human being strong and well, and filled with that abundant vitality which provides for growth and the energy demands of modern life.

In the wheat grain Nature provides these sixteen vital elements in more nearly the proper proportion than in any other food, save possibly milk.

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If you have been feeling below your normal in energy and vim—try Pettijohn's.

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Are your children under the weight shown by this table? If so they need more of the 16 vital elements food

Boys			Girls		
Height	Average wgt. for height		Height	Average wgt. for height	
Inches	Pounds		Inches	Pounds	
33*	32.0	31.0	49	55.5	55.5
36*	33.5	32.5	50	59.5	58.5
37*	34.5	33.5	51	63.0	61.0
38*	36.0	35.0	52	66.0	64.0
39*	37.5	36.5	53	69.0	67.5
40*	39.0	38.0	54	72.5	71.0
41*	40.5	39.5	55	75.5	75.0
42*	42.0	41.0	56	79.5	78.5
43	43.5	43.0	57	83.5	83.0
44	45.5	44.5	58	87.5	87.0
45	47.5	46.5	59	91.5	91.5
46	49.5	48.5	60	95.0	96.5
47	51.5	51.0	61	99.5	102.5
48	53.5	53.5	62	105.0	110.5
*Without clothes			63	109.5	116.0

The figures for the younger children are taken from "Holt's Diseases of Infancy and Childhood," for the ages from six years on, from the studies of Boas, Burk and Smedley. These latter heights and weights are with indoor clothes but without shoes. In all cases the weights have been approximated to the half-pound.

Table of weights reprinted from Woman's Home Companion

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between the Meuse and the Argonne and were delivering numerous and determined counter-attacks in their efforts to check the Americans.

Had the Germans been in a position to feed more troops into this sector, it is possible that they might have been able to halt the American advance. But in accordance with the plans for the general offensive, the enemy was being engaged all along the front at the same time. The armies of General Pershing and General Gouraud had struck on September 26; next day the First and Third British armies attacked the Hindenburg line between St. Quentin and Cambrai and on the 28th this attack was extended southward to La Fere by the Fourth British army and the First French army. On the same date the Belgian army and the Second British army advanced in Flanders between Dixmude and Ypres. The enemy was thus forced to meet the attacks everywhere with a fast diminishing supply of reserves.

But the country to which he had now been driven back by the American army was admirably suited to the kind of defense to which he was necessarily committed. The powerfully entrenched Kriemhilde Stellung lay across the rolling hills behind the advanced positions, its flanks resting securely on the bastions of the Argonne and the Heights of the Meuse, whose crossfire on the battle line and rear areas of the Americans became more and more deadly the further the attack of the latter was pushed. Constantly harassed by this fire in rear and physically worn down by burrowing in fox holes in the cold, rainy weather, the American attack divisions lost much of their driving power after September 29 and General Pershing decided that in order to register decided progress again, a fresh general attack should be prepared. Accordingly he gave instructions that a line of resistance be organized thru Dannevoix-Nantillois-Charpentry-Montblainville-Apremont, and that this line be held while additional supplies, especially of artillery ammunition, were being accumulated from the rear in preparation for the renewed advance which was set for the morning of October 4. This advance inaugurated the second and by far the most stubborn phase of the battle which ended only with the clean break-thru of November 1 that forced the German army into precipitate retreat. It will be described in the next article of this series.

Washington, D. C.

Angry Purchaser—Didn't you tell me that you had got as many as twelve eggs in one day from those eight hens you sold me?

Poultry Raiser—Yes, ma'am.

Angry Purchaser—Then why is it that I'm never able to get more than two eggs from them and sometimes not so many in one day?

Poultry Raiser—I don't know, ma'am, unless it's because you look for eggs too often. Now, if you look for them only once a week I feel quite positive that you will get just as many eggs in one day as I did.  
—Chicago News.



## Open the Door to China

(Continued from page 103)

the Powers concerned. Hence their true activities had to be looked for outside the scope of the consortium.

When one looks back upon the pre-war conditions of investment in China, one sees that Great Britain, France, Germany and the United States were in sharp contest regarding investments in railways, canals, mining, etc., each entrenched in its respective economic sphere. As a result of this, even fraudulent methods sometimes obtained in the negotiation for various loans and the development of China has been considerably retarded. But during the great war, these western nations, being compelled to devote all their energies to the prosecution of the conflict, could not pay due attention to eastern problems. Upon cessation of the hostilities the belligerent Powers had to provide huge sums for their own work of reconstruction and most of them, except England and America, will be unable to render notable financial assistance to China for a number of years to come. It follows then that Japan, America and England are the only Powers which can supply the necessary funds for the development of China.

The genesis of the friendly relation between China and Japan dates back to a very remote antiquity and the fact that both countries, geographically and economically so closely connected, are bound to stand and fall together is fully recognized by the intelligent classes of both nations. Moreover the furtherance of the welfare and the development of the industry of China are what Japan has openly advocated for many years. Now that China is in most urgent need of foreign money for her national finance Japan naturally cannot refuse to satisfy a part of her demand. On the other hand, the United States, true to its national ideals and principles, has, over a period of years, contributed remarkably to the enlightenment of the Chinese in the fields of religion, education, charity, etc. The principles of the "open door" and "equal opportunity" were first proposed by the United States, and consequently her business interests gradually began to attach great weight to the work of investment in China. Vastly enriched by the war, with a huge stock of materials, and her industries keyed up to the highest pitch, the great Republic of the West is in a position to supply China with ample aid. Thus Japan and America not only will play an important rôle within the new consortium now in process of formation, but they have the possibility of coöperation to a large extent in Chinese business outside the group as well. Consequently the destiny of China hangs largely upon the policies to be adopted by both countries toward her and any inconsistency between them will be unfortunate not only for China but for America and Japan. The economic development of China, then, necessitates the



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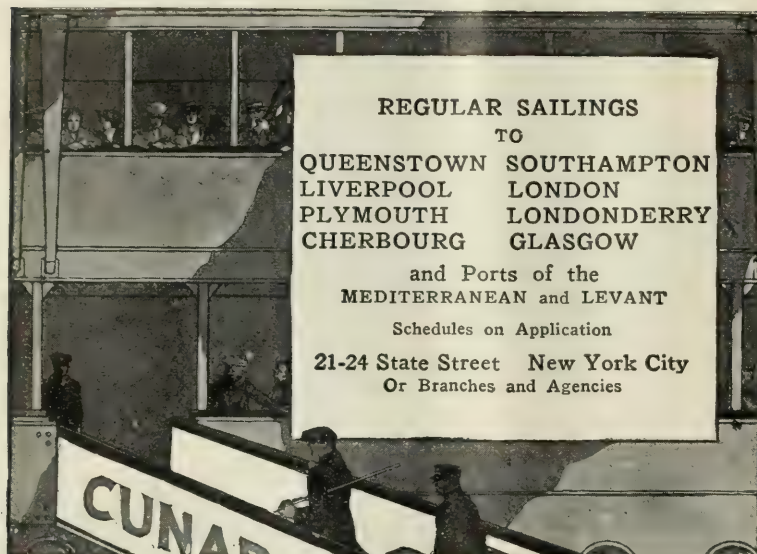
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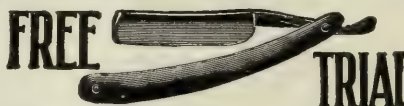
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coöperation of America and Japan, and  
with it will come a concert between the  
three Powers bordering the Pacific  
Ocean, and the preservation of China's  
territorial integrity and the progress  
of her civilization.

In the circumstances above men-  
tioned we approve of the proposal pre-  
sented by America for organizing the  
new consortium in China, and earn-  
estly desire that the group in question  
may soon come into existence and act  
satisfactorily as an international or-  
gan for investment in China. We are,  
however, sorry to hear that there are  
some who are inclined to misunder-  
stand the special position of Japan in  
China. The relations of the various  
Powers with China are by no means  
identical whether we view them from  
the geographical, political, financial or  
historical point of view. It is therefore  
no easy task to bring the financial re-  
lations of these Powers with China un-  
der the same rule and to keep them all  
in harmony. For instance, some parts  
of Manchuria and Mongolia which are  
adjacent to our country have the most  
important relation with us in view of  
the requirements of our national de-  
fense and economic existence, so that  
our position in those districts is en-  
tirely different in its origin and char-  
acter from that of other Powers in  
any other parts of China. But while we  
demand from other interested Powers  
recognition of the fact that Japan has  
thus special position in Manchuria  
and Mongolia, we must not be under-  
stood to lay exclusive claim to those  
districts and shut out others from the  
work of developing their natural re-  
sources. We approve in principle of  
the maintenance of "equal opportuni-  
ty" and the "open door" policy in  
China, but when it is a question of  
economic enterprises which may have  
a serious effect upon our national se-  
curity and economic existence, we feel  
that our legitimate claims should be  
listened to, for they are based upon  
the idea of self-preservation without  
any taint of territorial or political am-  
bition or any intention of extending  
our sphere of influence. Many of the  
Chinese problems, when viewed from  
the standpoint of Europe and America,  
may be regarded as mere questions of  
sentiment or financial interests. For  
us, they have often a direct bearing on  
our national welfare and existence.  
This is what we are anxious should be  
satisfactorily understood by others.

Should America and Japan really de-  
sire to act in concert for the future  
with regard to the various undertak-  
ings in China, it would first of all be  
necessary that the capitalists, business  
men and others in both countries  
should have the opportunity of meet-  
ing and coming to a clear understand-  
ing of the mutual position in China by  
frank expression of their opinion,  
which would surely lead to friendly  
coöperative relations. The collision of  
sentiments such as we have feared  
might occur between the two nations,  
has been due in the main to temporary  
misunderstanding or the intrigues of  
those whose object it is to estrange one

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from the other. But if the people of these two countries come in contact with each other and arrive at full understanding of the mutual situation and the advantages of their coöperation, such fear of friction will surely be swept away at once. In this regard we heartily welcome Americans who visit the Far East and give us an opportunity of exchanging views on various problems. Some time ago, Mr. Abbott of the Continental & Commercial Bank of Chicago and, a little later, Mr. Lamont of J. P. Morgan & Co., came to our country as the representatives of the American financial group, while the American Silk Mission, headed by Mr. Cheney and another party headed by Mr. Vanderlip have just paid us a visit. Now Mr. Strong, president of the New York Federal Reserve Bank, is also staying here. All of these American gentlemen have met officials and business men here and both sides exchanged their views quite frankly. We believe their visits over here have had a great effect upon the future concert of the American and Japanese capitalists, and who can deny that if the coöperation of the two Powers which face each other across the Pacific Ocean, and claim to stand for the territorial integrity and the "open door" policy in China, be firmly cemented, it will promote the welfare of the Chinese nation of 450,000,000 inhabitants by the development of her natural resources and greatly contribute to the maintenance of peace in the Orient, thereby helping to bring about a real joint life among the nations of the world?

Tokyo

## Forced Labor in Russia

(Continued from page 102)

of them—but having once bumped their heads they recognize that there is a stone wall and they are doing their best to surmount it—which is sensible of them. It is an interesting experiment to watch—from a safe distance. If they succeed and show us a fairer land beyond then we shall all rejoice and consider whether we should follow their example. If they fail the rest of the world will be relieved of the temptation to take that road toward Utopia. They are to be condemned not for their desire to try new paths to happiness, but for taking advantage of the confusion of their country to seize dictatorial power and force a hundred and fifty million to follow their chimerical ideas. Whatever may be the outcome their recklessness and ruthlessness have brought ruin upon the greatest country of Europe and Asia.

Andy, a negro porter at a Broadway theater, belongs to a lodge. The other night the lodge met to vote on the question of changing rooms, but Andy didn't get there. We met him on Broadway and he said the organization was to have new quarters.

"Did you vote for a change?" we asked. "I wasn't at de meetin'," replied Andy, "but I voted by peroxide."—*New York Globe.*



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## Europe's Crisis and America's Problem

(Continued from page 100)

large, however, that the problem of financing the excess of imports continues to be among the main British problems.

A similar problem is faced by the other Entente nations. The imports of France in 1919, calculating the franc at par, exceeded the exports by \$4,100,000,000. The imports of Italy were \$2,500,000,000 greater than her exports. These nations have needed far more than normal imports. They were bare of raw material and food. They required machinery, fuel, forest products. Their industries were prostrate and they had little to export. Their income from foreign investments, tourist travel, remittances from emigrants, either entirely disappeared or was sharply cut down. The deterioration in the value of their currency caused by inflation was naturally followed by extremely disastrous consequences for foreign exchange, so that everything they bought cost them, measured in their own currency, two or four times a normal price. Their total imports reckoned in their own currency values were swelled into huge totals measured in money price, altho the increase in physical amount might not be large.

In most of the countries there has developed a political safety valve in the form of a considerable representation in the parliaments of labor or Socialistic votes. The Labor party in England now forms the chief opposition party. The French election, however, returned a surprisingly conservative Chamber. In Italy the Socialists hold enough seats in the present Parliament so that their participation in the government has acted against a repression of radical sentiment until it explodes.

There should not be a Bolshevik development in Italy. If the people can only be given work and food, there will probably be no serious political disturbance there. Italy must have food, raw material and coal, or the economic pressure will become desperate. To obtain those necessities she will need for a year or two, at least, much foreign credit to pay for the deficit in her foreign trade balance. It is important to note that the tide of Italian emigration has turned. Since December the outward flow exceeds the number returning. Emigration promises to become very large and will be increasingly helpful in settling Italy's foreign trade deficit.

At the moment the greatest danger spot lies in Germany. Weighted by an indefinite indemnity, the minimum being larger than it seems likely the Germans could possibly pay, facing extreme difficulty in effecting foreign credits with which to buy food and raw material desperately needed, deteriorated in morale, with a government unable to cope with most perplexing difficulties, a transportation system badly demoralized, and an insufficient food supply, there should be no surprise at the revolution which the Ebert Gov-

ernment is facing. Concessions have been made to the Radicals which, even tho the present Government stands, will make new and dangerous situations.

The greatest immediate danger in Europe, it seems to me, lies in the possibility that the radical forces in Germany will gain control, resulting in the adoption of some modified form of Soviet Bolshevism. If that happened, the most natural succeeding step would be some sort of coalition with Russia. Economically the two nations supplement one another in a way that makes some sort of economic union between Russia and Germany seem unavoidable. Russia's endless agricultural possibilities, with a huge peasant population, offer to Germany a prospect for obtaining food in exchange for manufactured goods from Germany's highly organized industrial plants. Germany's genius for organization may find broad opportunities for its display in the disorganized field of transportation, industry, and government in Russia.

In Russia there is a Red Army of three million men. A seriously large fraction, perhaps over ten per cent, of that army is well trained. Trotzky has developed into a military organizing genius. A coalition of the military power of Russia with that of Germany, Russian military leadership being supplemented by German experience, would offer to the Entente a most difficult problem. If that coalition were ever found to include Japan, the whole world would be affected by the result.

A serious difficulty that a German-Russian coalition would encounter would be the demoralized transportation system in Russia, which would make the moving of food and an army a formidable task. The chaotic currency situation in Russia would also add to the difficulties. The printing of money has gone on at the rate of millions of rubles a day. Incidentally, a thing hinted at ten months ago—the counterfeiting of the currency of other countries in the Russian press—has become a grave reality. I have recently talked with a returned traveler from Russia who showed me a counterfeit Bank of England note and counterfeit British currency notes which would easily pass current even under the eyes of experienced handlers of money. This gentleman reported to me that he personally saw £20,000,000 of Bank of England notes which were captured from the Reds when they were driven from Odessa, destroyed by Deniken's men.

While these forces have been operating in Europe, we in America have played a role since the armistice of which we can hardly be proud. It is true that we have granted considerable credits. Our Government has run up a total loan to the Allies of practically \$10,000,000,000. Since the armistice there has been supplied from this source credit to the amount of \$2,750,-



000,000. No interest on our Government loans to the Allies has been paid and it is not now expected that any will be paid for the present.

In one way and another we managed to finance our excess of exports in 1919. Our exports for that calendar year reached the huge total of \$8,000,000,000 against \$4,000,000,000 of imports. It hardly seems probable that we can continue to finance favorable trade balances of such extent. We are likely to see our imports rise and our exports decline.

While all Europe has been affected by the inflation of bank credits and currency we have experienced the same phenomena in America in only a less degree. During the war period we added to our purchasing medium in the shape of bank credits and currency more than \$15,000,000,000. We doubled our purchasing medium, altho we added little to the things to buy. Our physical production in 1919 was only 6 per cent larger than in 1914.

In the period since the armistice we have used in domestic expansion much that might have been used in saving Europe from progressing toward the present danger point in industrial disorganization. We have been extravagant in our consumption of goods and in our domestic use of credit. The main reason for the great rise in prices, carrying the general level to two and one-half times what it was at the beginning of 1914, has been the increase in our bank credits and currency. That increase went on after the armistice more rapidly than it did during the period in which we were actively at war. We have lacked information and leadership. Our Government has given us little authoritative information and less leadership. Our bankers have been engrossed with their domestic concerns and have given only secondary consideration to the foreign situation. World leadership was laid at our feet, but we have not assumed its responsibilities and we may lose some of the opportunities that might have been ours.

We need to understand that there are two sides to foreign trade—that it means something more than selling goods abroad—and if in the future we are to have large favorable trade balances we must cooperate in financing the credit to pay for them.

We are in a position in which it is easily possible for us to lose a large amount of gold even in the face of a favorable trade balance. The loss of gold from our bank reserves means taking away the foundation from under a part of our high credit structure. We have twenty-five times as much bank credit as we have gold base, and the loss of gold means that the credit structure we built on the gold must be otherwise cared for or liquidated.

The crisis in Europe is at hand. We may not know what way it will turn until food is available from the next harvest. If the people who are most hard pressed for food can go thru to the next harvest without the pressure driving them into political revolution, Europe may start back toward recuperation. If the revolution in Ger-



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many extends, if the want and despair in other countries lead to other revolutions, if work has to be found for the Russian army, there may be opened a new chapter in the world tragedy. The economic principles which have been the great moving forces, and which I have tried briefly to outline, are, I believe, almost as inexorable as natural laws. These forces are divergent and complicated. No one can predict with certainty what the resultant will be. To me it is not an evidence of pessimism, however, if one tries to examine these forces and to make such estimate as he can of the general direction in which they are working.

America has probably lost a great opportunity. If we had had a clear world vision, if we had acted in accordance with our duty, the result would also have been in our best interest. There seems little that we are likely to do which will now change the course of events between today and the next harvest. The forces that are shaping Europe will operate without much interference from us. Our first task now is to put our own house in order. We should stop further inflation. We should halt national extravagance. We should attempt to balance our national budget and wake up to the fact that governmental expenditures have been exceeding governmental income, in spite of high income taxes, by a hundred millions a month. We must do these things before we are

in a position effectively to discuss how we can best help Europe.

In Europe events may travel rapidly, with the German revolution as the center of interest; or perhaps there may be only a miserable dragging on until the next harvest, and then some new life and some substantial steps toward recuperation in Central Europe. If we were to stretch out a helping hand to Italy, I believe we could make certain that Italy would not be included in the Bolshevik area. If Italy finds it impossible to obtain the credit needed to buy food, coal and raw material, which must be obtained from outside her boundaries, there might be disturbance there.

It is heartbreaking to think of the misery that must be endured by the people of many nations thru no fault of the individuals. Their hurt comes from the inexorable action of economic law. The result of such action can only be influenced in a large way by international coöperation. More than ever in our history there is a call for sound economic leadership. It makes one see the need in a democracy of an educated public opinion which will recognize economic principles. Only thru the comprehension of those principles, it seems to me, can there be hope for efficient international coöperation to save Europe from many more long and weary months of distressing economic struggle.

New York City

## Ja-di Talks for Publication

(Continued from page 106)

guid liquidity of Hawaiian, and the clicking staccato of Zulu and Kaffir, but for one thing: from the beginning, she has had at least one terminal consonant, *sh*; and she is already outgrowing this limitation. This appears thus:

English	Janet
squash	tosh, shosh, whosh
ice	ish
horse	hawsh, hoish
Hicks	Shish

When we come to her initial consonants, quite a number are used without alteration. Allowing for her tendency to shorten all long vowels in the following words, they are otherwise unchanged: *toe, day, pea, bee, cow, go*. Initial *z* too is unchanged; an occasional *s* is heard, and her speech is tending toward *f* and *r*. Compound opening consonants also appear—many of them unknown to English. "Jack fell down and broke his crown" ended first in *ptow*, all letters sounded, and now in *hwow*.

A study of the lists indicates that at twenty-two months she was partial to *t*, at twenty-eight to *sh* and *shw*, at thirty to *wh*. There are some generous features to Janet's language. Thus her *w* may stand for *w, v, y, r, dr*, or *gr*; *sh, ch, h, s, sq*, and *th* all masquerade as *sh*; and *wh* has no less than fifteen uses—for soft *c, cr, f, fl, fr, gr, q, sl, sq, str, sw, th, thr, tr*, and *wh*.

*S* is a study. *Sauce* and *saucer* are *shaw*; only in *sish* for *six*, *seh* for *seven*, and *see* is the *sh* unheard. We'll

shay sho, despite the eighteenth amendment!

Do other languages furnish parallels to these changes? Indeed, yes! Among the Pacific Islanders, New Zealanders turn both *f* and *v* to *w*, Hawaiian shifts *f* to *h*, and Paumotuian, *v* to *h*, Hale tells us. He continues, "two consonants are never heard without a vowel between them,"—a rule which Appleyard finds true of the Kaffirs.

*Br, cl, cr* and the rest follows many primitive models—and, indeed, later ones. The same force is at work in the following:

Latin	English	Early French	French
schola	school	eschole	école
studium	study	estude	étude
status	state	estat	état
spada	(cf. spade)	espée	épée

And shall her shortening process be scoffed at by a race which has made the following changes?

Anglo-Saxon English	Latin	English
heafod	head	scutarius squire
weorold	world	Egyptianus gipsy
hlaefdige	lady	dominicella damsel
Eofor-wic	York	sacristanus sexton

Why, her speech is rich, compared to many others. Among American Indians, the Mohawks and the rest of the six nations have no *p, b, m, f, v*, or *w*. The universality of *pa* and *ma* does not extend to these languages. Society Islanders use no gutturals; they re-baptized Captain Cook into *Tute*. Janet uses fifteen consonants, ignoring com-



pounds; and while Hindustani boasts 48 and Sanskrit 39, English stumbles along with 20, Greek with 14, and some Australian dialects with only 8!

You remember the Chinese and Kaf-fir trick of envoweling English words, to end syllables on vowels? This produced:

Christ	Ki-lis-se-tu
baptize	ba-pi-ti-ze-sha
gold	i-go-li-de

In many of the following, Janet has repeated this process; and this list shows her formation of dissyllables:

Wood	wuh-di	chicken	chi-ki
good	guh-di	dolly	doh-bi
pudding	puh-di	elbow	ch bi
bird	buh-di	hicough	huh-kuh
cheek	chee-ki	potato	puh-tuh
Janet	Ja-di	automobile	aw-bee
basket	ba-ki	handkerchief	ha-ni
sidewalk	shi-waw	kiddie-car	ki-kah

*Na-na*, for *banana*, ignores the first syllable. There are as yet no trisyllables.

English lacks an initial *ng*. But the lands where the Ngala, the Ngambue, and the Ngola roamed, where the Ngangu and the Ngoko roll, and the Ngwa Hill lifts to the African sky; where Ngan-hui and Ngan-king feel the Chinese sun; and where the islands of Ngau and Ngatik receive Pacific waves—these know it. So with Janet.

milk	ngoh
monk	nguh
snow	ngow
no	nguh

"Do you want any more milk, Janet?" "Ja-di nguh ngoh!"

Beyond this her vocabulary does not go. But do not lightly judge her words or her reasoning too limited for study. Man's primitive speech material is scanty. Edgren reduced Sanskrit to 587 roots; Muller boiled these down to 121 fundamental concepts; Dr. Murray, a weighty name in English philology, gravely decided that our language could be derived from the nine roots *ag*, *bag*, *cuag*, *dwag*, *lag*, *mag*, *nag*, *rag*, and *swag*; while Dr. Schmidt traced the whole Greek dictionary back to the root *e*, and the whole Latin lexicon to the root *hi*.

A word about her sentence structure. A one-syllabled language like Chinese regards each word today as a root, and not as noun, verb, adjective. Thus *ta*, great, may be joined with *fu*, man, as *ta fu*, "a great man," or *fu ta*, "the man is great." Janet is usually as callous. *Dee waw* means a drink of water; but "Janet wants a drink of water" is indiscriminately *Ja-di dee waw* or *dee waw Ja-di*. *Puh doh* is pretty doll; but the information that *Gee-gee*, her name for her baby brother (who practiced daily on this sound for six months) has the doll is given in an alarmed tone *Gee-gee puh doh* or *puh doh Gee-gee*. "Dolly sees mamma read the book" may be *Doh-bi see ma-ma ree buh*, *ma-ma ree buh see doh-bi*, or *ree buh ma-ma doh-bi see*; while her youthful conjecture, on seeing her mother, attired in a straw hat, coat, and brown shoes, step into a car for a trip downtown, was *Huaw ha ko bow shu aiw-bee ma-ma chu-chu*.

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## Why I Like the English

(Continued from page 105)

flower of the British virtue of liberalism is magnanimity. Like other Great Powers the British Empire has wrought much evil under the sun. But unlike others the British have always been ready to repent and to make reparation. The age-long oppression of Ireland corresponds in many respects to the oppression of Poland. But where do we find a Prussian Gladstone with a Home Rule Bill for Posen and Upper Silesia? The conquest of the Boer Republics was an experiment in imperialism which was deplored by many Englishmen, including the man who is now Prime Minister. But where else in history can we find two enemy generals, defeated utterly in spite of a brave struggle, within ten years ruling not only their own countries but also the neighboring colonies of the victorious Power, and within twenty years the representatives of the same Power in the greatest of Peace Conferences? Such is the unprecedented history of General Smuts and the late General Botha.

In fact England has taught the world the secret of obtaining loyalty by not demanding it. All sorts of languages, customs, laws, religions and social institutions flourish in every corner of the British Empire while the Lion, instead of lifting his paw to strike, winks indulgently and drops to sleep again. One-fourth of the human race would never submit to being governed by England; if the British tried to "rule" in the usual meaning of the word the so-called Empire would have been long ago shattered to fragments like Austria-Hungary (the only equally composite Empire).

It is of no use to counter this by instancing cases of oppression and intolerance; in an Empire covering a fourth of the planet these must, on the law of averages, be numerous enough. But that the general character of British rule is mild can be proved by three conclusive tests. One is to ask anyone who was at the Peace Conference whom the peoples of the Near East desired to hold their "mandates." The first answer is nearly always "the United States." Ask as to the second choice and the answer will usually be "Great Britain." Ask a like question as to what troops the peoples of the areas subject to plebiscite wished to safeguard the purity of the ballot and to administer affairs during the period of transition. The first answer is once more "American," and the second "British." They are trusted to do the "square thing."

Another test is to read the literature of the last thirty years on colonial administration. We find foreign critics, especially the Germans, either praising the British for their comparative kindness to the native peoples or blaming them for sentimental indulgence. We find British critics either advocating still greater solicitude for native welfare or else urging the Government to copy the sterner methods of the Ger-

mans and the Dutch. This cannot be altogether coincidence.

A third test, the one which converted me to being "pro-British," is to read the official correspondence—the "Blue Books"—of the British Foreign and Colonial Offices. A real interest in the welfare of all the peoples of the earth, a genuine hatred of tyranny wherever appearing, a sort of cosmic benevolence is everywhere apparent; especially during the last twenty years. Most impressive of all is the grave concern manifested whenever a local British administrator acts the tyrant. Immediately his official superiors begin to clamor for his head on a charger. Why? Because the British public may hear about the matter and will care. It may even affect votes at election.

Another manifestation of national magnanimity is the readiness of the British to make heroes of their enemies; supposing those enemies to have any touch of chivalry themselves. (I don't suppose that Hindenburg and Von Tirpitz will ever figure in British literature save as villains.) After much reading of English books I have come to the conclusion that the three favorite characters in history of the average Englishman are George Washington, William Wallace and Joan of Arc. Now the remarkable thing is not that all three were enemies of the British, for any generous spirit can forgive a vanquished enemy. But they were victorious enemies, and it requires an almost superhuman virtue to forgive a triumphant foe. The Virginian rebel who took from the British Empire its most valuable colonies; the fierce Scotch borderer who made possible Scottish independence and inflicted most humiliating defeats on the proud armies of King Edward; the French peasant girl who frustrated the whole purpose of a hundred years of war and made forever vain the dream of an empire on the continent of Europe—such are the heroes of British fiction and British verse.

I cannot find that other nations have shown a similar appreciation of those who triumphed over them, no matter how noble their characters might be. In Vienna they do not sing ballads in praise of Garibaldi. The Louvre does not contain many paintings of Andreas Hofer, the Tyrolean hero who fought Napoleon. Kosciusko has had some kind words from Russians and Germans, but he does not rank as highly with them as with the Poles. The Spaniards are resigned to the independence of Holland, but they are not quite so enthusiastic about William of Orange as the Dutch. The Germans do not sing the "Marseillaise" (save for Socialist purposes), or the French "The Watch on the Rhine," but an Englishman will always join in "Scots Wha Hae" or "The Wearing of the Green."

We must admit, I believe, that there are good points about the British. If that be treason, make the most of it.



# The Independent

FOUNDED 1848

## Welcome Home, Mary!

"Doug" Fairbanks and his wife, Mary Pickford, returned to the United States in the bridal suite of the "Olympic" from their honeymoon abroad. In England, where they stayed nine days, they were "a nine days' wonder"—could not go anywhere without blocking the traffic and eventually escaped to the country from the Ritz by way of the kitchen.

This is how two English journals took their visit:



Thomas in London Opinion

John Bull (engaged with "the World's Sweetheart"): "Can't you see I'm busy?"

## She Is Here!

The world is full of grief and pain,  
The croaker wears his gloomiest frown;  
He tries to frighten us in vain,  
For Mary Pickford's come to town.

What does it matter that the rain  
Each day, and all day long comes down?  
The world will soon be bright again,  
For Mary Pickford's come to town.

Our income is upon the wane,  
It's hard to borrow half-a-crown;  
But there's a turning in the lane,  
For Mary Pickford's come to town.

The warring factions, quite insane,  
In Ireland all cry, "Derry-down!"  
Why should we care about Sinn Fein?  
For Mary Pickford's come to town.

The castles that we built in Spain  
Have all completely tumbled down;  
Well, Well!—we'll build them up again—  
For Mary Pickford's come to town.

My wife, in language clear and plain,  
Demands a new and costly gown,  
Seeing each verse with this refrain:  
"For Mary Pickford's come to town!"

—London Mail.

## Including Harper's Weekly

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## Remarkable Remarks

JOHN BURROUGHS—Will a caged canary lay eggs?

DR. PEASE—You don't see animals wearing corsets.

MARY PICKFORD FAIRBANKS—Doug's awfully extravagant.

MARGUERITE M. MARSHALL—The fountain of youth is in the milk bottle.

GENERAL OBREGON—All of us are thieves more or less down here in Mexico.

LINA CAVALIERI—The girl who wears a red veil habitually has few freckles.

KING ALFONSO—I am acting as a link in the union between labor and capital.

ELEANOR GUNN—An objection has been made to silk underwear in pastel shades.

WOODROW WILSON—It gives me the cold shivers to read my extemporaneous style.

COLONEL GEORGE HARVEY—Women are a good deal smarter than some people think.

FRANCES McDONALD—Jack Barrymore is by far the best looking man on the screen.

REV. D. S. KENNEDY—The interchurch world movement is saturated with world imperialism.

EDUCATIONAL DIRECTOR FLORA TAYLOR YOUNG—Thin georgette blouses are not businesslike.

NORMA TALMADGE—No girl can be unhappy very long if she dons a pretty red or sapphire blue or orange smock.

E. W. HOWE—Every candid man is compelled to confess that he has declined a good many proposals of marriage.

M. L. BLUMANTHAL—The probabilities are that you are wasting money if any of yours goes to the support of a prophet.

HERBERT HOOVER—No Californian could live three months in the London climate and become a British citizen if he knew it.

EX-PRESIDENT ELIOT—The young women of our community evidently do not object to meeting the students when they are woozy.

FRANKLIN P. ADAMS—The best fitting trousers in the country are worn by the nation's most popular person, Mr. Douglas Fairbanks.

NEAL R. O'HARA—The Paris bathing suit architects, following their recent one piece conference, have decided on open coverings openly arrived at.

THEDA BARA—It's not particularly pleasant to have people believe that you are going to take their husbands from them when you meet them.

UNCLE JOE CANNON—When the Prodigal Son returned to his father's house the fatted calf was killed, but he was not put in charge of the family purse.

FANNIE HURST—The most sacred human relationship wears off like a piece of high sheen damask and in a few months becomes as a breakfast cloth stale with soft boiled egg stains.



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Camden, New Jersey



# The Independent

August 7, 1920

## Uncle Sam Chooses His Chauffeur

By Elizabeth A. Everett



The Junker boys caused a dreadful accident  
by hogging the road

Illustrations by William C. Morris Uncle Sam always refused the car  
William Jennings picked out

NOW that Uncle Sam must get a new chauffeur, of course all the family are having a good deal to say about it. Some of his nephews think one way and some think another about it, so there is considerable discussion going on. Uncle has had his chauffeur for eight years now. Some of the boys say he is too bossy and heady and that he doesn't ask advice about which way he shall go, or how he shall drive. But some of those who feel that way are the ones who did not want Uncle to hire him in the first place, and they have been saying, "I told you so," right along.

Now that there is to be a new one they say they are going to insist upon his taking one that is more docile and will do the way he is told. They say that the chauffeur should not have so much to say about where to go; it's his business to do the driving. And when they say, "Home, James," they think he ought to head for home without any argument. You know Woodrow, the present chauffeur, wouldn't always do that.

When Uncle Sam's neighbors planned to get together and decide on some traffic rules so there wouldn't be any more accidents, after that last frightful collision in which so many of Uncle Sam's boys were killed, Woodrow thought he had some ideas about traffic rules that would make the roads safe for everybody. So he asked Uncle Sam to let him go and help. Now Uncle had never let the family car be taken away from home on a long trip like that and he felt uneasy about it. But he was really the one who had made the suggestion about the meet-

ing and it seemed important, so he let Woodrow do it.

There was a terrible ruction over his taking the car away. You should have seen some of the boys; how they did cut up about it. I've always thought, and I always shall think that if we hadn't said so much here at home and said it so loud the business would have come out better than it did. Here we were at home howling our heads off, that Woodrow just went for a joy ride, that Uncle Sam didn't want him to go, that he wasn't doing the things Uncle wanted him to do, and that we weren't going to stand for the rules he made whatever they were.

Even Uncle Sam got fussed up as to what he wanted, and of course the neighbors thought it was a very queer affair. They had started out with a great deal of respect for Uncle Sam's opinion—he is a person you do respect, you know—but when they heard all this squabbling at home they seemed to think it was all a grab, and that the square deal Uncle talks about was merely talk.

You see the neighbors over there haven't been used to giving half the road, and if anyone met with a mishap nobody thought of stopping to help him, so the little cars stood no show at all. You see that terrible collision occurred because old Heinrich's step-sons, the Junker boys, insisted upon taking the whole road; they ran right over Cousin Albert's car and almost wrecked Cousin Jacques'. Well that's what Uncle Sam sent Woodrow over to see about. He wanted them all to agree to give half the road, to stop and help anybody that was in



These last few years the old bus has had a terribly hard trip. Sometimes it turned corners so swiftly that there were only two wheels on the ground. But somehow the machine kept its course tho it threatened to skid a good many times





Uncle Sam is whistling thru his teeth as tho he is thinking, which shall it be?

trouble and never to carry off anyone's load if it happened to get spilled—they wouldn't be proud to own it, but that is what they had sometimes done.

And most of all, Uncle wanted them to agree that if anybody wasn't treated fairly, instead of having a fight or a lawsuit over it, they would all get together and decide what was fair in the case, and everybody was to agree to be bound by the decision.

Well it all seemed fair enough, and a very desirable arrangement, but the boys here at home wouldn't have it so. They said the neighbors were always getting into trouble, anyway, and we might just as well let them get out the best way they could as to get mixed up with it ourselves. They said we didn't have to travel those roads much, anyway, and we'd better stay at home and mind our own business. They said all Uncle's former drivers had said it was dangerous to drive on those roads and he had better not do it. They forgot that it was different when Uncle kept a coach.

All this doesn't seem to have much to do with Uncle's choice of a chauffeur, but it has. Well, the matter didn't turn out so very well after all. The boys at home got Uncle so fussed that he wouldn't sign any agreement, tho the other neighbors did.

Well that is the way it has gone all the time. They seemed to be afraid to all agree on anything for fear somebody would get some credit that he didn't deserve. Of course the old bus has had a terribly hard trip. It has gone over some rough roads and it has had to keep up a terrific speed. Sometimes it turned corners so swiftly there were only two wheels on the ground, and it looked as if it was going to smash with everybody in it. But somehow the machine kept its course, tho it threatened to skid a good many times. I do say that a chauffeur who can steer a car safely under such conditions is entitled to some credit.

During that wild ride when everybody was having difficulty in hanging on, they all tried to do their part and keep the thing balanced. Perhaps that's the reason we came thru safely. But when the road got smoother and you could see things were getting better some of the boys began to grumble. They blamed the chauffeur for the wear and tear on the engine, and because he had used up so many tires and so much gasoline, and because he had laid in so many spares, and for fifty other things, some of which he was to blame for and some



The choice is between James and Warren, who live next door to each other and can watch each other and see that neither gets the inside track with Uncle unfairly

of which weren't his fault.

And things went on that way; whenever the car struck a rut or a bump they complained about the chauffeur. It really seemed sometimes as tho they dropped broken bottles along the road themselves, they acted so pleased whenever he had a blow-out. Perhaps they really were afraid that Uncle would hire him again, or at least let him pick out the next chauffeur, and some of them wanted the job themselves or for their friends.

A lot of the boys wanted to choose Herbert, but some of them thought he had been away from home so much that he wouldn't know the roads around home, and that he would always be going off with the car. Herbert had had a good deal of business with John Bull and visited over there, so some of them said he was too friendly and would always give him right of way. We are funny, you know; John Bull is our nearest neighbor and really a blood relation, and yet we criticize his faults and have more to say about him than any of the other neighbors, and he does the same about us.

Then some of them said that most of Herbert's experience had been with motor trucks and he wouldn't know much about cars. But some of us thought that anybody that could run a food car over such roads as Herbert had and keep it top-side up could run Uncle Sam's car. Aunt Samantha liked Herbert pretty well; it seemed he had taken quite an interest in her house-keeping, and he was always kind to the children.

There were really a lot of people that wanted Herbert, but they were mostly the people that were going about their business and didn't take time to stop and talk about it, so you didn't hear as much about him as about some of the others. Herbert can do things, but when it comes to telling about what he can do, or even what he has done, Herbert isn't there.

A good many of those who didn't want Herbert wanted Hiram. And then there was Leonard, too. Leonard and Hiram had both learned to drive from Theodore, who had been one of Uncle's best and speediest chauffeurs. They didn't like the way Woodrow had done things so they said they would do everything different and they would never [Continued on page 160]



Sixth article in The Independent's Industrial Series on the big plants that are finding a successful answer to the problems of labor unrest

# Why Mary Smith Wants to Work at Filene's

By Professor John R. Commons of the University of Wisconsin

In collaboration with A. P. Haake, O. F. Carpenter, Malcom Sharp, Jennie McMullin Turner, Ethel B. Dietrich, Jean Davis, John A. Commons

**T**HE Filene store in Boston has always been recognized as a great experiment station in industrial government. The machinery here is of an amazing variety. Long before industrial democracy became a fetish, Filene's had all the forms which fertile brains have been thinking out in the last year or two under that name. The representative lawmaking body of employees, the paid executive "business agent" elected by the employees, the board of arbitration, even the employee members of the board of directors—Filene's have them all and more. They had worked it all out gradually before most places had thought about starting.

Mary Smith thinks that she would like to work at Filene's. She has heard that it is a mighty good place. Inexperienced girls start to work there for a minimum wage of \$9 a week, but with the commissions they say that beginners—sales girls—seldom make less than \$16 or \$18. Experienced sales people are paid a minimum of \$15 to start—in addition to commissions. The girls who start at \$9 (and they are very few nowadays, as most of them begin at \$10 or \$12) are assured of an automatic increase up to \$15 within two years.

Then they say that they are always treated well at Filene's. You can't be imposed on by a customer or somebody above you. If a customer accuses you of short changing and you know you didn't, you can take your case to the Board of Arbitration and you are sure of a fair hearing, and sure to get justice. The department heads are pretty decent. They have to be or you will complain to the Board of Arbitration. The board is elected *solely by the employees* and is very likely, if it has had a lot of trouble from the department headed by any particular person, to tell the company they had better remove that person and put in someone else whom the girls will stand for.

These are only a few of the reasons why Mary Smith—and there are thousands of Mary Smiths in Greater Boston—wants to work at Filene's. The girls say they

have awfully good times there. They have parties and plays and picnics and concerts. The three thousand employees run their own cafeteria at cost, and they have their own club rooms. If you are ambitious there is a good chance, too. The employees' own organization—The Filene Coöperative Association (F. C. A. for short)—maintains a lot of classes—courses for general culture and courses for improvement in business ability. According to the plan of the F. C. A., you are supposed to go with your group and listen to lectures from members of the store force who know all about different branches of the business. On Monday morning, or Tuesday morning, or some time when the store is not very busy, one of the teachers whom the store employs comes into your department and talks over with the whole sales force the problems that bother you and the best methods of building up sales, increasing the business or selecting goods.

If you like politics, they say you can get all you want here. Great is the excitement when the campaign is on for election of the president and council of the F. C. A. and for the Board of Arbitration. You come down early before opening time and stay after closing time. The candidates and their lieutenants hold executive meetings around the store. The speakers are eloquent. So are the candy and cigars bought from a generous campaign fund.

Mary Smith does not care particularly about politics, but the whole thing sounds pretty good—the fun, and everybody good natured—and all. So she applies to the employment office and gets a job.

Now she has become a part of the employees' organization—the F. C. A.—the "company union" as critics might call it.

Just how much of a union is it? What does it amount to anyway? Well, that depends on Mary Smith—and all the other Mary Smiths in the store. There are a great many of them—girls to whom Filene's looks good. There are almost too many of them, in fact, for the effective working of this same machinery of free-



The girls say they have awfully good times at Filene's. They have parties and plays and picnics and concerts. The three thousand employees run their own cafeteria at cost and have their own club rooms



dom from autocratic control and supervision. For after one Mary Smith and all the other Mary Smiths get in, there is just as much democracy at Filene's as they themselves make—just as much freedom from autocratic control as they are willing and able to assert.

No, that is not true. We must not forget the Board of Managers whose democracy has invited that of the employees. Otherwise there would be no F. C. A., no legislative body, no Board of Arbitration, no employee members of the Board of Directors. These do not exist because Mary Smith and her friends asked for them, but because the Filenes had an idea that Mary Smith and Jane Sullivan and Bill Johnson and all the others ought to want them and would be democratic if they only knew what fun it was.

How about it? What good are they getting from their machinery of "democracy"?

Take the organization—the Filene Coöperative Association. To begin with, they manage all their own "welfare work," a savings bank with a loan department; a health and accident insurance plan; a coöperative store thru which they can buy food, meat, and other articles; a lunch room of their own which serves three meals a day and caters for their parties and dances; a clinic; a choral club; a musical comedy once each year; a department of athletics, and a newspaper. Everything but the clinic is supposed to be self-supporting. If anything fails to be, they go into the pockets of the company.

These activities are supervised by committees of the council and administered by the executive secretary of the F. C. A., who is paid by the store, but appointed by the president of the F. C. A. and confirmed by five-sixths of the council. Making the company foot the bill seems to be a favorite pastime of the F. C. A. They even went so far one time as to employ an expert to go over the books of the company to check up certain facts which they wanted in connection with a profit sharing plan, and presented the bill to the company.

The legislative body for the employees is the council, which consists of twenty-four members, one member elected from each of the twelve sections of the store; the presidents of the Men's, Women's and Girls' clubs, members ex-officio, and the president, vice-president, secretary and treasurer.

Thru the council, the F. C. A. exerts its power to make the rules that affect the discipline or working conditions of the employees of the store. Thru the council the employees make wage agreements with the company, and carry on, by means of committees, their social and other activities of the employees.

The Board of Arbitration is the strangest thing in the whole category of strange things at Filene's. A board of twelve members consisting entirely of employees, elected one from each section of the store, with a chairman appointed from the council by the president of the F. C. A., it passes on all appeals affecting differences between the firm or the management and the employees—questions of dismissal, wages, position in the store, missing sales, short change, lost packages

and damages to goods. *The decision of the board is final.*

The firm can hire Mary Smith, but if it keeps her two weeks it cannot fire her without a possible "come back." She has a right of appeal to the Board of Arbitration and if the majority of these twelve employees say that the firm has shown no good reason for firing her, she cannot be dismissed. On the other hand, the board may carry its decision further than simply declaring that Mary Smith is to be retained. It may decide that the trouble was not due to the fault of Mary Smith, but to someone higher up. It may even go so far as to recommend that the firm dismiss the department head. This sometimes happens when a lot of complaints from various persons in the same department leads to the suspicion that the trouble is not with Mary Smith.

It is the Arbitration Board, in fact, which is the real efficiency committee for the firm. It is the body which discovers the weak spots and the sore spots in the store. It is the body which is the closest to the employees, the most cherished by them and the most popular for aspiring candidates at election time. Election to this board is considered a great honor. The fortunate ones who are elected take their work very seriously. They realize that they are making decisions momentous to the persons involved and to be followed as precedents for the future.

If the Board of Arbitration is unique, yet, in one other venture Filene's takes first prize. So far as we are able to find out, it was the first firm in the United States to admit non-stockholding employees, elected by the employees, to membership in the Board of Directors; and one of only three firms in the country at this writing. Four out of the eleven members are thus chosen, and two more employee members are chosen by the firm.

Filene's is a gold mine for A, who wants arguments in favor of this plan, so much debated today, provided for in the law of Massachusetts, and proposed by at least one

other state legislature. It is just as much of a "find" for B, who wants arguments against the system of employee representation on the Board of Directors.

B, for example, studies the present employee membership of the Board of Directors and tells you that it is very evident that the employees take little interest in it. Not a single employee representative is a real salesman on the floor. They are all taken from the "higher-ups;" two merchandize managers, a division manager and the paid executive secretary of the F. C. A. "You see," says B, "give them a chance and they don't make the most of it. They don't trust each other and they have to turn, after all, to the high executives when it comes to managing the business."

"Why," says A, "what's the matter with you? Here you have the best argument in the world in favor of allowing the employees to select some of the members. This simply shows their good judgment. The point is that the people whom they do [Continued on page 163

### Next Month—Where the Workers Own the Stock



The Filene Coöperative Association has a Board of Arbitration elected solely by the employees, which sees that girls are treated well at Filene's. Mrs. Brennan, the girls' counsellor, standing at the left, and Mr. Harlow, standing the second from the right, see to that



# To Get Enough to Eat

A Message from the British Nation to the American People

By The Rt. Hon. C. A. McCurdy, K. C., M. P.

Food Controller of Great Britain

**T**HE British Food Ministry was created in 1917, when the submarine peril was assuming very serious dimensions, in order to fight the high prices and short supplies occasioned by the war. The submarines are now almost forgotten, and after eighteen months of peace it must be recorded that in some respects supplies are shorter and in some respects food prices are higher than during the worst period of the war. I believe the experience of other countries is not widely different from our own.

This is a remarkable and quite unforeseen development. When the armistice was signed no one here imagined that war prices would be maintained for more than a few months at most. I do not know any section of opinion which foresaw the actual and sustained rise in prices which marked the latter part of 1919 and the first six months of 1920. No one realized the extent to which production of food supplies had been interfered with by the war, nor the time that would be necessary to fully restore supplies. On the contrary, the popular impression was that the world was overstocked, and that only the restoration of shipping was necessary in order to pour a golden river of supplies into this country. Some people even believed that the warehouses of Germany and Austria were full of manufactured articles made during the war in preparation for a fierce assault upon the markets of the world.

These views stimulated a demand which urgently arose alike in agricultural and in commercial circles for the speedy removal of all forms of control which had interfered with the business activities of traders during the war. To a certain extent these views themselves operated to raise prices and diminish supplies. In the last two years of the war the British people had made remarkable efforts to increase production in this country. Tillage area in the United Kingdom was increased in the two years 1916 to 1918 by close on three million acres. There was an increase of 740,000 acres in wheat, of 344,000 acres of potatoes. Women, boys, disabled soldiers, German prisoners, had all been mobilized in the tremendous effort to develop the latent resources of British land. Before the war the number of women employed part or whole time on the land was estimated to have been about 90,000; at the date of the armistice it had risen to at least 300,000. Thousands of tractors, manufactured in America by the Ford Company, were being used for ploughing, and the Food Production Department was lending American machinery to the farmers for harvesting the largely increased acreage under corn crops. Public schoolboys spent their holidays in



Darling in Collier's

There's nothing like fifty per cent loafing to hasten the fifty cent loaf

the harvest field, and the army of land women added a new charm to the landscape. Men over the age of forty-five were enrolled as war agricultural volunteers, but when all that voluntary effort could do had been accomplished, thousands of soldiers had to be borrowed from the army to be trained as ploughmen or tractor drivers or to assist in gathering the harvest.

A remarkable fact, not peculiar to this country, was the rapidity with which all this great superstructure of abnormal production, brought about by the enthusiasm of the people at war, melted and disappeared at the touch of peace. The potato crop of 1918, increased by the efforts of allotment growers, was the largest in our history. We were for some time doubtful whether we should ever be able to eat or sell the potatoes which we had grown. In 1919 the crop of potatoes was one of the lowest on record.

In the early part of 1919 we were mainly engaged in attempts to decontrol foodstuffs, in response to insistent popular demands for the removal of war-time restrictions; a demand which was reinforced by the temporary fall in prices which marked the first six months of that year. In May the Prime Minister predicted that the continuing fall in food prices ought presently to result in a reduction of the expenses of the ordinary household by something like four shillings a week; that prediction was in fact verified almost to the letter, but in August of that year the fall of prices ceased, and prices have been rising steadily ever since.

Some of our early efforts at decontrol were discouraging. I remember last summer we thought the time had come when we could safely remove control from home-killed veal, which was then selling at one shilling a pound. Within a week we were receiving urgent communications from representatives of agriculture, complaining that decontrol had led to such a slaughter of calves as would gravely endanger our future milk supply if it was not stopped. In some of the industrial districts veal was being sold at four shillings and five shillings a pound to the new rich, miners and others in receipt of the higher standard of wages which the war has brought.

Today we have shed the early optimism of 1919. We realize that the wastage of war, the injury done to the world's productive capacity, cannot be made good in a few months of peace. And there is no longer the general belief that prices must necessarily return to anything like their pre-war level. On the contrary, the British people appear to be settling down with their accustomed placidity of tem- [Continued on page 161]



# What We Owe the Farmer

A Message from the United States Government to the American People

By Victor Murdock

Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission

**A**LL men are taking more thought of the farm problem. The basic industry is agriculture. Bread and butter is the foundation of material thrift, and it has also to do with the spirit.

Six startling features of the farm problem have risen to inconvenience those with ready remedies.

*First*—Tenantry, which is not best for agricultural thrift, is increasing by leaps and bounds.

*Second*—In the richer regions, farms are increasing in average size.

*Third*—Great areas of tillable land, in tillable sections, are not tilled.

*Fourth*—There is a measurable exhaustion of cheap available land in new states.

*Fifth*—The cities are gaining heavily in population at the expense of the country.

*Sixth*—The annual food reserves of the nation are gradually diminishing despite increased machine production.

One of the aids offered in the solution of the problem will not solve it. This is the essay written by the city-dweller urging the delights and advantages of the farm on his fellow citizens.

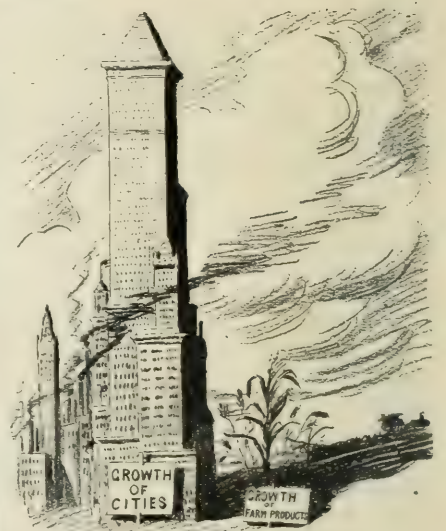
Another aid that will not solve it, is the easy preachment of the city economist to the farmer that the farmer has the best of it.

Still another aid that will prove equally impotent is the city theory of a multiplication of creature comforts and social delectations in rural districts.

The nation is not coming to a solution of the problem in any such easy fashion. The nation will not come to any solution until it radically reforms its con-

soil. There is another essential ingredient—working capital. For farming is not only a profession; it is also a business.

*Third*—Farms do not show profits by adding together at the end of the season the sales realizations of their products. There are material and labor



Harding in Brooklyn Daily Eagle

The long and short of it

costs, interest, insurance, taxes, hazard and depreciation in the profit computation. For farming is not only a profession and a business: it is also the most intricate accountancy.

Having given these factors thought, it might be well to take a few close views of the farmer.

The farmer unites in himself both capitalist and laborer. Economically he is a unit, an individual unit with no factional advantage.

The farmer is operating for the most part on competitive principles in a community where other

labor and other capital are highly organized.

The farmer, by nature, comes to know the value of things and of services. He is in everlasting opposition to a value which is fictitious in things and in everlasting opposition to charges for services not performed.

That is to say, the farmer, in his profession, business and accountancy, farming, is a capitalist who works, takes the profits and losses of supply and demand, but objects to artificial interferences with supply and demand. He still has the old-fashioned virtue of frugality. He still holds to the belief that the command to earn bread by sweat was a blessing, not a condemnation. He still rejoices in the spiritual exaltation which comes alike with the rigors of tillage and with resistance to the seductions of the superficial pleasures of the physical senses. To this view the whole population must subscribe more and more if it values its happiness.

The major part of the farmer's problem he will largely solve himself. First of all he is going to acquire the advantages of organization [Continued on page 163]



Thomas in Detroit News

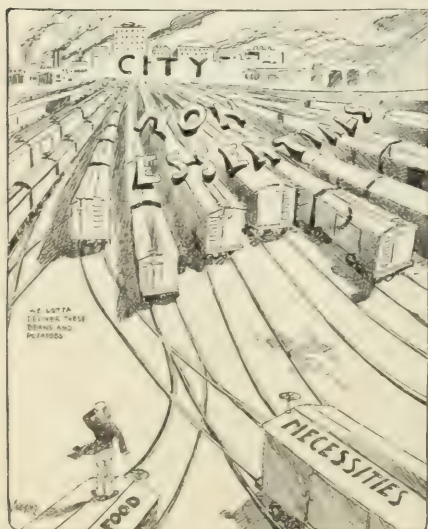
"City folks get themselves into the durnedest messes"

cept of the farm and the farmer.

Here are some things which the nation, as a whole, could helpfully ponder:

*First*—Farms are not merely fenced fields which respond to cultivation. Farming is a profession which must be learned.

*Second*—Farms do not yield thru the device of applying labor cheerfully to fertile



Donahay in Cleveland Plain Dealer

Looking for a track





Devastated by the war, Europe today needs the pioneer, the strong man who can endure physical hardship and also retain the mental boldness to face unafraid the whirlwinds of revolution

## A Change of Frontiers

"Go East, Young Man!" is the slogan for present day pioneers. America has become comparatively conservative; it is in Europe that the great and dangerous experiments in democracy are being tried

By Preston Slosson

THE Frontier has crost the Atlantic. The United States is today the land of prosperous cities and well-kept countrysides; of widespread comfort, wealth and free expenditure; of art and the leisure to enjoy it undisturbed by social cataclysms. The United States is the banker and creditor of the planet, the land of stable currency and sound security. The American Constitution alone withstands the insurgent radicalism of the day; the war which wrecked kings and empires in the Old World proved impotent even to alter party lines in the New. The uprooted aristocrat who values personal safety, the timid European millionaire who fears measures of confiscation and repudiation at home, the distinguished author or painter who desire a wide hearing, all turn their eyes to the quiet and conservative continent so wisely discovered by Columbus for their eventual benefit.

But how different is the picture of the Old World, so long the home of wealth and culture and the Mecca of the American tourist! The vast countrysides devastated by the war resemble the Bad Lands of the Far West before the days of irrigation. The fine French roads which were so long an object of our just envy are torn to mud ruts. Railroad transportation has fallen back a generation as if some Rip Van Winkle had slept us into the past. Imperial treasures of art are being liquidated to pay the grocers' bills of royalty. The aristocracy of every belligerent has been drained of the wealth which made possible its life of cultured leisure. Revolution has followed revolution until the European conservative has come to regard the American constitution as something almost too good to be true. Even Marxian Socialism no longer terrifies those who have looked over the edge of the bottomless pit which is Russia and seen more frightful shapes looming dimly from the lurid depths.

The American who would picture Europe of today must call memory to his aid. If he can reconstruct the old Frontier of Jackson and Daniel Boone he can comprehend the poverty and hardship, the lack of housing, roads and railroads, the stripping down of life to the problem of bare existence which is the reality of modern Europe. If he can recall the inflated paper currency of Civil War days and the heavy burden of debt which

later drove the western farmer to Populism he can sympathize with the financial plight of Britain, France and Italy. But if he would understand the financial condition of the nations of the Danube and the Baltic he must send his memory south to the collapse of the Confederacy when Confederate paper money could buy wood only at the rate of "cord for cord." Conditions in some parts of Europe recall the "starving time" of the first settlers of Plymouth and Virginia when emigration to America was more dangerous than going into battle.

No doubt this picture is somewhat too generalized. There are gradations in Europe's poverty, and little islands of prosperity exist, such as Switzerland and Denmark. But no country in the Old World awakes of a morning with that complacent sense of security with which America seeks its breakfast coffee. For the Bolshevism that once flooded Finland may at any time lap over into Sweden, and the political earthquakes that shake Germany reverberate in Holland. Here and there a king remains seated on his throne, but his eyes are anxiously turned to the unstable earth on which the throne rests. Here and there a class of war profiteers are buying jewelry, but they buy in feverish haste as those who are spending fairy gold which may vanish into nothingness at any moment.

EUROPE is certainly no place today for the very old or the very young, for the quiet citizen who enjoys the routine security of civilization or the spoiled darling of a sheltered environment. Europe needs the pioneer, the strong man who can endure physical hardship and also retain the mental boldness to face unafraid the whirlwinds of revolution. But Europe's pioneers have for generations sought America. It is just because our country has graduated—and very recently—from the wilderness that we can now give moral and material aid to Europe, which in the past gave us the luxuries and refinements of a civilization that has passed away.

Can Europe give us anything in return? Yes, Europe can give us what the frontier gives the settled city: the benefit of an experiment. It is now Europe rather than America which is the great laboratory of political democracy. Masaryk and Petliura [Continued on page 159]



# The Democratic Platform

A Debate by Talcott Williams and Norman Hapgood

## Nullifying the Constitution

By Talcott Williams

THE Democratic platform proposes an impossible task. It demands, as did President Wilson a year ago, that his Covenant for a League of Nations shall be ratified as he negotiated it, without reference to the powers of the Senate or to great changes since April, 1919, in affairs and in opinion, at home and abroad.

The powers of the Senate cannot be changed by an election. The Democratic platform refuses any amendments except "reservations making clearer or more specific the obligations of the United States to the League of Associates." All these obligations in the Covenant are to be left unchanged, Article X included. These obligations failed of a two-thirds vote in a Senate of 96 by 26 votes. For ratification, 64 votes were needed in a full Senate. Only 38 were cast for the treaty. Only one-third of the Senate is reelected next November. Neither party can secure a two-thirds majority. A bare majority is all either can expect. Neither party has had a two-thirds majority for fifty years. Compromise is inevitable, if the treaty comes again before the Senate, even if there is a Democratic majority. If no compromise is made, the treaty will fail again. Not even the election of a Democratic President can change the constitutional powers conferred on the Senate in treaty making.

The Democratic platform, therefore, asks of the Senate—two-thirds of whom remain after the next election—that it shall lay aside its powers for the Covenant and the treaty of which it is a part, both stronger when laid before the Senate, July 10, 1919, than since or now. The treaty has grown weaker abroad as well as here. Its reparation clauses are being made over. In the Senate the Covenant grew weaker until its rejection. It grew weaker with the country, thru all the long discussion. Democratic opposition increased.

PRESIDENT Wilson flatly refused compromise when the Democratic and Republican Senators would have reached one and the powers abroad were willing to accept the Lodge reservations. The plain common sense of the people felt that concessions should be made on both sides. The Democratic platform refuses compromise again. Europe has changed, world affairs have altered, public opinion has developed, and the Democratic party goes to the country on the declaration that a Covenant finished in April, 1919, shall be voted for unaltered by the American people in November, 1920, and go unchanged to the Senate if a new Democratic Administration comes into power, March 4, 1921.

The Republican platform favors an agreement to all that is proposed in the Covenant—a court, the support of its decisions, the protection of small nations, joint action under an agreement to diminish war—but leaves the future to decide the best form. If it was not possible to secure prompt ratification last July by the Senate when the whole subject shared the enthusiasm awakened by a great triumph in war, what chance is there of a majority at the polls with the war receding and responsibility for external affairs diminishing? Those who favored prompt ratification last June, because the world needed immediate action—this was my own vehement opinion then, and I was in this but one of many supporters of the League—feel now, after months of

discussion, that compromise, adjustment, change after consideration, is wise on the great issue as on all great constitutional changes.

No one man, however great, however useful, however successful in arousing the world's deeper conscience and consciousness to international justice, can claim that his way and his way alone must be adopted without change. Doubtless the Republican senators were not all unselfish, unambitious, non-partizan. Will any one say that Woodrow Wilson is unselfish, unambitious, non-partizan?

WHICH is better, that the American people should discuss this great issue, be informed, educated and trained in it, and then accept without change Wilson's Covenant, made eighteen months before the election next November, or instead shall give to the Republican party, committed in its platform to substantially the same agreement, the task of adjusting the Covenant to the conditions of next winter and next spring? A year ago the world was ready to accept the Covenant of Versailles. The man is blind who does not see that the authority of the Allies is weaker. Nations, once ready to obey, today claim their own action and decision.

For the country, the cause and the world, it is better that a decision should be reached by full discussion and a national vote than by a President or Senate, however wise each may be. Meanwhile, Senator Harding and Governor Cox, as candidates, have a grave and decisive responsibility in announcing their own personal course and policy. For Governor Cox, President Wilson's political estate may prove a liability and not an asset. For Senator Harding, anxiety to placate the "irreconcilables" may estrange the larger body of Republicans who feel an international agreement to prevent war and protect small states is indispensable, and who will say less than Hiram Johnson but silently do more.

Presidential campaigns all turn on one issue, and the country and the world are the better for a campaign on this great world question. Other peoples have decided without discussion, but not the American people.

Inflation, the national finances, profiteering, and a policy under which the Treasury bought all it needed at high war prices except credit, which it bought low by invoking patriotism, plainly gave the Democratic platform makers much worry. The Democratic party has long been for inflated credits and currency, particularly in the South. Reduction in the national debt, on which the platform dwells, has been gained by anticipating income, a year ahead. The Federal Reserve Bank Act, the Farmers' Loan Act, Treasury aid to loans for purchases of Liberty and Victory bonds, great advances to railroads and shipbuilding, with \$9,000,000,000 loaned to foreign countries and carried as a "security," when it is debt undisguised—these policies have built up a vast mass of uncertain credits which a national presidential campaign will be almost certain to shake to its center.

The Democratic platform puts a bold face on all this, but between the lines is apparent a deserved apprehension of the effect when these extended and manifold credits are tested by the revelation, the discussion, challenge and apprehension of a hot political contest.



## What Does Dr. Williams Mean?

By Norman Hapgood

**D**R. WILLIAMS makes a number of serious charges against the Democratic plank on the League of Nations, and then throws in a few financial charges at the end, for which I shall have to wait for further specifications, devoting this article to making such answers as I can to such parts of the attack on the League plank as I am able to comprehend.

Firstly, in the title "nullifying the Constitution," and here and there thruout the article, I judge that thru the way in which the Democrats expressed themselves at San Francisco that venerable and formidable instrument under which we breathe and have our being is once more in danger. There has never been an election, I think, since I was a boy, when it has not been endangered, even if it was only an election for coroner. Usually our liberties, our ancient traditions, and the wisdom of the fathers are thrown in for good measure. Happily, however, out of every election, municipal, county or national, our old friend the Constitution emerges unscathed, with more or less the same familiar appearance, and only alters its look when some regular process is gone thru and my Bronx cocktails are taken away from me by due process of law or women stand on the brink of getting the vote by amendment instead of state by state. If the Democrats at San Francisco actually did start out after the scalp of the Constitution, or the nullification of it, they have no more chance than the Seal Harbor baseball nine would have against the Cincinnati Reds, or than the horse that I see meandering in front of my window would have against Man-o'-War. They might as well go out of business.

But does the plank actually indicate so momentous and futile an effort? The platform indicates the line of conduct promised by one political party. The Democrats hereby state their belief that the Senate at its next session, looking at the results of the election, ought to be willing to join President Wilson in making the United States a member of a group, now containing twenty-eight nations, committed to the task of preventing any nation in the future from launching us on a war like the last. They do, I concede, state their belief that no nation should be "permitted" to do this, to use the word that Senator Lodge himself used before he got into a personal fight with President Wilson, and this "permitted" means Article X. I concede, moreover, not only that this League of twenty-eight nations exists, but that it is actually functioning and doing more to help Europe get out of its tragic state of economic chaos than any other force, while we stand off and bark about the danger to our poor little country, the menace to our tender liberties, the insult to our sensitive Senate. Article X can be changed any time by action from within the League. Article V, also, can be changed, making amendment easier. Neither these nor any other article can be changed by the United States Senate, however. All the Senate can do is to say: "You do it. The war was trouble enough for us. Don't commit us to responsibility such as falls on Switzerland, Belgium and Brazil. We are for you and we meant all our newspaper talk about making war impossible, but we never stopped to think it might conceivably mean committing ourselves to something that Holland and Denmark can face but that ought not to be asked of us. No, on second thoughts, you do it."

I wonder if the Republican plank is constitutional. Senator Johnson says it means no treaty at all, so I suppose it is constitutional. But the Senator does not say how we are ever going to be at peace with Germany, or how our agreements, if we have any, about European matters are to be made with England, France, Italy and the rest, they acting as a unit through the League. Dr. Williams interprets the Republican plank differently from Senator Johnson and

therefore even that plank may not be constitutional. I have read the Constitution and I have read the Republican plank. The first I understand to some extent, but the second not at all, and am therefore full of the dread that the unconstitutionality lurking in the Democratic plank may curl like an adder in some knot-hole of the Republican plank. If it is unconstitutional for the Democrats to keep on fighting to induce a Senate, instructed by the election, to accept the League as it actually exists, may it not be equally unconstitutional for Dr. Williams's branch of the Republican happy family to commit the nation to what Dr. Williams calls "substantially the same agreement"? Even if it is unconstitutional for the Democrats to express the hope of entering the existing League, and constitutional for the Republicans to stand for "substantially the same agreement," is not the practical outlook a little sad? All of Dr. Williams's figuring, which is very impressive, is based on the assumption that, no matter if the country went overwhelmingly Democratic, the Republican senators would die in their tracks rather than yield. Let us, then, suppose it goes Republican, and see if the picture that confronts us is more reassuring.

The happy band of ninety-six statesmen comes together in Washington once more. Senator Lodge is again the honored chieftain. Gronna he has lost, for that gentleman has already been eliminated by the embattled farmers of North Dakota. Newberry he may have lost by that time, thanks to the heartlessness of a Supreme Court opposed to corruption in elections. These two changes alone would wipe out the Republican majority, but we will suppose that Brandegee, Cummins and enough other tested thinkers are reelected to give Senator Lodge's party a majority—say of five, or ten, if you prefer. It needs two-thirds. Lodge begins to count his majority. The first one he counts is Hiram Johnson, of California. Count ahead, Cabot, much joy may it bring you. He then counts Borah. We are getting on. Knox might come in next, with his no League and separate peace. Medill McCormick answers to his name, and so does Brandegee. The rest of the battalion of death answer present, and by counting every one of these easy assets H. Cabot finds that he can come within a dozen or twenty of a two-thirds majority. The prospect is fine. The outlook for agreeing on anything is exactly the same as it was at Chicago, when the famous plank emerged as an indication of what the Republicans could do when they flock all alone and harmoniously by themselves, with no Democrats to mix them up, and no terrible Wilson to seize the credit for any great ideas that might emerge.

**L**ET us pass on to this Wilson specter. I forbear to quote what Lodge said about standing by McKinley in the treaty he made after the Spanish war. It would sound ill-tempered and I wish to view the present Republican ratiocination with Olympian poise. Dr. Williams says that Wilson "flatly refused compromise." This must be modified a trifle. When the President came back from Paris in February, 1919, he committed himself to nothing, but on the contrary called to the White House the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the Senate and the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House, took their suggestions, and had the suggestions carried out when he went back to Paris. In August, after his return, the President said to the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate that there could be "no reasonable objection to interpretations accompanying the act of ratification, provided they do not form part of the formal ratification itself." In February of this year Senator Hitchcock reported to the President an agreement with reservations that he understood would be satisfactory to Senator Lodge, and the President said: "I am glad to say that I can accept them as they stand." They included a reservation on Article X, and the



President accepted that also, altho he described it as "unfortunate." Lodge thereupon changed his position, either bullied by the bitter-enders or determined on his own account to humiliate and defeat the President at any cost, and substituted something he knew the President would not accept.

There is another point that I think Dr. Williams might modify a little. He says: "No one man, however great, however useful, however successful in arousing the world's deeper conscience and consciousness to international justice, can claim that his way and his way alone must be adopted without change." And again, a little later, he refers to "Wilson's Covenant." This charge that Wilson created the Treaty and the League all by himself is not easy to understand. Did Wilson have his way alone at Paris? Did Foch? Did Clemenceau? Lloyd George? Sonnino? When the British Parliament ratified, did one man have his way, and, if so, what man? How about the French Parliament? When Italy ratified, what one man's will was represented? Did one man not only work out the plan thru the weary months but bring the twenty-eight nations into the league and the thirty-four nations into general acceptance of the treaty? Did one man dictate to Governor Cox when, long before he was nominated, he put into less than eighty words two reservations entirely consistent with the President's position but also entirely sufficient to quiet those patriots and heroes who are actually and sincerely afraid our little country may be picked upon by San Marino and Siam. The Democratic platform allows for such reservations as will make clear to the sceptred villains of Europe that we have not forgotten our constitution in our haste to ratify. More important, perhaps, than such superfluous declarations is the fact that the Council of the League, which is the important body, can do absolutely nothing without our assent if we are a member, altho it can do whatever it likes if we are not.

All this being so, is it a joke, or is it rather a nightmare, to ask the twenty-eight or the thirty-four nations to wait a year or so until maybe Lodge and Johnson can offer them something choice that will please everybody, like the Chicago platform?

## The Issue Involved

By Talcott Williams

IN this year, as in 1896, the acceptances of the two candidates are to be the real platforms. The Democratic platform, like the Republican, has ceased to interest me. "Labor" is still interested in the two platforms, because on the basis of the Chicago and San Francisco declarations, the trade unions propose a class support of the Democratic labor creed (as in the platform) and a class opposition to the Republican labor creed, as per platform. What Governor Cox will do, no one yet knows. Senator Harding, with unusual courage for a candidate, has gone farther than the party platform and unflinchingly declared the supremacy of the law and the right of any individual to seek work, whatever organization bars the way. Many there must be who will deem this issue and the decision of "labor" to wage "class" warfare more important than any that can be raised by either platform. "Some day," many voters will say, "this issue must be settled. Why not now?"

Both platforms in their utterances on the League have to be considered in the light of the action of both candidates. Governor Cox is better aware than Mr. Hapgood that neither party can carry the treaty merely by winning a majority of the Senate and the new resolutions on the League Governor Cox proposes, without defining, apparently look to a compromise so as to secure two-thirds in a Senate where twenty-one Democrats voted for ratification with the Lodge amendments. Doubtless President Wilson was ready

to compromise last February. Last November, two days before the final vote, President Wilson rejected a compromise closely similar. In February, it was too late. Come more, was the fable of the Sibylline books repeated. How easily and readily could compromise have been secured last year, in July, by President Wilson? But an albumenized temper does not incline men to compromise.

The Republican leadership also moves away from compromise. The Republican candidate in his letter of acceptance proposes to scrap the League, to make peace by a Knox resolution and later to organize a new agreement based on a court of arbitration, instead of the Council now in existence.

Mr. Hapgood lays stress on the "existence" of the League. This "League in being," while three "great powers" act over its head in every day's despatches, has not inclined the American people to accept the new instrument to guide our foreign policy, until its action has been safeguarded. Unlike the European powers, we are familiar with Constitutions, expect to obey them and are schooled to the action of coördinate powers. We look to the people for a final decision, not to a single chamber of a Parliament as in Europe.

"If" we had a constitution like England's, President Wilson would have gone out of power when in November, 1918, a Congress, with a majority against him, was elected, as would the Premiers of England, France or Italy. This may be a good government plan. It is not ours. Under ours, a great issue like this has to be fought out before the people. While I should have liked an early decision because of my international sympathies and because so many of those I know have been in peril or lost life by the delay, still, I know nothing is more important than that permanent, far-reaching international agreements should be passed upon by the people rather than by Presidents and Premiers, however great and wise they may be. I am inclined to think that even Mr. Hapgood would be of this opinion on any issue but the League which a very general assent and consent abroad and at home calls "Wilson's League." Certainly the eminent men named by Mr. Hapgood have not "wished it" on themselves in any vocal and vociferous manner.

The present situation is that neither candidate will leave this issue as the platforms put it. Senator Harding by scrapping the League goes farther than the platform to satisfy Hiram Johnson. He forces every Republican who believes in a League in order to prevent war and not merely in an agreement to settle international differences, to consider, however unwillingly, whether he can possibly support a candidate who will not even stand by his position and record in the Senate, where Senator Harding voted to ratify the League with the Lodge reservations. If he was right then, he is wrong now. If he is right now, he was wrong then.

Senator Harding leaves the Republican party platform at his own risk. A bolt by Senator Johnson has its dangers. The slow, steady seep of voters from the Republican party is less public, but more perilous. Take New York, New Jersey and Connecticut, States needed and "narrow" on a party majority. The Republican supporters of the League will not make as much noise as Senator Johnson; but they have more votes affecting doubtful States, needed for success. California and Idaho have 17 votes. These three Eastern States have 66. Ohio has 24, and Senator Harding has reason to remember his State is variable. The League Republican voters are clergymen who represent all religious interests. The world of colleges, universities, teachers and young graduates is for the League. So are women, by tens of thousands. The independent vote is a League vote. Every politician knows there are enough of these classes of voters to defeat the Republican party in these four States. What will it profit the Republican party if it gains a whole world of Hiram Johnsons, of the Irish, of Germans and of the



# Campaign Comedies

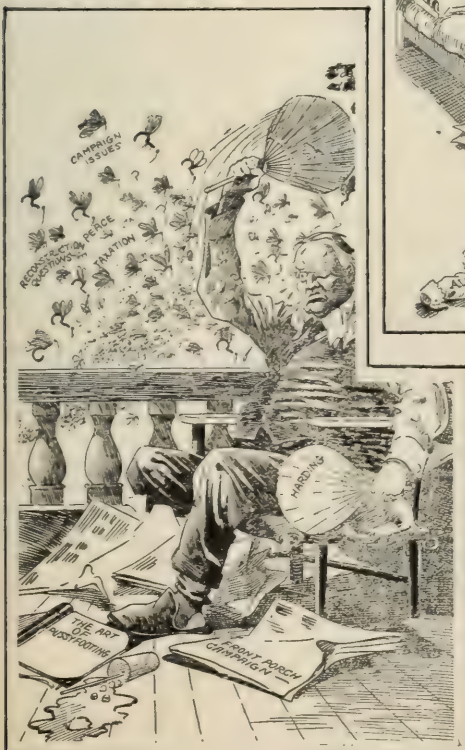


Thomas in Detroit News

Some already prepared dope for the G. O. P. publicity committee

Below: The porch campaign. It looks like a pestiferous summer for Warren G.

Stinson in Dayton Daily News



© 1920, New York Tribune, Inc.

"And when they turned the kivers down he was n't there at all"



Thomas in Detroit News

When Portia gets into politics



Knott in Dallas News

Left: All aboard! But even the prospect of the voyage dampened the enthusiasm of the crowd on shore



Kirby in New York World

A hair-breadth escape for the well known runner, Mr. Bryan



Knott in Dallas News

They say that it's going to be the politest campaign ever waged



anti-war vote generally and loses the very soul of its independent, intelligent advancing vote, devoted to the wide interest in humanity represented by missions and by the broad international philanthropical movements like the Red Cross, the Armenian, Serbian and other relief, including the thousands of voters from the new republics of Europe to whom the League is a question of life and death.

Senator Harding gains Hiram Johnson, Borah and Penrose. He loses all the others. Their voice will not be heard, but their line of votes is spread thru all the States. They will not haste, neither will they grow weary. They will wait until Governor Cox has spoken. If his letter of acceptance stands for the covenant reasonably adjusted and the Republican candidate stood for his position in the Senate, as the platform was believed to do, the full Republican vote would be behind him. Leaving his own party platform and leaving too the party policy he supported in the Senate, he must not be surprised if Republican voters who stood for the League when even President Wilson was not for it, shall, some publicly, some individually, decide to support the League as the one instrument at hand to begin the great work of ending war. Abandon the League now and a war-sick world goes back, as Senator Harding proposes to agree—ments to arbitrate which did not prevent war in 1914.

### By the Way

Are you still wearing the overalls you bought this Spring?

### Cute But Yellow

THIS is the caption which a San Francisco paper put over a picture of a Japanese child, in whom two members of a Congressional investigating committee were showing a natural human interest. The phrase could not itself be called cute but it is certainly yellow.

### Ohio and Good Night

"OHIO" is "good-morning" in Japanese, and Ohio it will be whichever candidate is victor. But for either New York or Massachusetts the election of a Vice-President will mean "good-night!"

### The Perennial

BRYAN has once more been nominated for President; tho on this occasion by a third party and against his will. As between Debs and Bryan the score for nominations received now stands only five to four.

### The Spa Balance Sheet

GERMANY gained an extension of time for disarmament, a reduction in coal shipments, the hope of a foreign loan, and reentry into the councils of European diplomacy. The Allies gained a settlement of the coal question and the right to compel disarmament and reparations by further occupation of Germany in case of necessity. The world gained a breathing space until the next crisis. The United States gained the commiseration of Premier Lloyd George for not being represented.

### Our Debt to Lipton

IT is something when a man is able to fill the first page of the daily papers with pleasant reading. Murders and accidents are depressing to everyone; politics to many; prohibition to some. But a yacht is always beautiful and good sportsmanship is always engaging.

### The Prohibition Convention

LADY watering a garden during a heavy rain is a strange sight. So is a party trying to dry up a desert. The United States is already under complete prohibition and yet the Prohibition Party continues to exist. Enforce-

ment may be still an issue, but how can those enforce the law who, on their own showing, cannot hope to be elected? A third party may agitate effectively for a reform; it cannot administer the reform when achieved.

## Count Them Up

By Thomas Steelé

EVERY day some newspaper prints the bitter taunt: "There are (—) wars going on at present and the League of Nations does nothing to stop them!" This blank is filled up with any number from eight to eighty that strikes the writer's fancy. We wonder how many could name the wars which they number so confidently, especially since the number is rarely twice the same.

A lawyer might say that there was no war existing at the present time, except our own technical "war" with Germany, since no recognized Government is formally at war with another Power. But that would be a quibble, as there are two instances of conflict on a sufficiently extensive scale to count as a "foreign war": the struggles of Bolshevik Russia with Poland and of the Turkish Nationalists with the Greeks and Armenians. The fact that neither the Russian Bolsheviks nor the Turkish rebels are recognized as legitimate "Governments" outside their own boundaries does not alter the fact that many people are being killed in international fighting.

But there is a difference between two and, say, forty-two. How do the paragraphers bring in the other forty? Well, first of all they count in civil wars, such as those in China, Mexico and Ireland. It is doubtless very deplorable that there should be rebellions and insurrections within a country, but it is not the concern of the League of Nations, which has the duty of preventing, so far as is humanly possible, all international conflicts, but which has no authority over the domestic politics of a sovereign state. The very people who complain most loudly that the League does not compose the differences between Obregon and Villa or between Lenin and Wrangel would complain still more loudly if anything of the sort were attempted.

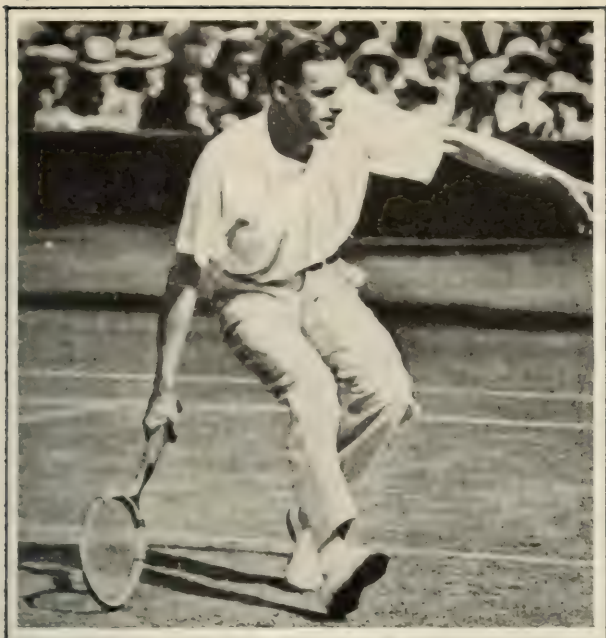
Then, to swell the list, every little riot and border "incident" is described as a war. If an Italian sailor shoots up the Slavic quarter of a Dalmatian town, or a Czech hits a Pole over the head in Teschen, or a race riot breaks out in the Banat it is reckoned another war. That such instances are a sign of disturbed conditions and bad feeling is true enough, and if often repeated or long continued they may lead to war in good earnest. But in themselves they are not much more destructive than a "labor war" in a West Virginia or Colorado mine. With eastern and central Europe shaken to pieces by more than four years of war there are certain to be hundreds of local "scraps" until the frontiers are all stably adjusted. It is the duty of the League to see that the Governments discourage such incidents and remain at peace even if some excitable super-patriot tries to force the hand of the authorities by starting trouble.

When civil wars and rebellions have been added to every frontier incident that arises the critic of the League still feels that he has not a sufficiently impressive total. So he counts in wars or semi-wars that did exist at some time since the armistice with Germany and reckons them as still existing; for example, the invasion of Bolshevik Hungary by Rumania, the invasion of Finland, Esthonia and Latvia by Bolshevik Russia, the Lemberg campaign between Poland and the Ruthenians, and so forth. These disturbances may once have counted as serious wars, but for the most part they have since been patched up by treaty and armistice or else have dwindled into mere smouldering disorder.

No fair test of the efficiency of the League of Nations can come until it includes the greatest of the Great Powers—the United States of America—and until its authority is



# Days of Real Sport in Several Nations



*Underswood & Underswood*

William T. Tilden was the sensation of the Davis Cup matches at Wimbledon, England, this summer when he brought his series of victories to a climax by defeating the British champion, Patterson. Tilden now is looked upon as likely to bring the Davis Cup back to the United States after its long journey round the world



*Wide World*

The German frauleins have never taken to sports quite as enthusiastically as British and American girls, but they are beginning to make up for lost time now. This 100 meter race was an event of a recent meet in Berlin



*Paul Thompson*

Man o' War ranks first among race horses; in his three-year-old form he won his first five starts and broke the world's record by running a mile and a quarter in 1:59½



*Wide World*

In the final tryouts for the women's swimming team to represent America in the Olympic games Katharine Brown, ten years old, did some spectacular diving. This snapshot shows her making a perfect half forward somersault



*Wide World*

The world's most famous golfers, Ed Ray (left) and Harry Vardon, both of England, are in this country now playing a series of exhibition matches. On July 26 they defeated Jim Barnes, American professional champion, and Walter Hagen, American open champion, in a best ball match of thirty-six holes. The match was all even up to the last hole, when Vardon sunk a putt of nearly thirty feet and Hagen's ball, eight feet away, just failed to roll in



no longer subordinated to the Supreme Council of the Allies. The latter will come about automatically with the completion of the peace treaties and the settlement of some outstanding controversies between the Allies and Germany. The first condition it rests with us to meet. Then it will be fair enough to ask the League to stop the aggressions of Russia and Turkey, as well as the forty or so other wars which do not exist, or which are the concern of local police rather than of armies.

## May We Not Inquire

**I**F a party platform is to explain the party policy, and a speech of acceptance is to explain the party platform, who shall explain the speech of acceptance?

## Camouflage

By Franklin H. Giddings

**T**HE political reactions to Mr. Harding's ample speech of acceptance may have disappointed him. They have been few and feeble. He should find compensation, however, and stimulation in the academic reactions to his production as an intellectual mutation. These have been many, dynamic, and positive.

Note, for example, the letter that the Reverend Doctor Henry A. Stimson sent to *The Times*. The country, he says, "has not been treated with 'simple things said in such a solemn way' in Presidential utterance, since the days of President Buchanan." Here we have exact description and frank acknowledgment that Mr. Harding succeeded in doing what he undertook to do. The only fault that can be found with Mr. Stimson's way of wording his tribute is that understatement to heighten effect is morally questionable when indulged in by a minister of the gospel whose yea should be yea, and whose nay should be nay.

The truth is that Mr. Harding has done a remarkable thing. It is by no means certain that he will be elected to the Presidency of the United States, and it is highly improbable that if he is elected he will play a sensational rôle. It may happen, therefore, that he will be remembered chiefly as the author of his speech of acceptance. This is a sufficient reason for approaching the study of it without prejudice, and with a sincere desire to discover, if possible, in what its undeniable originality consists.

Without presuming to speak with authority I venture the suggestion that Mr. Harding has attained intellectual leadership by the boldness with which he has exploited possibilities that have fascinated the American mind, but which no American mind heretofore has had the courage to experiment with in a thoroging way.

We all understand that we are Americans, better and more beautiful, more upright and more down-

right, more self-luminous and more pleasing to Almighty God than any other people in the world; but not all of us have seen with equal perspicacity just how and why. Mr. Harding has seen why and how with a clarity of vision altogether surpassing. To concede so much as this, altho no more could be said, would be to accord high distinction; and there is more to be said.

Mr. Harding not only sees, he also comprehends, and comprehending his mind moves directly to implications and corollaries. Grasping the outstandingness of America, he does not shrink from the obligations that the big fact imposes upon us. It is not merely right, it is imperative that we should be a law unto ourselves, in things economic, moral, and political. Senator Lodge now and then has seen glimmerings of this truth. Senator Borah and Senator Johnson have caught flashes of it. The Republican convention almost beheld it. To Mr. Harding it is refulgent; and like Saint Paul blinded by the glory of heaven while gazing upon it, Mr. Harding knows in his heart that he must manifest it to the heathen.

At this point, if my analysis is correct, Mr. Harding's supreme greatness is revealed. Manifesting America to the heathen is in part a literary enterprise. In the nature of things it must be so. Now Mr. Harding not only sees things, he has also a fine sense of propriety, and he has discerned, what Mr. Lodge has failed to perceive, how incongruous it is, in what bad taste it is, to set forth Americanism in the heathen locations of Shakespeare and Milton, in the grammar of Cambridge and Oxford. A candidate for the Presidency of the United States should make his own English language. Mr. Harding has made his. He has written as he has thought.

It would be absurd now to predict what the judgment of posterity upon Mr. Harding's creation (for a creation surely it is) will be. It is too near us to be seen in its true proportions. We scrutinize the platitudes of which it is built up, and like the geologist scrutinizing strata, fail to see the mountain top. Perhaps posterity will certainly know what we only suspect, that platitudes are the only material flat and homogeneous enough to support and compose the pinnacle of Hardingese Americanism; but what heathen nation, gazing upon that peak for the promise of dawn, or watching it throw the evening blaze afar, will care?

## The Main Tent and the Side Shows

**I**N the majority of states Governors and legislatures are to be elected this November; in all states, members of Congress. Do not let your interest in the most spectacular event of the political year, the race for President, divert your attention wholly from getting a strong Congress and an able state administration.

### "Remarkable" Remarks From Senator Harding's Speech of Acceptance

America will go on!  
Alaska is rich in resources.  
I believe in law enforcement.  
The human element comes first.  
I am thinking of the railroads.  
We call on all America for steadiness.  
I believe in the protective tariff policy.  
I believe in our eminence in trade abroad.  
America must stand foremost for the right.  
Ours is the temple of liberty under the law.  
We must stabilize and strive for normality.  
Peace closes the gaping wound of world war.  
It is idle to think we have attained perfection.  
It is folly to close our eyes to outstanding facts.  
We hold the majesty of righteous government.  
Let us call to all the people for thrift and economy.  
A people's will still remains the supreme authority.  
Toil alone makes for accomplishment and advancement.  
The Government's obligations are alike to all the people.  
In conflict is disaster, in understanding there is triumph.  
Agriculture is essentially the foundation of our very existence.  
More than all else the present-day world needs understanding.  
Parties are formed by those who reach a consensus of opinion.  
In all sincerity we promise the prevention of unreasonable profits.  
We are contemplating peoples in the concord of humanity's advancement.  
I believe there is an easy and open path to righteous relationship with Mexico.  
We promise that relief which will attend the halting of waste and extravagance.  
With a hymn of service in my heart, I pledge fidelity to our country and to God.  
Congress enacts the laws, and the executive branch of government is charged with enforcement.  
In a citizenship of more than a hundred millions it is impossible to reach agreement upon all questions.  
The womanhood of America, always its glory, its inspiration and the potent, unlifting force in its social and spiritual development, is about to be enfranchised.



# The Story of the Week

## Senator Harding Accepts

ON July 23 Senator Harding was formally notified of his nomination as candidate for the Presidency by a Republican delegation headed by his colleague, Senator Lodge. Nearly 50,000 visitors poured into the town of Marion for the great occasion. In the main, Senator Harding's speech of acceptance, which we discuss more fully in the editorial columns, followed the Republican platform and on many issues paraphrased it directly. No new campaign issues were raised, and the points left obscure in the platform were not more definitely elucidated in the address.

The clearest statement on the foreign policy which Senator Harding would pursue as President was the following:

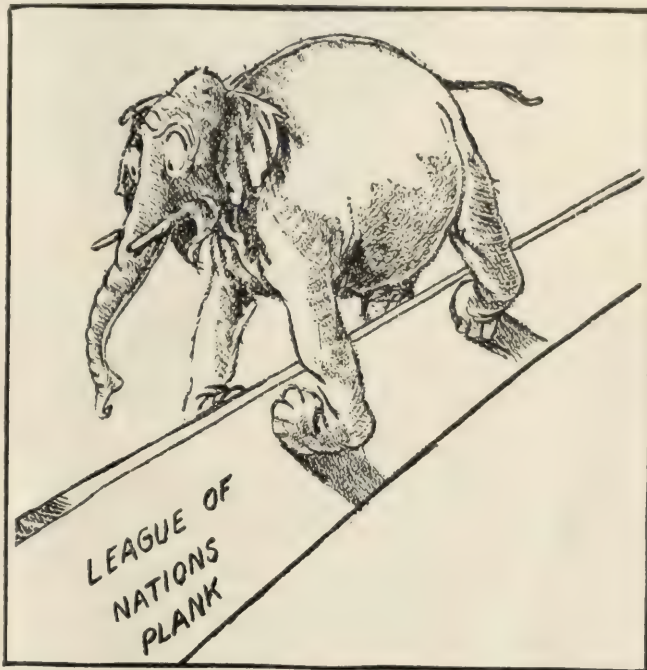
I promise you formal and effective peace so quick as a Republican Congress can pass its declaration for a Republican executive to sign. Then we may turn to our readjustment at home and proceed deliberately and reflectively to that hoped-for world relationship which shall satisfy both conscience and aspirations and still hold us free from menacing involvements.

Altho this interpretation is not certain, Senator Harding's statement seems to point to the policy of the Knox resolution, a declaration of peace outside the Treaty, after which the question of the League of Nations and the necessary reservations or amendments thereto would be taken up for more deliberate consideration.

The outstanding points made on domestic questions were: emphasis on party government and responsibility, as opposed to exaggerated personal power of the President; opposition to government ownership of the railroads; economical administration and gradual deflation of the currency as the remedies for the high cost of living; approval of woman suffrage, and emphasis on law enforcement, with a reference to the eighteenth amendment as a case in point.

## Governor Coolidge Accepts Too

AT Northampton, Massachusetts, on July 27, a Republican delegation headed by Governor Morrow of Kentucky "broke the news" to the Vice-Presidential nominee.



Page in Louisville Courier-Journal

Can he keep it up till November?

Governor Coolidge accepted the nomination in a brief but pointed speech. On the League of Nations issue he was somewhat more specific than Senator Harding had been, declaring definitely for the League with the Senate reservations to the Treaty:

The Senate received a concrete proposition, utterly unacceptable without modifications, which the Republican Senators effected by reservations, and, so modified, twice voted for ratification, which the Democratic Administration twice defeated. The platform approves this action of the Senators. The Republicans insisted on reservations which limit. The Democratic platform and record permit only of reservations unessential and explanatory.

On domestic issues the Governor emphasized the importance of orderly, constitutional government; increased production as the cure for the high cost of living; the revision of "that great breeder of public and private extravagance, the excess profit tax"; the necessity of equal suffrage and of justice to the negro.

## The Democratic Campaign

GOVERNOR Cox delivers his speech of acceptance on August 7. After this formality is over he will enter on a "whirlwind campaign" which may be carried into every doubtful state of the Union. The campaign manager and the new chairman of the National Committee, in succession to Mr. Cummings, is George H. White of Marietta, Ohio. Mr. White is a popular and wealthy Ohio business man with political experience in the state legislature and in Congress. He is classed as a "dry" and his appointment will reassure many



Wide World

### GENERAL GORGAS'S FUNERAL

A funeral procession in honor of Major General Gorgas wound its solemn way thru London's streets toward St. Paul's, where impressive services were conducted by Dean Inge



prohibitionist Democrats who viewed with some misgivings the nomination of Governor Cox.

The most important development which has thus far taken place in the Democratic campaign was the conference between Governor Cox and President Wilson. The interview was altogether private, but at the close of it the Governor stated:

We are agreed as to the meaning and sufficiency of the Democratic platform and the duty of the party in the face of threatened bad faith to the world in the name of America.

The President added:

He and I were absolutely at one with regard to the great issue of the League of Nations and he is ready to be the champion in every respect of the honor of the nation and the secure peace of the world.

This puts an end to various industriously circulated rumors that the Democratic nominee would "put the soft pedal on the League of Nations issue" and fight the campaign on other lines.

## The Camels Are Coming

THE Prohibition Party has put forth a ticket in spite of the fact that prohibition is already an accomplished fact thruout the United States. The failure of both the Republican and Democratic platforms and candidates to promise to sustain the Volstead Enforcement Act against amendment or repeal is the cause of the continued existence of the oldest of all the surviving minor parties. Nobody supposes that the eighteenth amendment is in any immediate danger, but many strict prohibitionists fear that under Cox or, less probably, under Harding, it would given a "liberal" interpretation.

The convention met in Lincoln, Nebraska, and nominated William Jennings Bryan, thrice Democratic nominee for President, to head the Prohibition ticket. Mr. Bryan had given them no encouragement, but his well-known views on the temperance question and his open disappointment when Governor Cox, supposed to be a "wet," was nominated at San Francisco, caused the delegates to hope that once tendered the nomination he would not decline. He replied, however, that he could not make a campaign upon a single issue and that he was unwilling to sever his connection with the Democratic Party "which has so signally honored me in years past." He refused to state whether or not he would vote the Democratic national ticket in November, "but whatever I may feel it my duty to do in this campaign, I expect to continue as a member of the Democratic Party." Bryan can now sympathize with La Follette.

After Mr. Bryan's refusal, the convention nominated Mr. Aaron S. Watkins of Germantown, Ohio, for President, and Mr. D. Leigh Colvin of New York for Vice-President. The platform attacked the Republican and Democratic parties for their ambiguous attitude toward prohibition, favored the League of Nations with only interpretative reservations, advocated woman suffrage and approved the entire program of welfare legislation proposed by the National League of Woman Voters.



Keystone View

George H. White, of Marietta, Ohio, has been chosen to succeed Homer S. Cummings as chairman of the Democratic National Committee

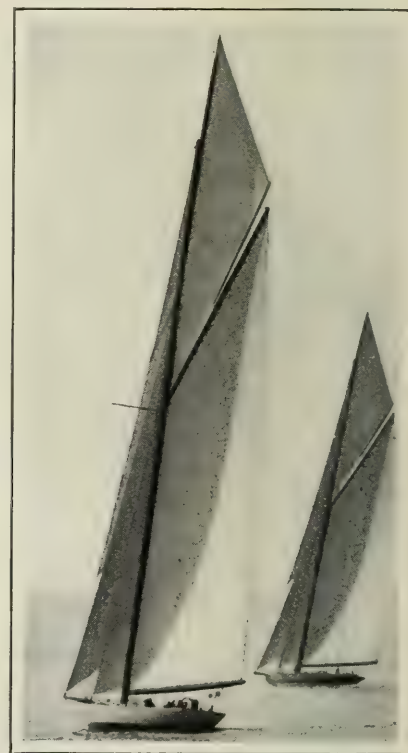
## The Higher Cost of Travel

IN order to cover the \$600,000,000 increase in wages recently awarded to the railway workers of the nation, the railways will probably be forced to increase rates. Not all of the increase, however, will be added to freight rates; the passenger also will have to pay some of the bill. Railroad experts suggest a four cent per mile rate in western states and three and one-half cents in other parts of the country. An increased fare for Pullman accommodations, higher commutation rates, increased baggage and express charges are also predicted.

The necessity for higher charges even under present conditions, without taking into account the increase in the payroll, is evident from the recently published report of the Interstate Commerce Commission dealing with the larger ("class one") railroads for the month of April, 1920. That one month showed a deficit of more than \$25,000,000 in operating revenue for the country as a whole. As the Government's guarantee to the railroads, continuing to September, amounts to about \$75,000,000 a month, the deficit brought the total loss to the Government during April to more than \$100,000,000.

Most of the labor unions have decided to accept the award of the Railway Labor Board, altho they were disappointed at not getting their full demands. The Order of Railway Telegraphers decided to submit the question of a strike to a vote of its membership. The railway shopmen will also hold a referendum, but with the recommendation that the award be accepted. The "outlaw" unions which took part in the sporadic strikes of this spring oppose the award and may again venture on local strikes. But it seems probable that the rank and

file of the larger unions will acquiesce in the new wage scales for the time being. Mr. Gompers criticized the award as inadequate and said that the railwaymen were "disappointed and they have a right to be." He expressed the opinion that by more efficient management the railroads could pay the new wage rates without raising freight rates to the public.



Paul Thompson

WE KEEP AMERICA'S CUP

The defender crossed the line ahead in the fifth and deciding race between Sir Thomas Lipton's "Shamrock IV" and the American "Resolute," just as the moon was coming up

## A Good Loser

FOR the fourth time in twenty years, Sir Thomas Lipton, from the bridge of his steam yacht Victoria, saw the boat which he had entered for America's cup outmaneuvered and out-sailed. His challenger, the Shamrock IV, lost to the defender, the Resolute, by a mile. As before, Sir Thomas lost gallantly.



## Summary of the Cup Races

### First Race—Shamrock Wins

Shamrock	Corrected time 4:24:48
Resolute	(Withdrew because of accident.)

### Second Race—Shamrock Wins

Shamrock	5:22:18
Resolute	5:24:44

Shamrock won by 2 minutes 29 seconds corrected time.

### Third Race—Resolute Wins

Resolute	3:57:05
Shamrock	4:03:06

Resolute won by 7 minutes 1 second corrected time.

### Fourth Race Resolute Wins

Resolute	3:31:12
Shamrock	3:41:10

Resolute won by 9 minutes 35 seconds corrected time.

### Fifth Race—Resolute Wins

Resolute	5:28:35
Shamrock	5:48:20

Resolute won by 19 minutes 45 seconds corrected time.

## Greeks Take Adrianople



Underwood & Underwood

Parley Parker Christensen was nominated for President on a third ticket, that of the Farmer-Labor party, which followed the Republican plan of holding its convention in Chicago

power than the Sultan and seem better to represent the sentiments of the Turkish people. In form, the Greeks are but taking police measures, but in reality they are waging war against Turkey. Indeed, the Greeks are probably doing more fighting just now than at any time during the Great War, in which Greece played a comparatively small part. With the aid of the Greek fleet, troops were landed at Rodosto and other ports in European Turkey to attack the Turkish forces encamped along a front from Adrianople thru Kirk Kilise to Lule Burgas.

Jafar Tayar, the Turkish leader in Thrace, was defeated and taken prisoner at Adrianople.

The Turkish Crown Council, presided over by the Sultan, voted to approve the signing of the Turkish Treaty. The Turkish peace commissioners, thus authorized, will sign the Treaty as soon as they can return to France. Whether the

THE Greeks are continuing their occupation of Thrace as well as of western Asia Minor under the sanction of the Allies for the coercion not of the Turkish Government but of the rebel Turkish Nationalists, who have far more real

Turkish Chamber of Deputies will consent to ratify the Treaty after it is signed is another matter, and at present a very doubtful one. The real problem of the Allies, however, is treaty enforcement. Altho thus far wholly successful in Thrace, the Greeks have still great obstacles to face in Asia Minor, where the Mohammedan population is much greater, the war zone on a vaster scale, and the international situation more complex. The alliance between the Turkish Nationalists and the Bolsheviks, foreboding annihilation to what is left of Armenia and threatening the British position in Mesopotamia, Persia and even India, presents to the Allies a political and military problem of great difficulty, which is made none the easier by the quarrel between the French and the Arabs in Syria and the rivalry of the Greeks, Italians and French in southern Asia Minor.

## The End of Villa?

THE report comes from Mexico that the arch-bandit and super-rebel Francisco Villa has at last surrendered. Several weeks ago Villa offered to surrender on terms which would have left him with a small "body guard" at his command, but the Mexican Government wisely refused this offer since it would have enabled him to take the field whenever he was displeased with political conditions at Mexico City. Even now that Villa has surrendered unconditionally, and has gone so far as meekly to repair a railway line which he had previously destroyed, President De la Huerta announces that he will not relax precautions until the rebels are entirely disarmed. It will indeed be a feather in the cap of the present Mexican Administration if it has brought to final defeat the man who led the war against Huerta, turned against Carranza and invaded the United States and remained uncaptured.

## Poland Seeks Peace

WITH the Ukraine and nearly all of Lithuania in Bolshevik hands, the Polish Government asked for an armistice. The Polish Government was reorganized for the negotiation of peace. Wicenty Witos, leader of the



Wide World

### HEAP BIG INJUNS

At Albuquerque, New Mexico, Governor Alfred E. Smith and a party of New York Democrats stopped off for a Hopi Indian celebration. Big Chiefs Charles F. Murphy and Governor Smith may be seen at the left in the rear, with James A. Foley and Miss Emilie Smith (seated) at Mr. Smith's left



Peasant Party, became Premier and Ignace Daszynski, a Socialist, was appointed Vice-President of the Cabinet. The new "peace ministry" was, however, prepared to continue the war if the Bolsheviks rejected the proposal for an armistice or asked impossible terms of peace. In view of the possibility of a renewed conflict, with all the odds against her, Poland appealed to the aid of allied and friendly nations, asking for munitions from England and France and at least for "moral support" from the United States.

It was hardly necessary to warn western Europe of the gravity of the situation with Bolshevik armies in Lithuania almost within sight of the Prussian frontier. The nightmare of a German alliance with Soviet Russia, crushing Poland between them, has not for a moment ceased to worry the statesmen of

England, France and Italy since the Bolsheviks first assumed power. It was in the hope of averting such an alliance, rather than from hatred of Bolshevism or the desire to recover Russian loans, that the western Allies sent futile aid and encouragement to each successive foe of Bolshevism from the first ventures of Kolchak to the fiasco of the Polish invasion. The one hopeful element in the situation is that even should the Bolsheviks reach a common frontier with Germany the Germans would be more frightened than the Allies. The German Government, Socialist tho it is, fears Bolshevism quite as much as it hates the French, and would almost rather continue to endure the peace treaty than turn communist in an effort—a probably unsuccessful effort—to win freedom from the severity of its terms. Hungary is already offering to join a defensive alliance with her late foes against the westward advance of Bolshevism, and Germany may at some time follow the Hungarian example.

The Bolsheviks, in spite of their military success, did not altogether lose their sense of perspective. They knew that France and England were prepared to send supplies and, if necessary, even troops to prevent the annihilation of Poland, the bulwark of the Allies in eastern Europe. They knew that Germany was at best a suspicious neutral, glad to witness the reverses of Poland but not at all glad to see the red deluge creep toward her own frontier. They knew that the Poles, altho they had humbled themselves to beg for peace, could still do a good deal of fighting and might even hold out on the defensive until aid reached them from the west. So the Soviet authorities promptly accepted the Polish offer for an armistice and announced that they were ready to discuss terms of peace. By this acceptance they added a moral victory to a material one; they could claim the prestige of having "won the war" against Poland and,



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TEACHING THE YOUNG IDEA HOW TO SHOOT

General Alvaro Obregon and his youngest son at Nogales on the international line between the United States and Mexico, where the Mexican revolutionary leader and Governor Thomas C. Campbell, of Arizona, held a conference

by appearing as the negotiators of a victorious peace, perhaps gain formal diplomatic recognition from foreign powers.

## The Irish Civil War

IRELAND is in the strange and unhappy position of having two Governments, neither of which will admit that the other exists either in right or in fact. One is the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland with its agencies of enforcement, the police and the British army. The other is the Dail Eireann, the Sinn Fein Parliament, and its agencies. From the British point of view the Dail Eireann is not a political body but a mere chance gathering of outlaws. From the Sinn Fein point of view the regularly constituted authorities are not representative officials but merely the agents of a "foreign power" unlawfully domiciled on Irish soil. Yet it is unsafe for a resident of the country to disregard the mandates of either Government. The Dail Eireann, eluding the vigilance of the British authorities, met in session in Dublin at the end of June to transact public business. A "National Land Commission" was established and protection promised to those who occupied land under its authority. A vote of confidence was sent to President De Valera and it was announced that the \$10,000,000 "international loan" was already oversubscribed.

Alarmist rumors of a "massacre" to be perpetrated by the British on July 12 circulated widely in the Irish press, but the day passed off very quietly. In Belfast there was the customary parade in honor of the Battle of the Boyne in 1690; for the Orangeman shares with his enemy the Irish Nationalist a deep attachment to the memories of the distant past. Sir Edward Carson made a fiery and uncompromising speech, denouncing the British Government for its weakness in failing to repress Irish municipal and county authorities who had given their allegiance to Sinn Fein, and threatening to mobilize the Ulster Volunteers to supplement the inadequate protection afforded by the British army to the loyalists in Ireland.

A few days later a band of Sinn Feiners raided the Dublin post-office and seized several mail sacks of official correspondence. The next outbreak took place in Cork on the night of July 18. Colonel Smythe, the police commis-



Low in The Star

Doesn't it make you tired?





Keystone View

## THE LOST BULWARK OF VILNA

Before the Bolsheviks captured the city of Vilna from the Poles the defenders mobilized a force of a thousand women to aid the men in holding the city. Here are two of them. The Russians also mobilized women in the famous "Battalion of Death" which made the last stand against Germany in 1917. Apparently the Slavs have never sung "I didn't raise my girl to be a soldier"

sioner, was assassinated and a general riot ensued in which more than a hundred persons were wounded. On July 20 the town of Tuam in County Galway was raided by the military and the town hall wrecked. The outbreak was in retaliation for the murder of two police constables from ambush a few hours earlier. The police raided the town of Kilmallock, near Limerick, a few days later and destroyed several houses. These two incidents show that the infectious spirit of disorder has spread even to those who are supposed to be the guardians of the peace.

But the most serious of all the recent Irish riots took place on July 23 in the suburbs of Belfast. This was not so much a conflict between the police and the mob, tho the police suffered heavily in the attempt to restore order, as a fight between rival mobs of Orangemen and Sinn Feiners. At least half of the blame seems to belong to the Orangemen who attempted to drive the Sinn Feiners out of the city by mass attacks on their homes. The Sinn Feiners responded by sniping at the Orangemen and the police from the housetops. When comparative order had at last been restored four days later seventeen persons had been killed and over two hundred wounded. The police and the soldiers seem to have acted with impartiality.

## Rival Programs for Ireland

**W**HAT, after all, will be done about Irish home rule? Premier Lloyd-George is himself a convinced home ruler. Not only has he made a bill for home rule a part of his legislative program but personally he would willingly agree to a very much more generous grant of Irish self-government than his present proposals embody. Moreover, he is of all living statesmen the least wedded to the details of a program and the readiest to drop a project and take up a new one if it should seem expedient. It is therefore possible to say what the present government program is, but it is impossible to say what it may be tomorrow, except that Lloyd-George will certainly not go so far as to concede Irish independence.

The Labor Party, which contains some of the ablest British statesmen, and a large section of moderate opinion

in Ireland represented by Sir Horace Plunkett, favor the "Dominion plan" which would give Ireland practically the same position within the British Empire now enjoyed by Canada or Australia. Many British Liberals would rally to this plan, perhaps with some "reservations" as to guarantees to Ulster and as to international tariffs.

The Unionist Party, which derives its very name from the desire to maintain the existing union between Great Britain and Ireland, has been converted by Lloyd-George to a moderate measure of home rule. But the party would oppose any plan which gave full self-government to Ireland, under the Dominion plan or any other, unless Ulster were left free to stand outside its scope. Unfortunately for Premier Lloyd-George his parliamentary majority consists largely of the Unionist Party and he cannot go much beyond his present rather limited proposals without alienating his Unionist supporters.

The Sinn Fein position is that Irish self-government is not a thing to be granted but to be acknowledged as already existing. They ask nothing of the British except to evacuate the country. President De Valera has offered one concession; that once the independence of Ireland is conceded a treaty may be made with Great Britain, along the lines of the "Platt amendment" in the Cuban constitution, which would secure Great Britain against the danger that Ireland might ally herself with the foes of Britain or permit foreign powers to establish naval bases at Irish ports.

Still another program, adopted by no party but favored



© Kendal &amp; Herbert

The members of this Sinn Fein court sitting in Cork claim that the justice they dispense is quicker, sharper and more just than that of other courts

by many individuals, is for "home rule all round"; the transformation of the United Kingdom into a federal state in which not only Ireland but Scotland, England and Wales would have their own local legislatures in addition to representation in a common Parliament. Under this plan Ireland would have the same degree of home rule as an American state government. Most Irishmen, however, seem to regard a merely local legislature an inadequate concession to the national sentiment of the country.

## Chinese Militarism

**T**HE decisive defeat of the An-fu faction and its military chief Tuan Chi-jui brings China a step nearer to internal peace. General Tuan Chi-jui resigned his military office and agreed to terms amounting to complete surrender to the Government. All of the rebel forces are to be demobilized, and General Hsu Shu-cheng, the former Resident Commissioner of Inner Mongolia, will be punished for military insubordination if he is captured. It is reported that Tuan Chi-jui attempted to commit suicide after his defeat but was prevented from doing so. Communication between Peking and Tientsin has been restored, and those who have friends in the Chinese capital breathe more easily now that the city has been saved from the danger of an attack.

It is still too early to state with certainty whether the overthrow of the ambitious rebel Tuan Chi-jui will mean a



restoration in China of a stable central government or only a temporary lull in the civil war which under changing forms has afflicted the young republic from its birth. For the moment President Hsu Shih-chang holds the central authority of the nation, but at any time one of his own supporters may stake the strength of a local army in the hope of winning the grand prize of political power.

Perhaps the closest parallel to the political condition of China is afforded by Mexico. If in place of the strange-sounding Chinese names of persons and places we substitute "Villa," "Carranza," "Obregon," "Vera Cruz," "Sonora," it may be easier to picture the internal difficulties of the far eastern republic. In both cases there is a nominally republican and democratic constitution but a population accustomed to tyranny and unused to civic duties. There is the contrast between great undeveloped natural resources, exciting the cupidity of the foreigner, and extreme poverty among the masses of the people. Both republics are too weak to resist conquest but have been saved from complete partition by the attitude of the United States: the Monroe Doctrine having saved Mexico and the Hay Doctrine China. Both countries are victims of a special type of militarism. Militarism in Germany made the nation formidable, for it was organized under a single control and with a single purpose. But the type of militarism which afflicts China and several of the Latin American republics is a source of weakness, since it leads not to the formation of a powerful national army but to rival armies led by ambitious military chieftains against each other. The loyalty of the soldier is given not to the ruler of the nation, as in Germany, or to a political party or program, as in Soviet Russia, or to a religious creed, as in Turkey, but to an individual leader or a provincial faction. Originally, no doubt, there were idealistic elements in the civil wars of both countries; in the republican movement which overthrew the Manchu dynasty in China and the reform movement which overthrew the Diaz dictatorship in Mexico. But in both countries the war of ideas has largely given place to the war of ambitions and rivalries.

## Rebuilding Zion

SIR Herbert Samuel, British High Commissioner for Palestine, has established himself at Jerusalem in the palace built several years ago by the German Kaiser. Great Britain has accepted the mandate for Palestine as protector of the peoples native to the country as well as the Jewish immigrants who plan to rebuild a national state on their ancient soil. On July 12 a Zionist mass meeting in London adopted a resolution of thanks to the British Government and a pledge "to spare no effort of sacrifice for the rebuilding of Palestine as a Jewish national home, in collaboration with the inhabitants of the country." Lord Rothschild presided over the meeting, which was addressed by Mr. Balfour, who championed the Zionist program when Foreign Secretary, and by Mr. Wedgwood, one of the leaders of the Labor Party in Parliament. Max Nordau, the well-known essayist, responded to the expressions of good

will of the British statesmen that "we will watch the Suez Canal for you and be a useful ally if necessary."

The Zionist Conference has held several heated debates over the land question. A resolution was adopted for the gradual acquisition of land on behalf of the Palestine State. A large Socialist minority insisted on complete nationalization from the first with prohibition of private ownership and speculation, but this was defeated by 125 votes to 74. The Socialists later secured the adoption of an amendment requiring all settlers in Palestine, with or without capital, to cultivate the land themselves.

The chief obstacle to the Zionist program is that Palestine has at present only a small minority of Jewish settlers. Nearly all the Jewish element will have to come from immigration. The bulk of the inhabitants are Arabs in speech and Mohammedan in religion and there are also many Christian Syrians and other Christians in various parts of the country. How the present residents of the country will receive the wholesale immigration of Zionists is a problem, and it was largely to prevent friction between the Arabs and the Jews that Great Britain assumed the responsibility of a mandate over Palestine instead of leaving the country entirely independent.

Syria is under French control, and the French are industriously pushing their influence eastward over the Arabs of the interior. General Gouraud has occupied Damascus, formerly the capital of Emir Feisal the Arab King of Syria.

The French allege that Feisal broke the terms of truce agreed on between the French and Arab military forces and thus justified them in attacking Damascus. It is reported that the French will depose Feisal and make Emir Said King of Syria in his stead. Feisal was friendly to the British but hostile to the French; the new King will be virtually subject to a French protectorate.

The French have imposed a fine on the city of Damascus for its share in Emir Feisal's "rebellion."



Keystone View

PRESIDENT OF THE ZIONIST CONGRESS

Justice Brandeis of the Supreme Court has been selected for the greatest honor within the power of his co-religionists to bestow



Il Travaso, Rome

1915—Long Live the King,  
Long Live War



1917—On the Wing



1919—The Failing Wing



1920—The Abandoned Wing  
(Long Live Lenin)



# A Little of Everything



## Instead of Pile-Drivers

**T**HE wooden pile is all very well, as far as it goes; but it does not go far enough. This statement may be taken literally as indicating that the wooden pile is not sufficiently long-lived, and it can also be interpreted as casting aspersions upon the service which it gives while it lasts. In the first case, it is a very expensive business to protect the wooden stick from the attack of the teredo and other marine animals which destroy it; while that section which is alternately wet and dry, owing to tidal ebb and flow, simply cannot be kept from rotting. In the second case, the strength of the wooden pile, aside from the deterioration which it thus suffers, is not what we would like to have it if we could have our way.

The obvious answer to these objections, in this age of steel and stone, is a pile of reinforced concrete. But this, too, has its drawbacks. It is strong enough for the most exacting requirements, once we get it safely in place; but the driving of it is a delicate undertaking. It does not possess the longitudinal fibrous structure of the wooden pile, which enables the latter to submit to the terrific pounding of the pile-driver without any damage other than mushrooming of its top—which of course is a matter of indifference. The concrete pile, when it yields at all to this punishing series of blows, either crumbles rapidly away into dust at the point of impact, or—even worse—splits lengthwise for a whole or a part of its length. This, of course, is something that must be overcome before the concrete pile can hope to replace its wooden predecessor.

One very interesting means of achieving safe driving of the concrete pile has just been developed out in the middle western states. It consists in making the pile drive itself, with the aid of jets of water. To understand how this is done, it is necessary first to realize that by far the greater portion of the resistance to the pile's progress downward thru the soft bottom is due, not to the unwillingness of the mud to submit to the direct penetration of the point of the pile, but rather to the clinging action of the material in contact with the pile's sides. In other words, the friction to be overcome is more skin friction than it is head friction—just as is the case with a boat passing thru the water. The pile is given separate means of subduing the two kinds of resistance which it thus meets.

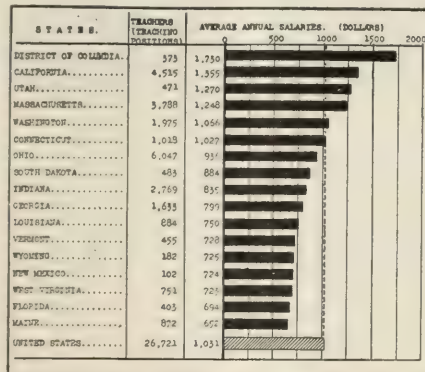
For the head resistance, there is a two-inch pipe leading right thru the center of the pile, from top to point.



© Kautel & Herbert

## NICE MONSTER

Tame now that he is turned to stone is this prehistoric reptile in the Crystal Palace grounds in London, but who would have liked to meet him in an alley on a dark night before he became fossilized?



The World's Work

Do you know that the average high school teacher in the United States earns a yearly salary of only \$1031? The highest average in salaries is paid by the District of Columbia, \$1750 annually, the lowest by Maine, \$652 a year. The chart above was based on the salaries for 1917-18 of 26,721 high school teachers in sixteen states and the District of Columbia. Practically no salaries have been raised since then

The pile is put in position and water is pumped thru this pipe. The sand and mud are washed out from immediately beneath the point of the pile, and the pile sinks into the vacant space thus left. So far as the overcoming of the head resistance is concerned, this action goes on until the pile reaches the desired depth and the water is turned off.

The more formidable skin friction against the sides of the pile is again overcome by hydraulic action. Outside the two-inch pipe there is a four-inch one, which, however, does not go clear to the bottom of the pile. Its outlet is

thru a large number of small jets that lead out thru the pile on all sides to its surfaces, where their mouths turn slightly upward. The water pumped thru the outer pipe thus passes out these side jets and forms a sort of lubricating film along the surface of the pile, freeing it from the pinch of the material thru which it is being sunk. At the same time these side jets aid in passing to the top of the hole such material as is displaced by the sinking pile. The latter, it must be emphasized, goes down solely by its own weight, the water jets relieving it of the pressure from below and from the sides which would otherwise prevent this from happening.

## A New Way to Vote

The northwestern quarter of the United States is a sort of sociological laboratory for the nation. The Northwestern States have been the first to experiment with direct legislation—that is, legislation initiated by the people themselves by means of petitions and endorsed or rejected by popular vote—direct nomination of candidates for political office, recall of public officials before their terms expire by popular vote, woman suffrage, state industrial accident insurance, etc. Thus the propaganda in the state of Oregon of a group calling itself the "People's Power League" for an amendment to the state's constitution providing that the legislature be based upon occupational instead of geographical representation, doesn't surprise the people of the Eastern and Middle States. They would not be greatly surprised if the measure became law—



tho that seems highly improbable—but would watch the experiment with more amusement than curiosity, ready to say, "We told you so!" if it failed.

The amendment seeks to place representation in the legislature upon an occupational basis by assigning for each one-hundredth of the whole number of legal voters in the state, who are registered as engaged in a particular occupation, one representative. It would abolish the Senate and have one house of one hundred members. The Governor and all executive and administrative officers would be elected by this house, be responsible to it, and recalled when the house thinks necessary. The Governor would be shorn of his veto power and thus deprived of any legislative function. The Governor may order the dissolution of the legislature, or 30,000 voters may, upon pe-

tition, order a vote to dissolve the legislature, and if carried by a majority of the voters a new election is held.

It is estimated that, based upon the census of 1910, the representation under this plan would place the following in the legislature:

Fourteen farmers, fourteen farm housewives, five farm laborers, four tenant workers, three merchants, two manufacturers, seven railroad and other transportation workers, three male clerks and salesmen, five loggers and sawmill workers, three professional men, twenty town dwelling housewives, two women factory workers, three women clerks, saleswomen, stenographers and school teachers, one for cooks and waiters, one for fishermen, one for actors and other theatrical employees, one for domestic and personal service.

## Give the Hogs a Fish Course

The common domestic pig will never be able to write a book on table manners, but he knows how to order a meal as well as any one. He is in a fair way to demand a fish course to supplement his salad and vegetable diet. He will take his fish in the form of fish meal, the refined by-product made from sound, wholesome raw material at the sardine, tuna, and salmon canneries, or from the menhaden.

The fish meal is not to be confused with "fish scrap," a coarser by-product much used for fertilizer; the meal is made from clean, sound material and is intended to be used as food for cattle and hogs. Formerly, the cannery waste was all made into "scrap" for fertilizer purposes, but the Bureau of Chemistry, United States Department of Agriculture, knowing the extremely high protein content of the scrap, has been active in converting this material into a high grade protein feed. The cleaned, selected portion is ground to a fine,

palatable meal which may be used to replace tankage in hog, poultry, or dairy rations.

Fish meal has been recommended as a supplementary ration before now, but popular prejudice against a badly prepared product has discouraged its use. The Department of Agriculture has proved by feeding experiments that fish meal equals the high-priced tankage as a ration ingredient, and better methods of selecting and milling have removed the causes of prejudice.

The oil content of the meal adds materially to its feeding value. So far the experiments have shown that the meal does not taint the animal product, whether it be pork, butter, eggs, or milk. Moreover, by diverting the fish meals to his animals instead of supplying it directly to his land as fertilizer, the farmer loses but a trifle of its fertilizing value and gains its entire feeding value—thus making the material yield two profits in the place of one.

## Is Your Town Safer Than St. Louis?

St. Louis lays formal claim to the honor of being the safest big city in the United States. Coroner Vitt proudly produces figures to show that in 1919 with a population of 922,000 and with 48,000 automobiles on the city streets there were fewer accidents than in 1901 with only 604,000 inhabitants and not a single automobile. Most of the improvement was made during the last two years as the result of an active safety first campaign by the St. Louis local of the National Safety Council. During the two years from 1917 to 1919 the number of deaths from railway accidents decreased from fifty to twenty-three, street car accidents from thirty-two to twenty-seven, industrial accidents from 110 to forty-two.

On the other hand the number killed by automobiles increased from seventy-nine to ninety-seven, tho this is scarcely to be wondered at in view of the fact that the number of automobile licenses granted in the city increased by 50 per cent during the same period.

In ten other cities the National Safety Council is now conducting an intensive safety first campaign. Cleveland, Cincinnati, New York, Buffalo, Rochester, Pittsburgh, Kansas City, Minneapolis, Wilmington and Portland, Oregon, hope thus to overtake the St. Louis record and "show the Missourians" where to get off. But some of them have a long handicap to overcome. The report of the Chief Medical Examiner of New York City, for example, shows 4173 deaths from accidents in the city during the fiscal year of 1918-19; 1128 of these were highway accidents. The number of mortalities for which the automobile is responsible increased in New York from 335 in 1915 to 702 in 1919, which is more than doubling the score in four years.

There is more than jest in the anxious mother's warning: "Children you may play on the railroad tracks till tea time, but don't go on the street or the automobiles will get you!"

## Typing Is Hard Work

Not all users of typewriters realize how great is the quantity of energy that goes to waste in typewriting, in fact experiments prove that typing is harder work than coal-heaving.

If a typist is locked up in a calorimeter (an apparatus for measuring heat generated by the body) it will be found that at the expiration of two hours' continual work the consumption of heat generated is sufficient to bring twenty gallons of iced water to 212 degrees Fahrenheit, or the boiling point.

It is not the weight of the folios on which the typing is printed or the psychological effect produced by the typing that is involved, but the actual weight that must be brought to bear on the keys.

A better realization of this will be grasped when it is mentioned that to print a letter or figure even faintly requires a force of upward of twelve



Wide World

Come "over the hills and far away" to fields where cattle graze and the air is fragrant, beckons this signpost in Germany. But how about those ruined fields in France and Belgium on which he turns his back?





## Crane Service is as Broad as the Market

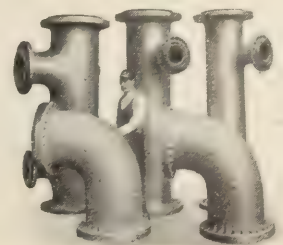
Specifying Crane equipment for a heating or plumbing installation insures high quality and serviceability not only in the visible fittings, but also in the hidden piping, where lack of reliability might soon jeopardize the whole system.

This standard of service is equally important whether the builder is interested in a home, hotel, apartment, office building, factory, hospital or other public institution. It is equally easy to obtain, too, for buildings of all sizes and types, because the Crane source of supply is as broad as the market.

In addition to providing, through the trade, proper fixtures for every requirement of heating, plumbing and sanitation, Crane Service gives ample choice of design to satisfy individual tastes.

We are manufacturers of about 20,000 articles, including valves, pipe fittings and steam specialties, made of brass, iron, ferrosteel, cast steel and forged steel, in all sizes, for all pressures and all purposes and are distributors of pipe, heating and plumbing materials.

That the demands of Industry are as fully met by Crane Service as those of the homebuilder is strikingly indicated by the accompanying photo of Crane steel elbows and manifolds. Compare their size with the figure of the worker.



THERE IS A NEARBY CRANE BRANCH TO GIVE YOU CRANE SERVICE

# CRANE CO.

836 S. MICHIGAN AVE. CHICAGO

VALVES-PIPE FITTINGS-SANITARY FIXTURES

CRANE EXHIBIT ROOMS

23 WEST 44TH ST. AND 22 WEST 45TH ST. NEW YORK CITY

TO WHICH THE PUBLIC IS CORDIALLY INVITED

BRANCHES: FIFTY-SEVEN LEADING CITIES • WORKS: CHICAGO, BRIDGEPORT

SAVANNAH  
ATLANTA  
KNOXVILLE  
BIRMINGHAM  
MEMPHIS  
LITTLE ROCK  
MUSKOGEE  
TULSA  
OKLAHOMA CITY  
WICHITA  
ST. LOUIS  
KANSAS CITY  
TERRE HAUTE  
CINCINNATI  
INDIANAPOLIS  
DETROIT  
CHICAGO  
ROCKFORD  
DULUTH  
OSHKOSH  
GRAND RAPIDS

ST. PAUL  
MINNEAPOLIS  
FARGO

SACRAMENTO  
OAKLAND  
SAN FRANCISCO  
WATERTOWN

DAVENPORT  
DES MOINES  
OMAHA  
SIOUX CITY  
LOS ANGELES

PORTLAND  
POCATELLO  
SALT LAKE CITY  
OGDEN

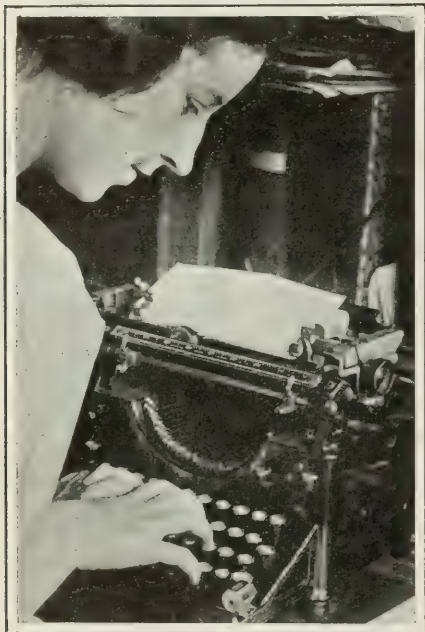
BOSTON  
SPRINGFIELD  
BRIDGEPORT  
NEW YORK  
BROOKLYN  
PHILADELPHIA  
NEWARK  
CAMDEN  
BALTIMORE  
WASHINGTON  
ALBANY  
SYRACUSE  
BUFFALO  
ROCHESTER  
ABERDEEN  
GREAT FALLS  
BILLINGS  
SPOKANE  
SEATTLE  
TACOMA



ounces. The key, however, will then vibrate but gently, so that to get a clear-cut impression, increased weight must be applied.

What this force represents when the calculation is extended to a day's work is both startling and suggestive.

A typist dealing with an average of fifty letters per day, with say ten



© Kadel & Herbert

An automatic device on this typewriter, of especial interest to authors, registers the number of words the typist has written, but wouldn't it be more to the point if it harnessed the heat she had generated in the process?

lines to the folio, and eighty letters, stops or spaces to the line, expends enough energy to displace nearly thirteen and a half tons of coal.

Of course, this huge bulk need only be raised a twentieth part of an inch for the twentieth part of a second.

If it were only possible to harness this power we should have the principle of the keyboard applied to machinery, when even the weakest could, in a short time, tap from the points of their fingers force enough to move the heaviest obstacles.

## Stubs

The state of Maine is one hundred years old.

\*\*\*

There are 3000 coöperative associations in the United States.

\*\*\*

Texas leads all other states in the value of farm crops produced.

\*\*\*

Our trade with Asiatic countries has increased five-fold since 1913.

\*\*\*

There are 520,000 war widows and 1,130,000 war orphans in Germany.

\*\*\*

In New York City there are 1,700,000 persons speaking foreign languages.

\*\*\*

The United States is exporting more than \$50,000 worth of artificial teeth each month.

\*\*\*

There are just about the same number of rats in the United States as there are human beings, says the agricultural census.

\*\*\*

The Wisconsin College Laboratory has discovered a way of feeding hydrolyzed sawdust to cows, and they seem to thrive on it.

\*\*\*

It is estimated that strikes during 1919 cost the nation \$1,975,000,000; \$750,000,000 of this was lost in wages, the rest was direct and indirect injury to production.

\*\*\*

James B. Evans, elevator operator of the Washington Monument, has traveled more than 50,000 miles during the past thirty-two years. He claims to hold the world's record for distance traveled in a straight up and down direction.

## The Presidential Handicap

Are there "naturally" more Republicans or Democrats in the United States? In any given presidential election special causes may induce Democrats to support the Republican ticket, or *vice versa*. So we have added all the votes cast for presidential electors in the sixteen presidential elections from 1856 to 1916 inclusive with the following result:

Republican votes cast—81,797,035.

Democratic votes cast—75,998,370.

The Douglas and Breckenridge factions of 1860 are here included as being all Democrats and the Taft and Roosevelt supporters of 1912 as being

Republicans, but the vote of no other third party is counted in these totals. Apparently the American public in the long run is almost equally divided between the two parties with a slight advantage to the Republicans, which does not wholly disappear even if we deduct the Progressive vote of 1912. But the handicap is so slight that the donkey has almost as good a chance in any particular election as if he started with the elephant at scratch.

## The Underdone Paleface

Paul Kanamori, the Japanese evangelist, in preaching Christianity to his fellow-countrymen cracks a little joke at the expense of the white races, which may help us to see ourselves as others see us:

All human beings are of the same form, just as all the rice crackers cut out by the same cutter are the same, altho there may be a difference in color, according to the degree of baking. Some are baked too much and become black as Africans. Some are not quite done and are pale as the white race. While some are baked *just enough* and are colored like the yellow people!

## The Horsepower of a Horse

The horsepower is not the same thing as the power of a horse. It is an arbitrary mechanical unit of 33,000 foot-pounds per minute, which is equivalent to the work a horse would do if pulling 150 pounds on his traces while walking two and a half miles an hour. Professor Carter of the North Carolina State College of Agriculture points out that for a full day's work the average horse can pull only about three-fourths of one horsepower. For a few minutes at a time, however, as in starting a load or going over a bad spot of ground, a horse is capable of developing two or three horsepower.

This brings out very well the difference between mechanical power and living matter. A power-driven machine operates in a consistent, uniform fashion which is most convenient for industrial purposes. But it cannot surpass itself by a sudden burst of effort and tap hidden sources of strength when confronted by a particularly difficult task.



© Kadel & Herbert

FAITHFUL TO THE END

Wounded, gassed and sick, these horses are going back to the line, as did their masters, to stop a few more German bullets with their patient and suffering bodies. H. Hazeltine, the American sculptor, has caught the spirit of their sacrifice in his group in the Luxemburg Museum



## A Change of Frontiers

(Continued from page 141)

are to us what Jefferson and Jackson were to the Europe of a century ago. It is not to be denied that the experiment in parliamentary democracy which western and central Europe are making is a dangerous one. Our democracy operates thru an elaborate political mechanism in which a Senate elected in one manner checks a House chosen in another, a President elected in a third fashion balances both, and a judiciary enthroned on an almost unalterable written constitution oversees the whole. In comparison the present constitutions of Britain, France, Germany and the new republics of central and eastern Europe are almost as simple and informal as the Town Meeting of old New England or the Vigilance Committee rule in California of the fifties.

Property qualifications for the vote used to be general in European countries with a few recent exceptions, but today they exist in few places outside Russia, where by the strangest of political paradoxes it is the possession and not the absence of a substantial income which debars one from active citizenship. The sex qualification has disappeared thruout northern Europe, even in Germany, the most anti-feminist of the nations. Universal adult suffrage is supplemented pretty generally by proportional representation in the new constitutions. Kings, aristocracies, upper chambers have largely disappeared.

Europe is also experimenting in the economic field; a bankrupt society must. With our abundance of land we have no present need to imitate the radical agrarian legislation now dissolving the landlordism which before the war dominated European political and social life; but our industrial problems are sufficiently similar to those of Europe to make it worth our while to study the experiments in government ownership, tax reform and labor legislation now being made across the Atlantic.

If we should pick a hint or two from European political or economic experiment we need not fear that this commits us to the whole program of revolution or will involve us in the misery and unrest of the Old World. For the Old World is still weighed down by its legacy of religious and national hatreds and it combines the material hardships of a primitive community with the social problems of the most complex civilization. Unlike our own Frontier it is overpopulated for its resources. European democracy is growing in the midst of the ruins of European oligarchy, and the ruins still hamper the new growth. It is easier to build a modern city on the virgin prairie than amid the broken towers of Babylon. In the end, whatever aid we extend to Europe, the gain may rest with us. If Dives had taken more interest in Lazarus he might have gleaned some useful knowledge from the sorrowful experiences of the latter.



## A thousand separate joys

Each serving dish of Puffed Grains contains a thousand separate joys.

Each grain is a bubble, thin and flimsy, puffed to eight times normal size.

A hundred million steam explosions have occurred in each, blasting every food cell.

The airy globules are crisp and toasted. They taste like nut-meats puffed. The morsels seem like fairy foods, almost too good to eat.

Yet these are the utmost in scientific foods. Two are whole grains, with every food cell fitted to digest. They are the foods that children like best, and the best foods they can get.

Serve with cream and sugar. Mix with your berries. Float in every bowl of milk. Crisp and douse with melted butter for hungry children in the afternoon.

They are nothing but grain foods. The nutty flavor comes from toasting. The flimsy texture comes from steam explosions. The delights are all due to scientific methods.

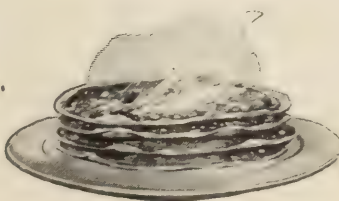
Serve morning, noon and night in summer, between meals and at bedtime. The more children eat the better. What other food compares with whole grains puffed?

**Puffed  
Wheat**

**Puffed  
Rice**

**Corn  
Puffs**

Also Puffed Rice Pancake Flour



### The new pancakes

Now we have Puffed Rice Pancake Flour, self-raising, mixed with ground Puffed Rice. The Puffed Rice flour tastes like nut-flour, and it makes the pancakes fluffy. This new mixture makes the finest pancakes that you ever tasted. Try it.

**The Quaker Oats Company**

Sole Makers



# Uncle Sam Chooses His Chauffeur

(Continued from page 136)

take the car away from home; oh, never! They both said they would drive just like Theodore, but each of them was a little uncertain about the other's driving. Hiram said Leonard was extravagant and would set a bad example, and Leonard didn't like Hiram's ways a bit.

So the boys that didn't like Woodrow's driving got together the ones that wanted Leonard, and the ones that wanted Hiram, and they told each other a lot of things about what they would do when they got the kind of chauffeur they wanted. They had a very good time; they carried around banners and they sang songs and they shouted for Hiram and for Leonard. And whenever they talked about Woodrow's driving they agreed perfectly, but after a while it began to appear that the thing they couldn't agree on was whether they should ask Uncle Sam to engage Hiram or Leonard for chauffeur.

So after they had discussed it a long time and found that they couldn't agree on either one, some one suggested that they take Warren. Then everybody said that was exactly the thing to do. Warren drove just as different from the way Woodrow did as either of the others.

Now, Warren had not learned to drive from Theodore. He said he learned to drive from William, who was one of Uncle's earlier chauffeurs. Warren said he could drive just like William, and he was sure that was what people wanted. But Warren forgot that William used to drive a two-cylinder car for Uncle. Hardly any of the family except Uncle expected to have anything to do with the car then, Aunt Samantha least of all. Just suppose that Warren does try to drive like William! Let us hope he won't.

While the boys were deciding on a chauffeur, they picked out a model for the new car. They always do that when they choose a new chauffeur, and usually there is argument over it.

Aunt Samantha is taking an interest this time. She didn't use to have much to say about the chauffeur; she generally looked after the children, but lately she has found that the way the chauffeur drives and the model of the car have a great deal to do with the safety of the children. So she has been asking Uncle Sam for quite a while to put a self-starter on the car so she can help drive it. He's agreed to do it now, and the boys have all approved of it. That is unusual. Generally, when one bunch likes a thing about a car, another doesn't—just on principle, you might say.

But this time they both said the self-starter was fine, and each of them pointed with pride to the part they had taken in urging Uncle to put one on the car.

After a while the boys who liked Woodrow's driving got together. They said they would like a chauffeur that drove like Woodrow and a 1920 Wilson model for the car. It was a nice car and every one was pleased, and things were

going nicely when William Jennings came in with some new accessories he wanted them to use.

William Jennings had never been a chauffeur, but lots of the boys had wanted him, and he had had so much to do with equipping Uncle's cars in times past that some people thought he ought to be made permanent purchasing agent. Uncle usually refused the car that he picked out, but quite often he put on the accessories that he had suggested, afterward.

This time he was chiefly interested in a contrivance that would prevent the water in the radiator from boiling. He said a great many of the accidents and the bad conditions that were making Uncle Sam so much trouble were due to the lack of cold water. The boys were not enthusiastic about attaching this contrivance to the car. They said Uncle Sam had posted a notice in the garage that water in the radiator must not be allowed to boil, and that was enough. It was the duty of the chauffeur to see that Uncle's rules were obeyed. So they turned down William Jennings' steam gage and all other accessories that he wanted them to use; they were sure it would spoil the car to use them.

Then Bourke came in with an accessory that he thought would help the car immensely. He said Uncle Sam had posted his order that the radiator must be kept cool, so of course that would be done. What Uncle Sam told them to do would be done, so they needn't think any more about that. But he said that every one knew, of course, that because of speed and other things a radiator couldn't always be kept from boiling, and the engine worked best when the radiator was hot, anyway.

Uncle Sam had said in the notice he posted in the garage that the chauffeurs who drove the small cars should collaborate with his chauffeur and always see that the radiators were kept cool. Bourke said that of course they could not collaborate, so what Uncle Sam meant was that every one should look after his own car and decide just how hot to let the radiator get. He said that was the only reasonable thing, so that must have been what Uncle meant. And while of course they were going to do exactly as Uncle said—he was the one to say, of course—still, when Uncle told them to do something they couldn't do, why, the only way to obey was to do just as they pleased. That was the way Uncle's other orders had always been obeyed, and of course they would always obey Uncle, but that was the only way they could do it. So he had a gage that would let the chauffeur let the radiator get as hot as he wanted it to, but it would always look just right. He thought it would save a great deal of trouble, so they had better put it on the car. But that didn't quite suit the other boys, so they decided to keep the car just as they had it, and not use any of these contrivances.

Some of them wanted an Irish spark

plug, but they decided against it. Carter and some of the others who were picking out the car had their hearts set on a smooth running car, for they thought that was what Uncle wanted; they weren't going to put on anything that would make it jump and bounce. They knew it was a great deal better than Warren's, and they wanted to convince Uncle of it.

So then they started in to pick out the chauffeur. There was Mitchell, who was especially strong on safety devices; he had been working pretty close to Uncle and ought to know about what he wanted. There was William Gibbs, who had been running Uncle's delivery trucks, and had kept Uncle's books for a while, too. Lots of the boys thought he would be fine. Warren's friends said the way he ran those trucks was a fright and that Uncle wouldn't think of having him for a chauffeur, but the boys who had worked for him said he was all right and that Uncle couldn't do better. Lots of the others said so, too. William Gibbs said he didn't want the job very much; the work was too hard, and Uncle didn't pay enough anyway. He said they had nearly killed Woodrow at it, and he didn't want to be killed, and scolded into the bargain.

Then there was James, too, who had been running a smaller car for quite a while, so he had had a good deal of practice, and they said the way he had run that one showed that he was a good chauffeur. Some of them still had their hearts set on that radiator gage of Bourke's; they said James had been using one and had got so he could run his all the time at boiling point, tho the rules said 80°. I do not know whether that is true or not.

Well, some liked one and some another, so they sang songs and carried banners, and talked back and forth for a long time. After a while Mitchell said he didn't want the job, anyway; he was too busy as it was. James' friends had said right along that he was the only man for the place, and they kept saying it, so pretty soon everybody agreed that he was the very man. For one thing, he lived next door to Warren, and they could watch each other and see that neither of them got the inside track with Uncle unfairly, and the rest of the boys could go home and look after their own business, which by this time needed them badly. So they chose Franklin for assistant to James. He had been helping James run Uncle's motor boat, so they thought the practice he had had would make him a good assistant.

Now everybody is waiting to see how the cat will jump. Uncle Sam has got his hands in his pockets and his hat on the back of his head, and he is whistling thru his teeth as tho he is thinking. Aunt Samantha is tending pretty closely to her knitting, but she's got her eye on the self-starter and not a soul knows what Aunt Samantha will do.

Berkeley, California



## To Get Enough to Eat

(Continued from page 139)

perament to accept with resignation higher prices for a long time to come.

As regards the home produce we are steadily moving toward complete freedom for the British farmer. Two factors operate strongly in favor of this policy. In the first place, there is a general feeling that restriction of prices is not the right way to encourage the increased production which we need, and in the second place, it is recognized that prices of home produce have got to stand at a much higher level in future if the farm laborer is to be paid the greatly increased wages which he now enjoys. The wages of farm laborers in some cases are three and a half times above their pre-war level.

As regards some of the principal foodstuffs for which we are dependent upon foreign countries, sugar at present is perhaps the most hopeless. The world's production of sugar is still over three million tons short. The consumption is increasing in the United States, and the restoration of the sugar beet industry in Central Europe, upon which we formerly relied for the bulk of our supplies, is not to be hoped for in the near future. The difficulties with which the German food controller has to contend may be illustrated by the fact that last year of four and a half million tons of sugar beet grown in Germany a million tons were left to rot upon the fields for want of labor. The restoration of agricultural production in Germany is rendered very uncertain by the break up of agricultural estates which has followed the war, and the impossibility of obtaining the Polish and Russian labor upon which Germany largely relied for cultivation.

As regards wheat, it is too early for us to estimate with any confidence what next year's supplies will be. While a cloud of uncertainty hangs over the position in a large part of Eastern and Central Europe, it is quite clear that political conditions in those areas are not, to put it mildly, such as to encourage hopes of an early resumption of normal supplies.

With regard to meat we are in one respect in a fortunate position. We have large stocks of colonial mutton, the delivery of which was first suspended and afterward delayed by shipping difficulties during and after the war. At the same time British people have unexpectedly failed to resume their normal consumption of meat. There was a time during the war when meat was very short in these islands—when, indeed, one modest joint on Sunday was about all the meat supply for the week which a family could obtain, when there were meatless days in the restaurants, and fish was the staple article of diet. During that period the meat eating habit of the British people seems to have been permanently lessened, and today we are still eating only about three pounds of meat for every four which we used to eat in the days before the war.

Critics of the Ministry of Food are



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fond of telling me from time to time that the sure economic remedy for high prices and short supplies is to allow prices to rise so as to stimulate production, and by increasing supplies ultimately bring about a lower level of prices. There is no doubt that this is a perfectly sound economic doctrine, but there are one or two objections to its operation when you come to the people's food. While the high prices are stimulating production they may be starving the poorer citizen, and if they do not have that result they are at any rate certain to have another result which is by no means desirable. Every rise in the cost of living is sooner or later, and generally sooner, reflected in demands for fresh increases of wages in all the standard industries of this country. As regards some trade, for example the railwaymen, they are automatically entitled under their wage agreements, to a rise of wages when the cost of living rises. An increase of one penny per pound in the price of sugar means an increase of ten thousand pounds a week to the railway wages bill, and when the workers whose wages are fixed upon a sliding scale of this kind obtain an advance of wages it naturally does not stop there. The result is that a penny rise in the price of sugar may mean an increase to the total wages bill of the country of anything from thirteen million pounds a year.

Food prices are far and away the most important part of the cost of living to the working class family. A rise in the cost of food prices which may be purely temporary means a corresponding rise in wages which will either be permanent or will probably involve serious industrial disturbances when the time comes for taking it back. These constant rises in the wages bill of this country consequent upon the cost of living, have added at least five hundred million pounds to the wages bill of the country as it stood at the beginning of 1918. That increase of wages necessarily increases the cost of production of every commodity, and thereby brings about further increase of the cost of living, followed by further demands for higher wages. It is therefore a somewhat hazardous experiment to allow food prices to rise if they can in any way be checked in the hope that high prices will ultimately destroy themselves.

Since 1917, when the Ministry of Food was created, it may be said that the rise of food prices in the United Kingdom has proceeded at a less rapid rate than in almost any other country in the world. The rise in food prices today in this country may be put at 155 per cent compared with pre-war standards. The corresponding figures for the United States are 107 per cent, for France 220 per cent, for Italy (Milan) 345 per cent, for Norway 198 per cent, and for Sweden 194 per cent. Every ten points rise saved for the British consumer means a saving on our national food budget of ninety million pounds. The cost of the Ministry of Food has been continuously and sub-

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stantially reduced in the last three years. In 1918 it was costing the country four and a half millions. Today its cost is little more than a million, which is equivalent to a charge of a halfpenny per week for every British household. I venture to think that the British consumer gets excellent value for that halfpenny.

London.

## What We Owe the Farmer

(Continued from page 140)

and coöperation. He is going to apply scientific principles to production, more and more. He is going to keep books on the farm and manage it for strictly accounted profits as a going business. These things he can and will do for himself. There are other things in which the whole nation must help. The nation must see that tillable land is not held out of use. Tenantry must be discouraged and ownership encouraged. Land in the new states must be made available, unavailable land must be reclaimed, and every effort made to stimulate agriculture. And values must be kept honest, markets must be public and unmanipulated, and the channels of trade kept free from charges for services not performed.

In brief this nation must come to the serious realization of the fact that the highest economic condition in the world is found in the occupying owner of a fair-sized farm.

A square deal to the farmer means a square deal to the Republic. The prosperity of the nation will not permanently rise above the level of the prosperity of the farmer. In that direction lie light, liberty and the perfect democracy.

Washington D. C.

## Why Mary Smith Wants to Work at Filene's

(Continued from page 138)

select are responsible to them and must come back to them for reflection, and if the voters don't like their representatives they simply won't vote for them again. If the store force wants information and their representatives don't give it to them, it is up to them to put in representatives who will do what they want."

"But," says B, "look at the difference between the way they act about the director business and the eagerness with which they scramble for seats on the Board of Arbitration. There they have four salesgirls, one salesman, one merchandize man, one buyer, the head of the telephone girls, a girl member of the educational force of the store, a minor executive and a store detective. There is where their heart is—in the Board of Arbitration, not in the Board of Directors. The employees don't want to run the business."

"On the other hand," says A, "the firm considers this Board of Arbitration a real efficiency board. It is here that you get a lot of the skeletons in the closet—the secrets that the firm



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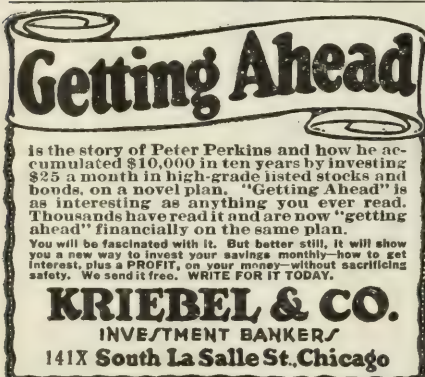
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## THE INDEPENDENT

311 Sixth Avenue New York

and the Board of Directors can't get at. They have to depend on the Arbitration Board to give them information and advice about the weak spots in the store management, and after they've had a little taste of it, these board members who engaged in such a scramble for office, become pretty well sobered. They begin to feel a heavy weight on them and to move as cautiously as if they really were on the Board of Directors."

Let it go at that. Anyhow, Filene's have the two big things that are advocated these days for labor participation in management. They have the so-called Arbitration Board, which is misnamed, for there is no representative of the employers on the board and no provision for calling in a disinterested party to arbitrate. It is elected solely by the employees and is the final authority in the store on every question affecting any or all employees. It is more than collective bargaining, or collective government, it is a Supreme Court of Employees. And, in addition, employees have four of the nine members of the Board of Directors.

How are Filene's going to be rated when the roll of industrial government is called? Have we here simply a "company union" founded by enthusiastic employers and tolerated by indifferent employees? Is the whole thing a trick to get more and better work out of the employees, or does it flow from a real desire to hasten self-government in industry? Is there any real democracy here? If you should take away the two Filenes and the other managers, could the employees keep the business going as it ought to go?

That is asking a good deal. You must remember that this is a big specialty store. A large percentage of the employees are women—girls who are young and love to dance and play and look for husbands, and women who no longer dance and play and whose first and last thought is to keep the job, in order that they may care for those who are dependent on them; all of them women who long for the beautiful things which they pass daily across the counter to those who can afford to buy them. It is no easy or brief task to stir the ambition of these women to the point where they thrill at the thought of sharing in the management of a great business.

Anyhow, do they need democracy and self-government when they have such democratic management? Efficiency here is evidently a by-product of health and happiness. But even the democracy here started from above, is not the democratic attitude of management a reflection of the democracy of the whole store? Altho the Board of Arbitration has actually at times reinstated employees whose dismissal has been approved by the management, the management say now that the board was right, and it was a good thing for them, as individuals, to be overruled by the employees collectively. They had made a mistake, and they were protected in

the store against their own mistakes. Surely it would seem that almost any manager would cultivate and acquire a winning personality toward employees if they had a veto on him like that.

Further light, perhaps, may be thrown upon some of these questions by the attitude of some of the leaders in a matter which has received a great deal of attention of late, namely, the question of affiliation with national labor organizations. Several departments in the concern, including the factory, are already affiliated with national labor unions. The Filenes recognize these unions and make agreements with them. The company is apparently taking no stand on the question whether the F. C. A. shall join the Federation of Labor. It leaves the employees to settle it among themselves. Discussions are heated. The heat is not spent, however, upon the spirit and object of national unions, with which Filene employees seem to be in entire sympathy. The agreement against affiliation is entirely a local one; namely, that with their own F. C. A. they can obtain more than they can obtain thru any other union; that the F. C. A. is *really in advance of any union*. Affiliated with an outside union, they would be held down to its level, which is a lower level than the one which they have achieved. The problem as seen by the Filene employee is to wake up and use the power he has and not trade it off before he has discovered its value and learn to make the most of it.

If you study all the machinery of organization on paper, you may get the idea that here is Industrial Democracy personified. If you look only at the record of social activities, you may conclude that here is simply another "company union" made up of employees who are indifferent to their own real interests. You see a scattering of energy, a great deal of activity spent upon having a good time which you might think could be spent to greater advantage upon the vital problems of greater efficiency in sales and fairer distribution. But you see, also, if you make a fair analysis of the place, that in spite of distractions, there is here much greater attention given to these fundamental problems than in other places where the pursuit of happiness seems to be lacking. It seems logical that if they were a little less gay, they might accomplish more to their own interest. The only trouble with the idea is, that in other places where they are less gay, they do not seem to have accomplished as much! Whatever else one may say of the men and women at Filene's, they are a lively group and they at least have leaders who are far more alive to their own interests than are the average sales people. Of the employers it is pretty safe to say that while health and happiness of the employees is with them a great object, they are intensely interested in the development of self-government in the store.

Madison, Wisconsin.



# The Independent

## Just a Word

Even in the heat of a Presidential campaign year the man who plays the game of baseball gets more headline space and more applause than those who play the game of politics. But perhaps that is because there is no leader so preëminent in statesmanship as Babe Ruth is in the art of batting the ball. His forty-one home runs so far this year have furnished the fans with a record crops of thrills; millions worship his hitting powers, but comparatively few know much of the man himself. In an interview with the Home Run King, published in this issue of *The Independent*, Sidney Reid tells the story of Ruth's rise to fame and gives us a glimpse of the personality behind the bat.

## Pebbles

Patron (at theater)—Why are the prices lower for seats in the gallery?  
Ticket Seller—Because they're higher.—*Panther*.

She—Who taught you to do the two-step so well?

He—My two step-sisters.—*Williams Purple Cow*.

Pardon me, but haven't I seen you somewhere before?

Possibly. I've been there.—*The Wisconsin Octopus*.

Dyer—Is your new car a good hill climber?

Ryer—Yes, but it is better at running up a garage bill.—*Judge*.

Blue Sash—You don't mind my singing, do you?

Blue Jeans—Not at all; I work in a sawmill.—*Columbia Jester*.

Chaperon—Why did you tell him you had to go to the dressing room for some cold cream?

Co-ed—I had to do something to get the chap off my hands.—*Siren*.

IN 1955

Little Willie—Father, what does "high ball" mean?

Father—Er—I don't know, Willie. Better ask grandpa.—*Kreolite News*.

The husband sent home the valuable parrot, his wife cooked it for dinner. When the indignant husband said the parrot could talk five languages and was worth \$100, the wife replied: "Why didn't he say something?"—*New York American*.

"How are you getting on with your study in English?" inquired Li Hung Chang of the Chinese emperor. "Have you learned your A B Cs?"

"No," was the reply. "I haven't got that far along. I'm not out of I. O. Us yet, and I'm flabbergasted by the H. C. Ls."—*New York Globe*.

The man who had gone into a barber shop which had a sign "First Class Hair Cut, 25c" was righteously indignant when the barber charged him half a dollar.

"How do you explain that?" he asked, pointing to the sign.

"Ah, but you haven't first class hair!" said the Irish barber.—*American News Trade Journal*.

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FRANK CRANE—All men want to be fair. That is, nearly all.

JOHN BURROUGHS—Why does a bird's tail come out easily?

SIR THOMAS LIPTON—I have been beaten by a better boat.

SENATOR HARDING—My office has become a great listening post.

FANNIE HURST—This is a great life if you know how to dress for it.

REV GEORGE CHALMERS RICHMOND—Wall Street would crucify Jesus.

WINSTON CHURCHILL—A Bolshevik peace is only another form of war.

MRS. WARREN G. HARDING—My husband is the most wonderful man in the world.

FRANCES McDONALD—It would be a good thing if the men would stop proposing.

MARION GRAY—Brushing, massaging, ventilation, are the three needs of the hair.

MRS. CALVIN COOLIDGE—I like my Massachusetts friends so well I would hate to leave them.

ROY K. MOULTON—I care not who write the nation's songs so long as I don't have to listen to them.

GOVERNOR COOLIDGE—To a free people the most reactionary experience, short of revolution, is war.

SIR EDWARD CARSON—The honorable and gallant member may be sure that he is beneath contempt.

GENERAL LUDENDORFF—We must get used to regard propaganda as a combative resource of the first rank.

ALVIN JOHNSON—Think of Harding's appointees as a brilliant circle of stars, with Harding the blue void within.

DR. PEASE—Putrid tobacco smoke has entered the body of the human race and is causing us to bring weaklings into the world.

DOROTHY DIX—Men are still true to the ancient masculine theory that feminine brains are only palatable when they are scrambled.

KING ALFONSO—An ideal is difficult to attain by other nations but I ask myself, "Why should not Spain be the first nation to reach that ideal."

QUEEN MARIE OF RUMANIA—No matter how great the strain when talking or listening to a bore, make him think you think the conversation is vital.

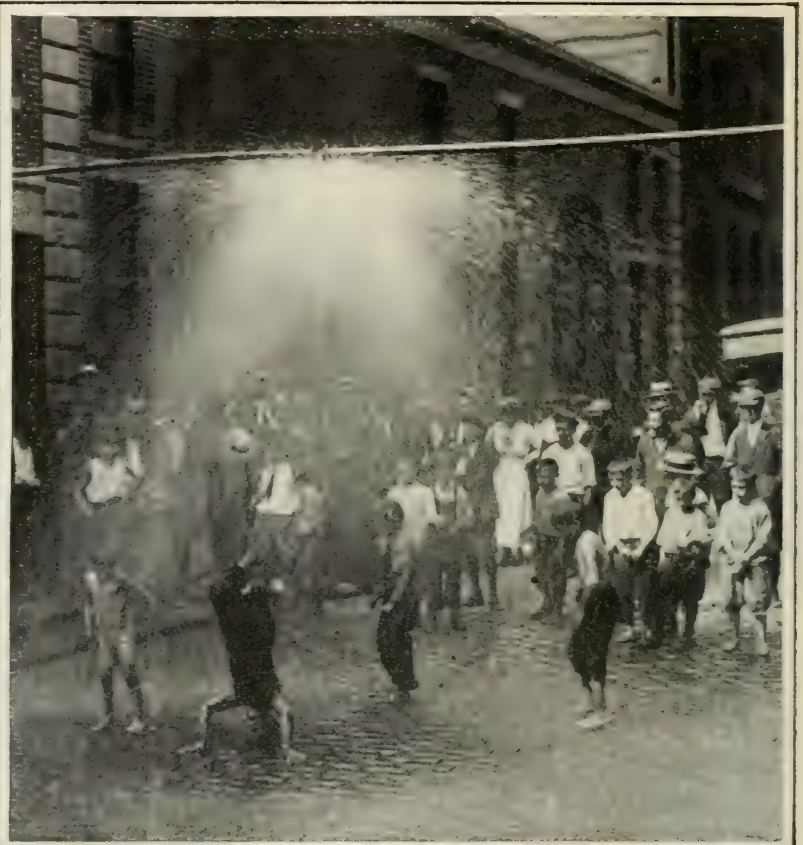
MRS. VINCENT ASTOR—If there ever were women who spent all their time in an endless round of social obligations, I do not know any of them in this generation.



# Summer Stuff Unworried by the H. C. of L.

The fire department stood "in loco parentis" to New York's small boys during the hot weather and rigged up an impromptu shower that immediately became all that the old-fashioned swimmin' hole used to mean to Skinnay and his friends

*Underwood & Underwood*



*Kadel & Herbert*

Out in the great national parks thruout the West thousands of tourists and campers can invite solitude to commune with nature with some assurance that the invitation will be accepted. These parks are coming into their due recognition nowadays from the people who know how to get the best of outdoors for a day or for a summer



# The Independent

August 14, 1920

## For This Have We Congress

By Susan Brown Bristol

*If a man carried on his business the way Uncle Sam makes our laws he'd be—but read the facts, and draw your own conclusions*

**W**E Americans know little about our Congress. We read the newspapers and a few magazines; we note that certain bills are passed and others rejected; we think we will remember which is which; we forget most of both; and by the close of the session find ourselves with no adequate idea as to what Congress has done or what it has neglected to do.

To be sure, we have pretty clearly in mind certain facts concerning the Sixty-sixth Congress; we know the history of the Treaty of Versailles and of the Esch-Cummins railroad bill; we know that scores of investigations have been ordered by Congress; and that there has not existed the closest coöperation between the Legislative and Executive Departments of the Government. But, with the exception of eleven days—November 19 to December 1 of last year—Congress has been in continuous session from the day it assembled, May 19, 1919, to June 5, 1920. It must have done something other than kill the Treaty, pass the railroad bill, or even issue orders for eighty and more investigations.

What? What has the Sixty-sixth Congress, confronted by unprecedented economic and industrial problems of reconstruction—reduced production, shortage of labor, inadequate transportation, profiteering and continued war taxation, all resulting in a prohibitive cost of living and general unrest and unreason—what has this Congress actually done? How has it solved the grave problems laid at its door? Is its record as bare in real accomplishment as it is reputed to be? Thousands

of bills must have been introduced—at least this is true of former Congresses. What are they? Are they measures intended to promote the public welfare; or are they private or local—political? Incidentally, what has re-



Morris for George Matthew Adams Service  
Eclipsed!

sulted from the scores of investigations made? Several months ago I set about to answer for myself these questions. I wanted facts. Obviously, so it seemed, Washington was the place to seek them.

I went to Washington. I spent there the last months of the session. For weeks I camped in both Houses of Congress. I interviewed various Government

officials—Senators, Congressmen, heads of departments, department clerks. I heard—and saw—Congress vote itself adjourned until the sixth of next December, to reconvene only in case of “grave emergency.” I collected such records and reports as I could obtain. Much of the information sought I am still seeking: the problem I had allotted myself was one not so easy of solution as might on the surface appear.

Certain data, however, I did secure. The belief that others unable to visit the nation's capitol may be interested in some of the facts which I succeeded in wresting from a few “original sources” is responsible for the following paragraphs of “findings.”

That I might have the proper background, it seemed to me that the first ray of light to come to me must be shed by Congress itself.

In Congress, as elsewhere, one finds all sorts of men. In the words of the legislative expert who sat at my right the day of my first visit—a man who for the last ten years has been a daily visitor of Congress:

“See that big, fat fellow over there with his cheeks meeting his neck, the one with the cigar in his mouth, resting his feet on top of the seat in front of him? Well, that fellow is known as the ‘cannon souvenir’ man—one of the cheapest of the lot.

“The man in gray, three seats in front of the fat fellow, is one of the best fighters in Congress. Since the day he entered he's fought ‘big business’ tooth and nail, and, ten chances to one, ‘big business’ will ‘get’ him on election day.

“You find all sorts here, as you see. A few men are



Thomas in Detroit News

Father should get acquainted with his sons

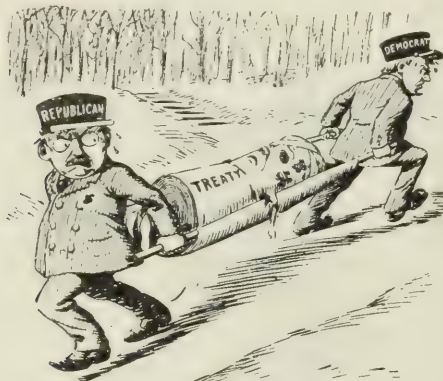


carrying a tremendous burden. As to some of the others—use your eyes and ears."

Properly interested in at least two members of Congress, I set out to obtain certain facts regarding the achievements of these and the 529 other members. Interviews with some of these and with other Government officials, together with various reports published by the Government, are the source of such information as I was able to gather.

I had the impression that thousands of bills had been introduced in Congress and that only the merest fraction had been enacted into laws. But how could this be? One would assume—a layman, at least—that if bills are introduced before a great national body representing the people they are bills worthy of that body and are introduced to be passed. Otherwise, why are they ever introduced? In any case, I wanted facts and figures.

I found that during the Sixty-sixth Congress—372



Brooklyn Daily Eagle

They can't even remove the victim!

calendar days and 290 "actual" days—measures were introduced in both Houses and enacted as follows:

Total bills and joint resolutions introduced....	19,561
Total concurrent resolutions introduced.....	91
Total simple resolutions introduced.....	976

Total bills and resolutions introduced.....	20,628
Total bills and joint resolutions (19,561) enacted into law .....	413
Percentage of total bills and joint resolutions enacted into law .....	2.11

This percentage makes no allowance for the fact that in so-called "omnibus" pension bills and certain other private bills, individual bills lose their identity, many being merged in one bill and enacted under one number. The large majority of measures submitted were insignificant—"private or local," as distinguished from "public." Scores of bills, presented as election bait, provide for the donation of captured German cannon as souvenirs to towns in districts of superpatriotic Congressmen; one member, on August 2, 1919, introduced no less than ninety-nine such bills.

On account of the large number of bills presented, it was impossible, in the time at my disposal, to obtain a classification or evaluation of the total number. However, I arranged with a Washington agency to furnish me data covering bills intro-

duced during one week.

The week chosen was the one of May 17 to May 22, 1920, inclusive. During this period 165 bills and joint resolutions were introduced as follows:

Pension bills .....	56
Claims .....	19
Local improvements....	22
Other private or local matters .....	24
Total private or local measures .....	121
Total public measures	44
Per cent of public measures .....	26.6

Of the whole number presented "probably less than twenty-five (except pension bills) have any valid claim to public interest. One may safely say that twenty-five are good bills, i. e., not vicious. Perhaps ten of these have merit and should be considered as expressing a real public purpose. Most of the whole number are perfunctory.

Among such measures as were passed by Congress (listed without reference to the President's signature) are the woman suffrage amendment; the bill for the enforcement of national prohibition; the railroad transportation bill returning railroads to private owners; the water power bill (signed by the President after adjournment of Congress), and the oil and coal land leasing bill, both providing for the opening up of public resources for private development under Government control; the merchant marine shipping bill, providing for the ultimate sale of the Government-owned merchant fleet; the budget bill (which the President vetoed and the Senate failed to pass after the House had amended it to meet the President's objection); the civil service retirement bill; the bill for the rehabilitation of those disabled in industry; the bill for the creation of a Woman's Bureau in the Department of Labor; the bill for the extension and enlargement of the Lever act, with a view to preventing hoarding and profiteering, and with additional penalties for the violation of the statute; legislation with liberal provisions and generous appropriations for vocational training and rehabilitation of wounded soldiers and sailors; the resolution providing for the resumption of a state of peace; the resolution repealing war-time

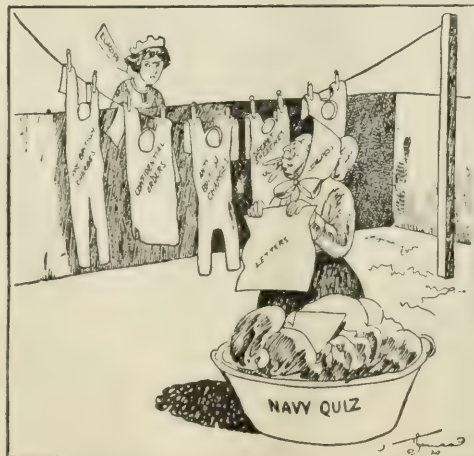
legislation, with the exception of the Lever food control act and the trading-with-the-enemy act (received "pocket veto" by the President, he explaining that the measure had reached him too late for proper consideration); the Johnson bill, providing for the deportation and exclusion of aliens who are members of anarchistic organizations; the postal pay increase bill; the army reorganization bill, providing for a peace-time army of 297,000 officers and men, a National Guard and a reserve force; and the Edge bill, designed to promote foreign commerce thru the aid of national banks.

Many measures of the greatest im- [Continued on page 190]



Nelson Harding

Practise what you preach



Thomas in Detroit News

This last Congress will be known in history as a reveler in investigations. Over eighty were ordered by the House and Senate—one in every four working days



*Government is to the rich only a convenience;  
it is a necessity to the poor*

# If We Had Anarchy Tomorrow

By Preston Slosson

IT is a pity to see the "Reds" wasting their ammunition. One shot that certainly goes astray is the charge that government is constituted among men to protect the property of the capitalist class from the hunger and anger of the poor. As a matter of fact the abolition of government, even such government as we have today, would mark not the end but the beginning of capitalism. The restraints of the law lie heavier on the rich than on the poor, because in a "state of nature" the rich and powerful can devour Naboth's vineyards without risk. A really workable anarchy would be in practice an industrial feudalism just as the anarchy of the Dark Ages soon simmered down into an agricultural feudalism.

The trouble with the anarchists is that their vision extends only to the Day of the Great Revolution; they have never figured to themselves the aspect of things on the "morning after the night before." If the American Government were suddenly and violently abolished there would, no doubt, be a period of disorder and mob-law during which the anarchists could sack a few houses and blow up a few unpopular plutocrats. But unless they took advantage of their brief opportunity to abandon anarchy and establish a proletarian state on the Russian model, or a democratic state on the orthodox Socialist model, they would find capitalism soon entrenched as it never could be under our existing American constitution.

THE functions which now fall to the public authorities would, under an anarchist régime, fall to private individuals. This is wholly possible. Those who would dismiss anarchy as a mere absurdity or contradiction in terms forget that on the frontier self-help has always been the rule. Daniel Boone or Buffalo Bill would not feel lost or helpless without the police and the post office. Nearly everything that is now done by the Government has been at other times and in other places done by private enterprise; just as, on the other hand, many activities now left to private choice, such as religion, used to be matters for public regulation. But in our complex industrial civilization of today unrestricted private enterprise means unqualified capitalism.

The most universal of all governmental activities is that of the police power. Whatever else a nation may do or decline to do it must keep the peace. In the absence of government or where the public powers are weak and inefficient men arm and band together for mutual protection. Under the anarchist régime it requires little foresight to prophesy that owners of mines and factories would protect themselves by employing private detectives and armed strikebreakers. They would have to do so on a much greater scale than at present, because there would be no public police on whom to call in case of need. Each industrial center would become a sort of Baronial castle with bands of armed retainers, equipt with tanks and machine guns as well as with sticks and rifles. Who could prevent this

with no law to which to appeal? If the Reds should form an army of their own and conquer the industrial fortresses of capitalism they would thereby reestablish a public army; in other words they would have abandoned the anarchist principle and returned to the coercive state.

The rich could buy arms and enlist retainers; but what would the poor do? They could not afford to employ police and police would no longer, as at present, be freely at their disposal. In remote country districts the bolder farmers would buy a watch-dog and a revolver and take any risks that remained on themselves. But the masses of the poor in the towns would doubtless seek employment in the armed industrial establishments and grant a term of labor in return for protection. That is exactly what happened in the tenth century when independent peasants, raided by invading Vikings and plundered by casual robbers, voluntarily became serfs on the estate of any neighbor who was rich enough to afford a stout castle and a good suit of armor. Security is the first need of mankind and despotic governments usually arise by selling that security at the price of the labor and the liberty of the weak.

Another function of government is the minting of coins and the issuing of paper money and other credit instruments based on it. This monopoly is even more jealously guarded than that of the police; for the law will let you buy a revolver or hire a night watchman, but it will not permit you to coin a single penny. With the abolition of government paper money would become worthless (it is almost worthless today in many parts of Europe), but coin would long retain some value as a medium of exchange, partly from force of habit and partly because

precious metal has some value in the trades. To save themselves from utter ruin by debasers of the coinage, now that counterfeiting would no longer be punishable, the banks would doubtless step into the place of the government and mint coins of a guaranteed value. People would distrust coins without that guarantee. Emboldened by success, they would put forth credit notes and paper money, just as private stores now put forth trading stamps, redeemable in coin. It would not be long before our present money system was reestablished with the only difference that the value of the money would rest upon the reputation of a few great banking houses instead of the word of a government.

A third function of government is the construction of public works, such as roads, and the maintenance of public facilities, such as the post office. We would return under anarchy to the old fashioned private road, redeeming its outlay by the toll-gate, and the post office would be taken over by private capital and run as are the express services. Neither change would much inconvenience the rich, but they would penalize the poor by putting charges for public services on a profit basis.

A fourth duty of govern- [Continued on page 195]



# Meet the American Idol!

## An Interview with Babe Ruth

By Sidney Reid



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He stands alone at the plate grasping his bat—and knocks the ball over the fence

nevertheless all men and women are entitled to form and hold their own opinions and the baseballists commonly known as fans are very numerous. There are millions of them and they include many who are eminent in all the higher walks of life, great industrial chiefs, ministers of the gospel, lawyers, judges, physicians, bankers, authors, editors. Elsewhere these men are super-respectable, grave, sane, just-minded, conservative and of reserved demeanor. But at the ball grounds on a hot day they take off their coats, devour peanuts, exalt themselves by drinking sarsaparilla, lemonade and other liquid mysteries and when the home team is in a tight place jump to their feet, wave their arms, yell, and carry on as if possessed. They are madly partizan and the things they want done to the umpires and opposing teams—especially opposing pitchers—are not countenanced by the Constitution of the United States, the laws of the state of New York or of any other state.

They are worshippers—worshippers of the American national game and it is by reason of his standing among the exponents of the game that Babe is now their idol. In several departments of the game he is above mediocrity, in one he is supreme.

As a slugger of balls he is the greatest. He can hit a ball and knock it further than any other player who ever appeared since first the game began. Therefore he makes more home runs than any other player. Therefore he is the greatest man in the world according to the fans.

And why not? Why is not this as good a claim to greatness as many another that the world has acknowledged? Babe Ruth's claim is at least founded on something tangible—actual performance. He stands alone at the plate grasping his bat, facing the opposing pitcher, watched by scores of thousands—often by scores of thousands of fellow beings who are intensely willing him to fail—and by his own unaided efforts he knocks the ball over the fence and not only scores a home run himself but often drives in from one to three of his teammates who were on the bases. He does not

do this by any accident or by reason alone of some special gift of nature. He does it very largely by art, the result of long and careful study and practice.

Moreover, it may also be said that the throbs and thrills and excitements he gives to the faithful who witness his deeds are good for them psychologically. They lift the faithful out of commonplace ruts and clear away mental cobwebs. For two hours at least they enforce deep breathing in comparatively pure air and send the faithful home in a calm and happy frame of mind, ready to form the League of Nations and love all men—even the opposing team. It is to the purpose, also, that they send them home with good appetites.

And now who is this Mr. Babe Ruth, how came he to be Home Run King, how solid is his throne in these troublous times for monarchs and what sort of person is he when not strictly engaged in reigning.

Well in the first place he is about as self-made as any man can be. There was no gold spoon for his infant mouth. His parents were very poor and at seven years of age he was sent to take his chances with several hundred other boys in St. Mary's Industrial School of Baltimore. Every boy learns a trade there and Ruth became a capable tailor. He also showed himself fairly bright in studies and rather good in dramatics. But in athletics he shone, early displaying promise of greatness. He was good in track athletics, but in baseball—he was a star.

In view of what his future was to be Babe could hardly have had a more favorable environment. St. Mary's began as a home for orphans, but afterward boys were committed to it from the local courts of Baltimore for reformation. It is under the supervision of the Catholic brothers and among these there is a good deal of sympathy with boy psychology and athletics. Some of the brothers are no mean athletes themselves and they are keen coaches and connoisseurs of athletic material.

Brother Paul is general superintendent of St. Mary's and he knows all about Babe, whom he calls George. In fact Brother Paul had a whole lot to do with the making of the Home Run King. He had come to St. Mary's with some fear that he would find the place disagreeable. He had been a college teacher and his experiences with students had been pleasant, but directing the studies of hundreds of boys, many of whom had been sent to the place from courts, seemed rather a fearsome task. But within a week of arrival he was glad he had come. He found the boys easier to manage than



© Underwood & Underwood

Babe Ruth can hit a ball and knock it further than any other player



his former students, possessed of more initiative and more grateful. St. Mary's was an exceedingly interesting place, full of life and hope and good material for teachers to work upon. Athletically it was humming. At one time it possessed no less than forty-three baseball teams in addition to the regular school team. There were baseball tournaments going on all the time, dormitory against dormitory, trade against trade. The smallest boys were organized as the Brownies and they were infant wonders whose fame spread far beyond the limits of Baltimore. No matter what else they knew or failed to know St. Mary's boys knew baseball. Everyone capable of receiving it got a full and complete education in the American national game.

Ruth had twelve years of this intensive training, rising from class to class till he reached the highest and then protruding as a star. Brother Paul had an eye on him all the time. Brother Paul did not watch his playing boys thru a window; he was out among them a good deal of the time. The boys needed management and the brothers knew that this was the best way to give it.

Umpiring for the contests between rival school teams was an arduous and unthankful job. The boys were as hard on umpires as are their seniors who attend the League matches. If they carried out their theories ten or twelve umpires would be killed in every game. Consequently no one wanted to act as umpire. The brother in charge of baseball gave the athletes a little lecture on the subject of the harmless, necessary umpire and the righteousness and expediency of electing such officials fairly, paying them for their services and then treating them with respect. It was a beautiful and inspiring little lecture and aroused the better natures of the boys, who resolved on reform. They cheerfully elected an umpire and contributed a fund to pay him. Boys who were temporarily wealthy gave a nickel or a dime, while others who had been experiencing reverses subscribed two or three pennies. The brother in charge of baseball kept a careful account.

The first game after this great reform was inaugurated proved to be a hot one. The umpire was one of the larger boys, full of baseball lore and dignity, but respect for him and his office did not long survive when the bitter disputes began. The boys against whom he decided called him all those names which have been applied to umpires since baseball began. They said he didn't know the first thing about baseball. He was blind as a bat, a lunatic and a robber and much more, all emphatically uncomplimentary. The boys yelled at each other and disputed with enough energy to win several games. The brother in charge of baseball walked around with his hands behind his back, patiently waiting for the tumult to subside, but it grew worse. So he quietly approached the noisiest of the rebels and called him by name. "———," he said, "I see by this list that you subscribed three cents to pay the umpire. Now don't you think you've done three cents' worth of kicking?" That settled it. There was one big laugh at the chief kicker and then the game proceeded peacefully.

Good, plain, hearty food, kindly guidance and teaching and tip top athletic training—that's what Ruth got

during the twelve years he went to St. Mary's.

Brother Paul taking his time, watching the youngster's development, concluded five years ago that Ruth would make a professional baseball player, probably pitcher, catcher or shortstop—he played all those positions but usually shortstop. So five years ago last winter Brother Paul notified Jack Dunn, manager of the Baltimores, and Dunn came to the school and watched Ruth play ball. He was catcher on the school's first team then. Dunn took Ruth immediately and soon sent very favorable reports to Brother Paul, who was the boy's guardian. Said Dunn: "Ruth can hit harder than anyone I ever saw and he is so strong that there are no two men in the club who can put him on his back in wrestling."

The boy was only nineteen years of age then. He has grown since. He is not only phenomenally strong, he's also phenomenally tough—speaking athletically. He distinguished himself at St. Mary's by his indifference to cold. He objected to wearing underclothes.

On one bitter winter day Brother Paul found him sitting on a little wall in the yard reading a book. His shirt was open and he had nothing under it. Brother Paul admonished him of the danger of taking cold, but he replied with placid assurance, "Oh no. I'm too tough to take cold."

Coming from the sheltered life at St. Mary's there were a lot of things about the great world that Ruth did not know. His comrades say that a hotel elevator nearly killed him. But he got even by what he did to the hotel's food.

He had a most impressive appetite.

Ruth distinguished himself on the Baltimores when they were at the head of the minor leaguers, but the invasion of the Federal League put the Baltimores out of business and Dunn sold Ruth and two of his teammates to the Boston Red Sox for \$25,000. Now the boy was in fast company.

The Red Sox used him as a pitcher. He didn't know who was who. Reputations good all over the baseball world meant nothing at all to [Continued on page 192]



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Speaking athletically, Babe Ruth is phenomenally strong—note the relative width of his and the gobs' shoulders



© Underwood & Underwood

Babe Ruth was a half orphan, in an orphan school, himself once—that's why he plays favorites to all motherless children. Mrs. Babe Ruth (right) plays favorites, too



# A Hundred Million Horsepower Waiting to Be Used

A Message from the United States Government to the American People

By O. C. Merrill

Executive Secretary of the Federal Power Commission

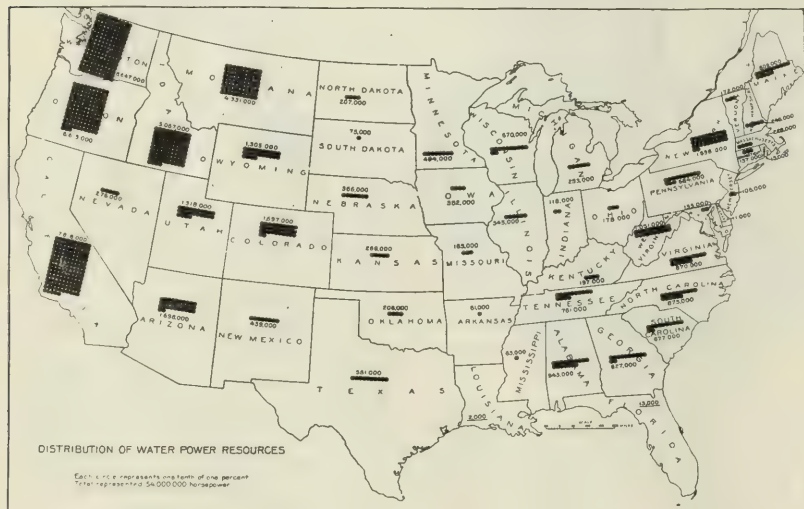
**T**HE existing financial situation, making it difficult to secure capital for new enterprises requiring large investment, is the principal bar to immediate and extensive development of the water power resources of the United States. Most of the other obstacles are disappearing or have already disap-

are in the West. Thousands of miles separate them, and no practical method of transmitting electric power across a continent has yet been devised.

The most of our power developments up to this time, with a few notable exceptions, have been local undertakings to serve immediate needs in restricted localities. Industries and public utilities in districts where supplies of coal and fuel oil have been readily available have favored steam power development because of its smaller initial cost and the comparative simplicity of its installation, even in districts where the use of water power would have been justified by ultimate economies.

Eighty-five per cent of the power used in the home, in industry and by public utilities in the United States today is produced from coal and fuel oil. The railroads use one-fourth of our total output of coal, and one-seventh of our petroleum—a total of some 150,000,000 tons of fuel a year. Of this amount 50,000,000 tons and one-third of the freight equipment of the railroads is used in transporting coal for other than railroad uses. One-third of our output of coal and a tenth of our fuel oil is used by street railways and for general industrial purposes.

Cheap and abundant coal made it inevitable that our industries should be built up on a basis of steam power. The use of hydro-electric power is of comparatively recent origin. The rising cost of coal, with recurrent fuel shortages and the choking of our transportation systems, is rapidly convincing [Continued on page 195]

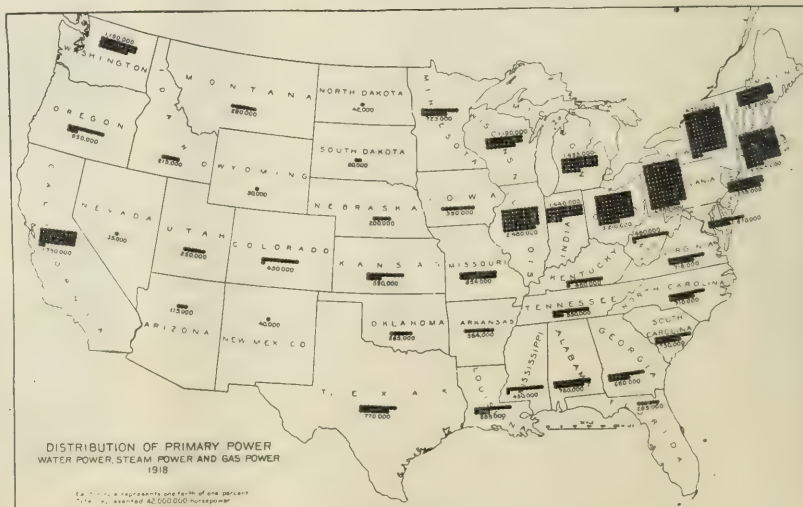


The huge water power resources under Government control are now thrown open to development by the new Federal water power act recently passed by Congress and signed by the President

peared. The one that bulked largest among them—the lack of adequate Federal legislation—was removed when the Congress passed and the President signed the new Federal water power act, throwing open to development the tremendous water power resources under Government control.

What is the extent of the resources awaiting development? They are greater than those of any other industrial nation. That much we know, but no one can estimate the full amount of power that can be developed from our streams, rivers and lakes with any degree of accuracy. The minimum estimate is 50,000,000 horsepower and the maximum 200,000,000 horsepower. Even the maximum estimate is believed to be conservative, if the possibilities of water storage are to be taken into consideration. Probably not to exceed 8,000,000 horsepower have yet been developed.

To attribute our failure to make greater progress in the development of our water powers wholly to the lack of adequate legislation would be a mistake. There have been many other contributing causes. Chief among them is the fact that our large users of power, the industries, are located in the East, whereas our greatest sources of water power supply



The largest users of power, the industries, are in the East; the greatest source of water power, in the West. Will the industries follow the example of the pioneers and change their address or will some method be devised whereby electric power can be transmitted across the continent?



# The Public in Industrial Warfare

By John Spargo

IT is one of the commonplaces of contemporary discussion that in all the great battles between employers and employed three group interests are involved, namely, those of Capital, Labor and "the Public," and that of these three the importance of the last named is frequently so great as to overshadow the others. Upon this theory all legislative proposals for regulating strikes and lockouts and minimizing both their number and their evil consequences are based. Such legislation as that proposed by the President's second Industrial Conference, the more drastic legislation enacted in Kansas and the compulsory arbitration laws of New Zealand rest upon the assumption that there is a public interest different from and superior to the special interests of Capital on the one hand and Labor upon the other.

This theory has always been assailed by many Socialist propagandists, who have insisted upon dividing society sharply into two classes, the "capitalist class" and the "working class." They have contended, in the face of abundant evidence to the contrary, that all members of the body social belong to one or other of two classes and that by our material interests we are all of us inexorably united either to the "capitalist class" or the "working class." That this Marxism of the soap-box finds no sanction in the teaching of Marx is a matter of small and purely academic importance, perhaps. It is, however, a matter of very great importance that it should be adopted, in its crudest form, by the responsible heads of a great organization like the American Federation of Labor.

President Gompers, Vice-President Woll, and other leaders of the A. F. of L. have recently insisted with much emphasis that the "Public," as distinguished from "Capital" and "Labor," is a fiction of the imagination. Their argument runs as follows: If we take the entire population and analyze it, we shall discover that practically all its adult members are either employers or employees; that there is no considerable class of persons not comprehended in one or the other of these categories, and that, ergo, there cannot be a third class, "the Public."

The fallaciousness of this reasoning is obvious. The recognition of the intellectual honesty of Mr. Gompers and the other leaders of the American Federation of Labor only serves to make more pathetic their exhibition of mental poverty. They assume, wholly without warrant of fact, that the arbitrary division of society into these two classes implies the constant identity of interests of all persons embraced in either class. In common with the crudest Socialist soap-boxers, they assume that in every strike or lockout all members of the employing class have identical interests and that all members of the wage-earning class likewise have identical interests. As a matter of fact, the arbitrary division of society into two classes is of very little practical value, while the assumption that all wage-earners on the one hand and all capitalists on the other are united by an absolute identity of interests with respect to each particular industrial conflict is wholly untenable and in contradiction to the most easily observable facts.

Let us take, by way of illustration, a conflict arising in such a basic industry as coal-mining. The miners, thru

their unions, make demands which are generally regarded as both reasonable and just, and they have the moral support of all other workers. The employers, however, decide to resist the demand and the result is a stoppage of coal production at a time when there is already great scarcity of coal. Inevitably many factories are compelled to close. Large numbers of employers are thus subjected to loss of profits and, if the strike long continues, to financial ruin. Does anybody in his right senses believe that the manufacturer in Rome, New York, who sees himself thus confronted by bankruptcy and ruin because of the obstinacy of the coal mine-owners and their resistance to reasonable demands, has, with respect to this particular strike, an identity of interests with the coal mine-owners? Is it not quite plain, on the contrary, that in this struggle his interests are much more nearly identical with those of the striking miners? At any rate, he wants coal. He is as anxious to have the mining of coal resumed as the striking miners themselves.

Certainly there is, with respect to this conflict, essentially identity of interest between the Rome manufacturer and his employees. They have a common interest in securing coal to keep the factory going. Manufacturer and wage-earners alike constitute a part of that great Public, which, while in no wise responsible for the strike, is vitally interested in bringing it to an end and securing the resumption of that regular supply of fuel upon which industry depends.

Let us suppose, by way of further illustration, a very different sort of strike: the workers employed in one of the major "key industries"—railroad transportation, for example—make demands for increased wages which cannot be met without such large additions to the cost of transportation as must inevitably add materially to the cost of commodities. Thousands, and perhaps millions, of farmers and wage-earners whose earnings are already lower than those of the dissatisfied railway workers, must, if the latter's demands are granted, suffer a loss in "real wages" and see their relative inferiority of economic condition, as compared to that of the railway workers, increased. At the same time, numerous small manufacturers and shopkeepers are affected in precisely the same way. Is it not quite clear that, in such circumstances, there is a community of economic interest uniting these adversely affected groups—farmers, wage-earners, manufacturers and shopkeepers—against the railway workers, and that it is foolish to contend that all wage-earners have a common interest with the striking railway workers as against the remainder of the population? To state the proposition is to expose its absurdity.

Of course, both our illustrations are hypothetical cases, but they are not less valid as illustrations on that account. Mr. Gompers and his friends cannot successfully plead that it is a short-sighted view for the adversely affected wage-earners to join with other social groups in resisting

the exorbitant demands of the railway workers, that their proper course should be a united effort to raise themselves to the level of the railway workers. This may serve very well as an argumentative retort, but it lacks the essential

In the two previous issues of *The Independent* we have given over our editorial columns to a debate between Talcott Williams and Norman Hapgood on the respective merits of the Republican and Democratic platforms. The debate will continue for two weeks more with a discussion of the candidates of each of the two leading parties, but we are postponing it for one issue in order to give both Mr. Cox and Senator Harding the equal advantages of having made their formal acceptance speeches and established their positions on the important questions of the campaign. After Mr. Williams and Mr. Hapgood have finished their debate the readers of *The Independent* are invited to express their views in open forum.



merits of candor and conformity to fact. It is quite obvious that there are certain basic industries of cardinal importance, the interruption of which, even for a very short time, would involve such disastrous results, that, so long as we rely upon conflict for making industrial adjustments, the workers employed in them must hold enormous strategic advantages and superiority of power as compared with workers in other industries. In Europe we have seen attempts made by relatively small numbers of workers possessing these strategic advantages, not only to elevate themselves at the expense of practically all other wage-workers, but to set their authority over that of organized society as a whole. This is the fundamental evil of Syndicalism in its variant forms: it is industrial oligarchy as opposed to industrial democracy.

The fundamental defect in the theory that there is no "Public" with a distinct interest of its own, as distinguished from both Capital and Labor, is easily discernible. It lies in the wholly fallacious and unwarranted assumption that with respect to each individual strike the interests of the employing class as a whole are identical with those of the employers involved in the particular strike, and those of the wage-working class as a whole likewise identical with those of the striking workers. As a matter of fact, in a very large and apparently increasing percentage of strikes no such alignment is possible. He must be blind to the most obvious realities who does not see that, in numerous instances, strikes and lockouts so adversely affect non-participating employers and wage-earners, in equal measure, as to make it their common interest to protect themselves by legislation against the constant recurrence of losses consequent upon struggles in which they have no part, and for which they are not responsible.

Instead of thinking of all strikes as a single whole, upon which all capitalists and employers are united by their interests on one side, and all workers upon the other, we must think of the individual strike and its effect upon industry and the life of the nation. We shall then see clearly enough that while the strike is a struggle between Capital and Labor in the sense that there are capitalistic and capitalist interests on one side, and workers and workers' interests upon the other, outside and beyond the struggle, but seriously inconvenienced and even menaced by it, is a great non-combatant Public, which includes both capitalists and wage-earners.

Once these very elementary facts are fairly faced there can be no hesitation in deciding, Mr. Gompers and his friends notwithstanding, that there is a Public to be protected; that some means of adjusting labor disputes and lessening the number of strikes and the injury arising from strikes must be found; that in any system of industrial arbitration and adjustment to be adopted specific provision must be made for the representation of the Public.

### A Reactionary Mood

EVERYBODY hates to be called a reactionary. And yet everybody is saying, "Let us *get back* to a peace-time basis," "Let us *return* to the constitution," "Let us *withdraw* from foreign entanglements." If this is not "reaction" against something what is it?

### The Moral of Amritsar

THOSE who say that "all these European nations are equally bad" are asked to study the recent Parliamentary debate on the Amritsar incident. The British Ministry and the House of Commons condemned by voice and vote the action of General Dyer, who repressed a rebellion, and perhaps prevented another Indian Mutiny, because he used too great severity. We cannot recall an occasion when the German Reichstag (except for a tiny minority wing of the Socialist) demanded the punishment of a victorious general because of the ruthlessness of his methods.

## Women, Clothes and Race Salvation

By Franklin H. Giddings

IN sinless Eden Adam and Eve were naked and happy. They didn't have to work for their living nor wear stockings on the beach nor dress for dinner. But after Eve had been beguiled, and, scared to death about keeping the secret from Adam, had eased her conscience by beguiling him, her lively mind got busy about a lot of things. She knew all right that she and the poor male "it" that she was running around with were in real trouble. They had been driven from their nice little paradise and sentenced to hard labor and worse. Something had to be done and Eve went to it.

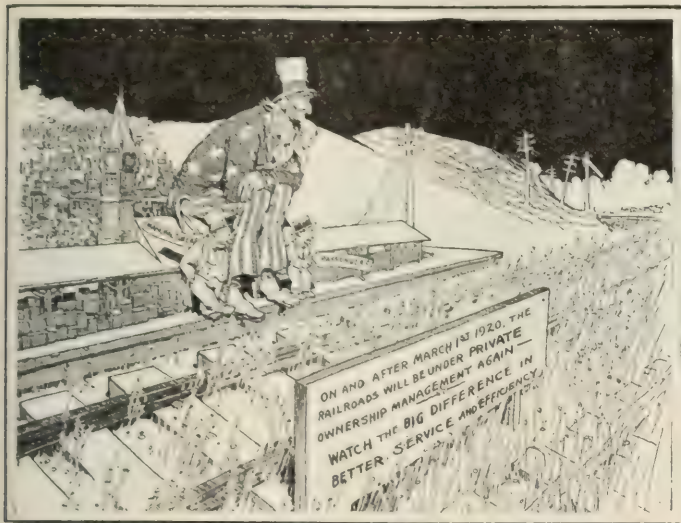
The theologians, always a stupid lot, have given us to understand that the great discovery which Eve made in her distressful circumstances was an eternal causal association of nudity with wickedness, and that, overwhelmed with consternation she and Adam went into the clothing industry. Nothing of the sort! Eve was no theologian, but she did make a discovery. It was not the nature and cause of unrighteousness that worried her. That chapter had been read and was closed. She and her man were in a scrape and the matter in hand was to find a way out. She found it. She discovered the original, perennial, universal, altogether adequate means of salvation for herself and the race of her descendants. She discovered clothes—an occupation for mind and hand that never could fail to allay unrest, assuage grief, and purge from sin. By this achievement she cleared her record; and the masculine habit, in particular the theological habit of going back to her indiscretion as the premise for a philosophy of history, is not only a low down, unchivalrous behavior, it is a manifestation of monstrous and unmitigated ignorance.

And how man does love to come back to the subject and to strut about dispensing moral advice, warnings and anathemas. Sartor Resartus! The thing will not down. Metaphysics or theology, manners or morals, fashion or negligence, economic interpretation of history or supernatural, everything is the same thing. And that same thing is clothes. Clothes proclaiming, like a prison garb, the fall of man, or clothes functioning as the only dependable protection against wickedness no less than against weather, this one object of interest in its alternative historical aspects, this is the one all comprehensive subject of education, the one symbol of religion, the one end and aim of human striving.

And how tiresomely repetitious are the ways in which our mentors come back to it! They are coming back once more in a drove. The Kaiser and the Bolshevik, having upset the whole world and broken down countless inhibitions and habits, have thrown us into moral and economic turbulence. But it would never do to admit that we are such helpless creatures of circumstance that we must go on being indiscreet and more or less wicked now that the war is more or less over just because we have had an upset. Somehow we must account for the fact that we are going to the bad by reference to a cause that antedated the war, that manifests itself thruout those parts of creation that were not directly touched by the war and that continues to work. Obviously, that cause must be found in something as primitive as man himself and contemporaneous with original sin. Therefore, beyond dispute, the cause is nudity, and therefore, of course, our really great theologians are bound to discover an explanation of all the new modes of miserable wrongdoing and its products, including I. W. W.-ism and Bolshevism, in the wickedness of mothers who send their daughters to the ballrooms and the bathing beaches in scant attire. So we have discourses, soberly setting forth that as soon as our overseas men began to come home these irresponsible mothers, whose daughters had been deprived of male at-

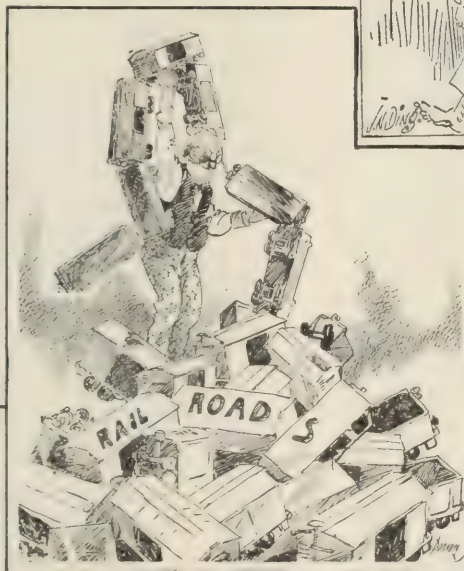


# The Cartoonists Are "Working on the Railroads All the Livelong Day"

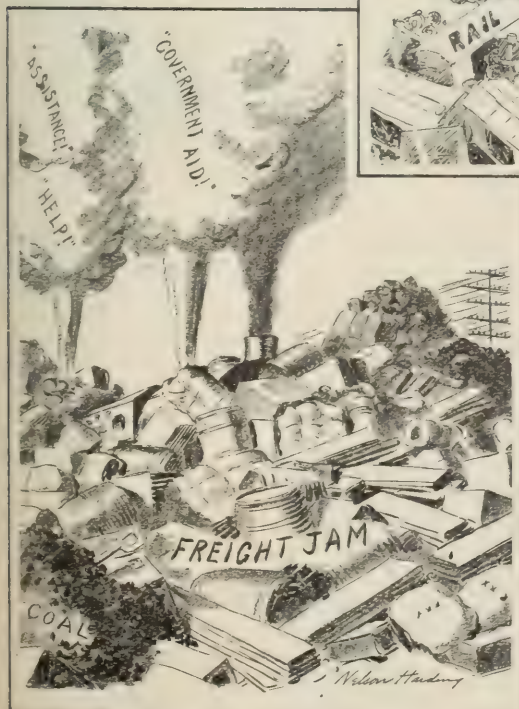


O. P. Williams in New York American  
© 1920, by Star Company

A TRAIN THAT IS LONG OVERDUE Uncle Sam, with manufacturers on one side and passengers on the other, is waiting for the long promised better service of the railroads under private management. Perhaps the forthcoming rise in both freight and passenger rates will help move the train along

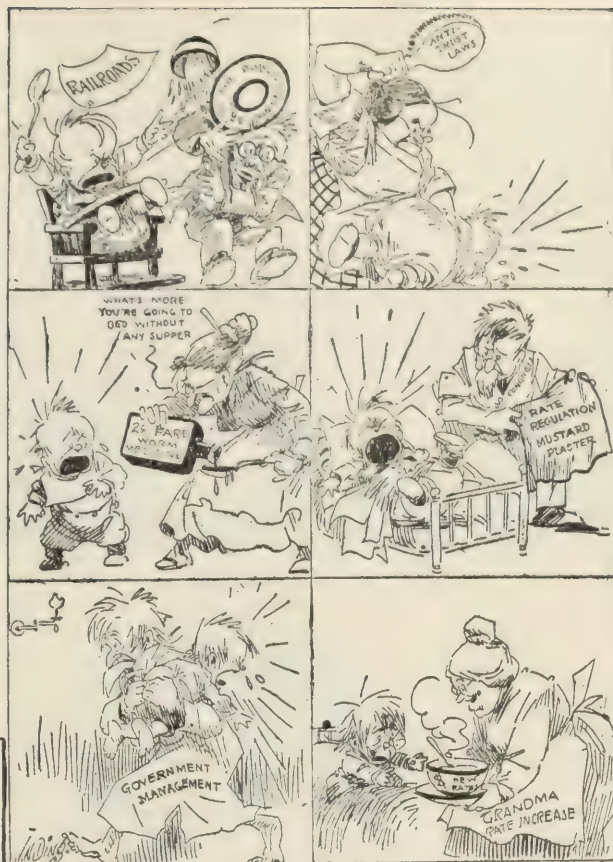


Donahey in Cleveland Plain Dealer  
ALL TANGLED UP AGAIN  
There are those who find the ways of Congress with the railroads a never-ceasing puzzle



Harding in Brooklyn Eagle

Shrieking for help!

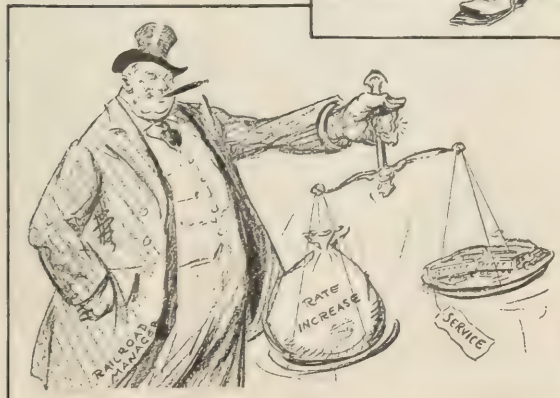


Darling in New York Tribune  
© 1920, New York Tribune, Inc.

They've all been so busy administering discipline that they forgot to feed him



Morris for George  
Matthew Adams Service  
The great American drama



Kroner in New York World  
Will he make them balance?





*Press Illustrating*

John Fitzpatrick, a blacksmith, organized the strike of a quarter of a million steel workers last fall. His contention that the strike was made necessary by the refusal of the Steel Corporation to negotiate with the men and to permit them reasonable working conditions is upheld by the report of the commission of inquiry under the Interchurch World Movement. The commission finds that the strikers had just grievances of "excessive hours, the boss system, and no right to organize or to representation"

## "Strongly Favoring the Laboring Man"

The Interchurch World Movement's investigation of the steel strike last fall makes in its report "a serious indictment of the United States Steel Corporation"



© Keystone

The foremost personality in the steel strike was William Z. Foster, whose radical theories, previously published in a book on syndicalism, were made the basis of the Steel Corporation's attack on the strike as unpatriotic and tending toward Bolshevism. The Interchurch report says that the "charges of radicalism, Bolshevism, and the closed shop were not justified by the facts." At the left is one of the crucial points in the strike: the Pennsylvania state and local police arresting strikers at the Homestead plant



© International



tention and matrimonial opportunities for two long years, immediately went about making them attractive by "undressing them" and sending them forth to prey upon unsophisticated youth so long sequestered and held under discipline in France!

These philosophers may be right, of course. I do not undertake to prove that they are wrong, but I strongly suspect that they are. I wish they would turn their attention to the alternative hypothesis that Eve invented clothing not to save the human race by concealing nudity, but by giving it something to be interested in, and that her daughters through all the generations have been better judges of the relation of clothing to virtue than her sons have been. Wouldn't it after all be rather decent and common sense to let the women continue to handle this affair according to their own ideas and in their own way? Isn't it after all a matter for us men-folk to get out of and to keep out of?

### Revised Version

**T**HEOLOGIANs used to say that the Golden Age was before the Fall; today many think it was before the Rise—in prices!

## The New Fashion of Having Souls

By Allen Campbell

**F**EW assaults on religion are made by direct frontal attack. This method of battle results in too many casualties, for if it be hard to prove the dogmas of Christianity it is by the same token harder yet to disprove them. It may be hard, for example, to demonstrate to the skeptic that a particular miracle happened, but one would have to be omniscient to prove that a miracle could not take place. But what can be done is to make a belief unfashionable, to ridicule it as out of date ("medieval" is the favorite word) and placidly take for granted that the advance of science has left it hopelessly behind in the gathering gloom of dead centuries.

This is good strategy but it is open to counter-attack from two directions. It may be pointed out that a doctrine may be true even if it is old. Or again it may be shown that instead of passing into a final senility the doctrine in question is still in its childhood. Such is the case of the Christian belief in immortality. Comparatively speaking, immortality is a recent discovery like the steam engine or the descent of man from the lower animals. Probably it is more widely believed today than in any century of the past.

Man has been abroad on the earth, working and thinking, for some hundreds of thousands of years. Indications of belief in immortality, such as care for the dead, can only be found in prehistoric relics of the most recent periods. Coming to historical times we find the Egyptians very much concerned with life after death; perhaps too much so from the amount of labor which they wasted on building vast tombs for royalty. But their conception of immortality was a material one; the resurrection of the body in its most literal sense. It was for this reason that they took such care in preparing mummies, fearing lest the wandering spirit would find no body to reanimate and thus be lost forever in the void.

The Egyptians apart, few peoples before the time of Christ had very clear ideas on the subject. To the races of Rome, Greece and western Asia the future life was a vague underworld in which half-conscious phantoms bewailed the loss of earthly sunshine. Only a few selected souls were chosen either for bliss or torment. Even the Jews, with all their religious genius, laid no stress on the future life until they had come into contact with Persian ideas during their long captivity. An examination of the Old Testament will show that only in half a dozen isolated passages is there any hint of human immortality and that nowhere is it

made a central dogma of religion. When Jesus was born the Jewish world was divided on the question of a future life and the Gentile world, on the whole, rejected the idea. Only a few enlightened philosophers like Plato had reasoned out a real belief in the immortality of the soul, as distinguished from popular legends of ghosts and poetic myths about the underworld. The *Phaedo* was centuries ahead of its time.

In the latter days of the Roman Empire we note a vast change, almost a theological revolution, in men's view of life hereafter. Not only was Christianity conquering province after province with its novel teachings of Heaven and Hell, but rivals and imitators—Neo-Platonism, Mithraism, Manicheism, Judaism—were preaching a similar doctrine of the life eternal whose nature was established by the character of life on earth. The pagans of northern Europe had their own myths of a future life, a dim ghostly existence in the underworld for the majority of mankind and a heaven of beer and butchery for a few heroes chosen from the mass as a reward for exceptional valor. But the Christian doctrine that every soul was immortal in its own right soon conquered the peoples of the north as it had the Mediterranean world. While the Christianizing of Europe was in progress a new religion arose in Arabia which copied the Christian emphasis on immortality. Mohammed's followers carried his teaching half around the world from Morocco to the East Indies. Sometimes they came into conflict with Christian communities, but in general they displaced nature religions with vague or crude concepts of life after death.

It was not until the beginning of modern times, some six or seven hundred years ago, that Christian and Moslem propaganda had finished their work of converting the primitive peoples of northern Europe and central Asia to a definite belief in personal immortality with personal responsibility for conduct. In eastern Asia the Buddhist notion of the absorption of the soul into the general consciousness of the universe still prevailed. The native peoples of Africa and America still remained content with a half-belief in the underworld; an immortality unrelated to character and on a far inferior level of reality to the life on earth. Christian missionaries in all three regions—eastern Asia, Africa and America—have since introduced their more rational and definite ideas of the future life, and even those peoples who have not become converts to Christianity have undoubtedly been influenced by Christian thought.

No general religious census has ever been taken, but today probably 60 per cent of the people of the world have a clear and strong belief that personal immortality, with reward and punishment based on personal deserts, is the destiny of every human being. Two thousand years ago it is doubtful if such a belief was held by 10 per cent of the people then living. We may fairly call the doctrine of the immortality of the soul a modern doctrine, an innovation in the religious history of the race. Of course the growing prevalence of an idea has nothing at all to do with its truth, but it is an answer to the taunt of being a mere survival of barbaric and primitive conceptions.

### Appropriate

**I**RELAND is living up to its name IRE-land, the country of wrath.

### Another Capitalistic Conspiracy

**W**E wonder how the Socialists and anti-religious radicals who have been calling the Interchurch World Movement a "capitalist conspiracy" because it accepted contributions from the wealthy will explain away the Report on the Steel Strike, in which the cause of the steel strikers is defended not only against the corporations but against most of the secular press. Probably they will for-



get this incident, like all others which their theory doesn't cover, as quickly as possible. As a matter of cold historical fact every radical movement since Christianity originated has been in great measure championed and led by Christian ministers, and yet every year of the Christian era has heard the complaint that the money-changers were running the Temple. But the man who suffers from the "capitalist conspiracy" delusion is impervious to fact.

### Or Have You?

**B**OTH parties have spoken severely about the High Cost of Living. Of course, you have noticed the sudden slump in prices.

## The Minister and Radicalism

By Shailer Mathews

**T**HE Civic Federation is anxious about the radical tendencies of certain clergymen. The Federation rather more than suspects them of being Bolsheviks. It also suspects that workers in the Y. M. C. A. are too friendly to Russia and greatly fears lest the Y. W. C. A. should cease to be a religious organization because of its utterances on industrial affairs.

Such anxiety is not without a measure of justification, but in reality the Federation is unduly concerned. There are, of course, clergymen who are economic and social radicals. It could hardly be otherwise. Despite their spiritual office clergymen live in the same world as does the Civic Federation. They have been educated to an interest in that world. Most of them are poor and know what it is to go without expensive luxuries—often without semi-comforts. They come in contact with the sorrows of the propertyless. By virtue of their calling they are idealists who seek to establish a reign of brotherhood, and the Civic Federation itself would not claim that the present industrial order is fully a brotherhood.

There is an element of justice in the Federation's criticism. How far should a clergyman use his position as a spokesman for God in his support of a political or economic program? How far is it justifiable for a man to commit his institutional connections to his private convictions as to matters outside the institution? These are fair questions, and to them may be added the practical consideration that sooner or later an institution will become the agency of its representatives and chief interests. If the Y. M. C. A. cares more about boarding houses, gymnasiums, and swimming pools than prayer meetings, boarding houses, gymnasiums, and swimming pools will gain its chief attention. If clergymen feel more interested in pushing the claims of economic reform than in developing the moral and religious spirit, the church (or what is left of it) will become the agency of some economic theory.

But the Civic Federation is over-anxious. The average minister is in less danger of being radical than of being indifferent to the moral elements in the industrial struggles. Denunciation of vulgar sins leads to little more than individual respectability and respectability is no moral leaven for a world that demands readjustment thru democratizing of economic privilege. Ministers have their choice between two policies. On the one hand, they can preach a theology that never touches life and a morality which never reaches the Sermon on the Mount; or, on the other hand, they can preach the religion of Jesus and a morality that is intelligently aware of sociology. The former will give a man the reputation of being "safe"; the latter will arouse the hostility of premillenarians and all reactionaries. Most old men, whatever their age, will choose the former course. Most young men will choose the second. And the future is in the hands of our young men.

But such religious teachers should bear in mind that they are not primarily economic experts. Their chief task

is to prepare men for better living and not to organize factories. Economic programs become elements of religion only when they are the sole embodiment of righteousness. Whatever their personal sympathy—and they have a right to such sympathy—ministers should recognize that a program is not practicable simply because it is logical. A movement is not necessarily wise because it aims to do good. Good people do not always have good sense. A minister should avoid extremes in theories as well as in clothes. Of all men he should realize that human nature is unescapable.

If his awakened interest sweeps him into the support of some impossible radicalism, it is unfortunate but not criminal. If the church is really to figure in social reconstruction, it will probably find that like Jesus it numbers among its apostles an occasional Simon the Zealot. But zealotism was no more the chief task of the Apostle than is revolution of a minister. Whoever would bring the spirit of Christ into the industrial forces of today must not forget his spiritual mission or permit his sympathy to be monopolized by any social reform which substitutes logic for folks. It is no more involved in a minister's calling that he should champion sovietism than that he should champion capitalism. As a man he has a right to his convictions, but as a minister he has no revelation to guide him in the heralding of economic programs. But he does have a revelation demanding he stand for God, for brotherhood, and for the giving of justice in a real world among real people. If such preaching brings social change it will not be by the way of revolution. A Christian morality, like nature, abhors a vacuum; but it also abhors violence, anarchy, and the leadership of inexperience.

### Breaking the News

**W**E wonder if a Presidential candidate when officially "notified" of his nomination begins his speech of acceptance: "Oh, chairman, this is so sudden!"

### The Obstinate Suicide

**T**HE refusal of Russia to rally to any of the hundred movements which have been started within and without the country to overthrow the Bolsheviks reminds one of the drowning foreigner who never could quite master his English auxiliary verbs and called for help in these terms: "I *will* drown, nobody *shall* help me."

### Covenants Real and Imaginary

**A**ESOP tells a fable of a dog who saw reflected in the river an image of the bone which he carried in his mouth. The image looked larger and more attractive than the bone itself; he leaped to get it, and in so doing lost what he had. Those who urge us to abandon the League of Nations which actually exists, and which four-fifths of the world has joined, in the hope of some future "association" or "world court" to be erected on some undetermined future date, think as did Aesop's dog. They forget that a League in the hand is worth two in the bush.

### Paradise Lost, Strayed or Stolen

**I**N their swift invasion of Poland the Bolsheviks have gained what is undoubtedly an important material success. But perhaps of more ultimate significance is the fact that the Bolsheviks have abandoned all that was really democratic or communistic in their program. This witness comes not from foes but from would-be friends. Bertrand Russell, a declared Communist, goes to Soviet Russia and comes back with the conviction that Lenin and his party are just inferior autocrats; the "dictatorship" has remained, but the "proletariat" are out of it. So testify also the delegates of the British Labor Party. So testifies Emma Goldman. What Poland faces is not a collectivist party but an imperialist Russian army; the old tyranny with new catchwords and a changed personnel.



# The Story of the Week

## The Russian Steam Roller

**A**RMISTICE negotiations have broken off and prospects of peace between Poland and Soviet Russia are still distant. In their advance the Bolsheviki reached the German frontier by the end of July. The much dreaded direct contact of Germany and Russia had at last taken place. The German Government, however, continued to preserve neutrality, and the Russians refrained from crossing the frontier.

Great Britain and France notified the Soviet Government that while they were willing that negotiations should be opened with Poland, they must insist that Russia refrain from imposing on Poland terms which would imperil the safety of Europe. The disarmament of Poland, any change in the internal government of Poland, the annexation of Polish territory and the use of Polish soil as a "bridge-head" between Germany and Russia were all ruled out of consideration, since they involved interests of the western Allies as well as of Poland.

Continuing the invasion the Russians captured Lomza, a Polish town seventy-five miles northeast of Warsaw. Brest-Litovsk, the famous city where Russia surrendered to Germany two years ago, fell into Bolshevik hands at about the same time. The Polish capital itself was endangered from both directions. Farther south Lemberg held out with difficulty against the Bolshevik advance in eastern Galicia.

Superficially, at least, everything goes well with the Bolsheviki. The Ukrainian Republic has been submerged completely under the red deluge. White Russia, which never attained real independence, but at one time cherished hope of being, if not completely independent, at least an autonomous state, is once more Russianized. Lithuania is in a slightly different but hardly more enviable position. The Soviet authorities have negotiated with Lithuania as an independent republic and have admitted their occupation of the country to be only temporary, but in point of fact they are acting like masters and have established a reign of terror in Vilna, the Lithuanian capital, against which the Lithuanian Government has in vain protested. In Poland itself there is a submerged Bolshevik faction and a real collapse of Polish strength would stir into life communist insurrections in Poland, Hungary and Germany.

General Ludendorff, perhaps with a purpose, paints the



RUSSIA TOUCHES GERMANY

Near Lomza the Russian Soviet army is in contact with the Prussian frontier. The heavy dotted line shows the position reached by the Bolsheviki at the beginning of August. The shaded areas are subject to plebiscite

situation in the blackest colors. He declared that "Poland's fall will entail the fall of Germany and Czechoslovakia. Their neighbors to the north and south will follow. Let no one believe it will come to a stand without enveloping Italy, France and England in its hideous coils. Not even the seven seas can stop it." He urged a crusade of all civilized nations to put an end to Bolshevism. But the Allies are inclined to "fear the Greeks even bearing gifts." They show no enthusiasm for the plan of mobilizing Germany against Russia, dreading lest a powerful German army should



Wide World

### ALL LOST SAVE HONOR

The Polish infantry, gallant but unfortunate. These troops are supplied with British uniforms, French helmets and American blankets

take an interest in the affairs of western as well as of eastern Europe. The Reichstag, acting in obedience to the Treaty, has recently passed a bill abolishing compulsory military service in Germany.

Rumania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Finland, Lithuania, Latvia and Esthonia are watching the Bolshevik invasion of Poland with growing uneasiness, and it is possible that if England and France decide to intervene actively against the Bolsheviki they may mobilize all of these little nations into an anti-Bolshevist alliance. The Hungarians are offering their services most eagerly, but the Allies feel that the Hungarians, like the Germans, may demand a revision of peace terms as the price of their aid, and that this price may be too high to pay. As a last resort civilization may count on the United States. Premier Witos of Poland has communicated to President Wilson "the Polish Government's sincere gratitude for America's generous help and continued sympathy extended to this country," applying not only to past favors but to the hope of future aid.

## Repression in Ireland

**I**N Ireland, as in so many parts of the world, bad conditions are growing worse. A long series of midnight outrages and murders from ambush culminated on July 30 in the assassination of Frank Brooke, deputy lieutenant of County Wicklow, chairman of the Dublin and Southeastern Railway, and a personal friend of Viscount French, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. This incident, like the Phoenix Park murders of 1882, strengthened the determination of the British Government to adopt repressive measures. News-



papers estimate that there are already 60,000 or 80,000 British soldiers in Ireland; a very sizable "army of occupation" for a country hardly as populous as New York City.

The British Government has prepared and introduced into Parliament another of the innumerable "coercion bills" which have so frequently been resorted to in former periods of disturbance. This measure practically means the suspension of trial by jury when the authorities deem it necessary. However, Premier Lloyd George will also press his plan for a limited measure of home rule.

Two incidents have given a touch of comedy to what is in reality a very tragic situation. One is the escape of Brigadier General Lucas, who was kidnapped and held prisoner by Sinn Feiners in June. The kidnapping of a British general was not only a blow at British prestige but was from the rebel point of view a good joke on the Government, a way of saying "You send generals to Ireland to protect British rule, but can you protect your protectors?" At least the kidnappers seem to have acted in that spirit, for they permitted considerable freedom to their distinguished captive and even allowed him to write reassuring letters to his friends. General Lucas eventually tired of his ridiculous position and risked his life in a bold and successful dash for liberty.

The other incident concerns Archbishop Mannix, whose residence is Australia but whose patriotism seems to go out entirely toward Ireland rather than to the British Empire or the Australian Commonwealth. During the war he fought the compulsory military service law in Australia and had much to do with securing its defeat. After a tour of the United States he took ship for Ireland in spite of the announcement of the British Government that he would not be allowed to land. Thereupon the Government took occasion to close Queenstown as a port of call for the principal steamship lines, requiring cross-Atlantic steamships to proceed to Liverpool instead! The Government may have had other and more weighty reasons for diverting steamship traffic from the Irish to the English port, but it was popularly credited with altering the traveling plans of thousands of persons to prevent one individual from entering Ireland.

## The Amritsar Inquiry

ON April 10, 1919, a serious rebellion broke out in the city of Amritsar in northern India. For several days the British troops were unable to restore order, but on April 13 General Dyer dispersed a disorderly but unarmed crowd with repeated volleys, killing a large number of natives. He also established rigorous martial law and inflicted humiliating punishments. A year later, on the report of an investigating commission, General Dyer was discharged from the service in spite of his very good military record.



Wide World

UP WITH THE ORANGE!

A demonstration of Belfast Unionists against Sinn Fein. Ulster's man of iron, Sir Edward Carson (insert), has twice appeared in the limelight in recent weeks: in Belfast to urge the repression of Sinn Fein and in Parliament to defend the repression of rebels in India. He looks even more ruthless than he is

On July 8, 1920, a full debate took place in the House of Commons on British colonial policy in the light of the Amritsar inquiry. The militarist element in the House of Commons presented a motion rebuking the Government for retiring General Dyer without a formal trial. Sir Edward Carson, always the eager champion of imperialism and repressive measures, whether in Ireland or India, was the chief spokesman for the reinstatement of the accused officer. His argument was that

"the man on the spot" alone could judge the degree of severity necessary in crushing an insurrection. The Labor Party likewise criticized the Government, but from the opposite side; they thought that General Dyer's superiors shared the responsibility for his act and should also have been removed from office. The House of Commons sustained the action of the Government against both the Carsonites and the Labor members.

The debate was a great vindication of liberal principles in colonial administration. Mr. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, declared that General Dyer had acted on the "doctrine of terrorism." Mr. Churchill, Secretary of War, said that frightfulness as a remedy for disorder was repugnant to British principles. Mr. Asquith, leader of the anti-coalition Liberals, said that there had never been such a terrible incident "in the whole annals of Anglo-Indian history." Mr. Bonar Law, the Government leader in the House of Commons, said that General Dyer had endangered the moral position of Great Britain in India. The significance of all these drastic condemnations of repressive government was that they came from official leaders of conservative temperament. The radical Liberals and Laborites, of course, spoke even more severely. The debate and vote will do much to reconcile the more moderate section of Indian opinion to British rule.

## The League in Being

THE Council of the League of Nations has renewed its sessions. Geneva is the permanent headquarters of the League, under the provisions of the Covenant, and President Wilson has summoned a meeting of the Assembly of the League for November 15 at Geneva. But in the meantime, before headquarters have been established, the League is "visiting around." The present sessions are being held at San Sebastian in Spain. Spain was rather well treated by the Peace Conference of last year; altho a neutral Power thruout the Great War, Spain was not only invited to join the League of Nations but given a seat on its first Council, all the other members of the first Council being belligerents. It was felt by the diplomats at Paris that some neutral state should be represented in the League from the start, so that the Council would not be thought a mere military alliance, and Spain was selected, presumably because the largest neutral nation in Europe.



The Council voted to recommend to the Assembly the organization of an International Blockade Commission to oversee the administration of an international boycott, should such be decreed against an offending Power. Under the Covenant the member nations of the League can act on their own initiative to boycott a nation which has openly defied the League (Article 16 of the Covenant) and the decision of the Council therefore confers no new powers on the League, but simply facilitates common action in case of emergency. The Council also decided to create an International Health Office to cooperate with the Red Cross, with national authorities, and with the International Labor Office to protect the health of the world.

The report of the Committee of Advisory Jurists, on



McGuff in New York American  
© 1920, by The Star Company

Still burrowing

which Mr. Root has been active, was approved by the Council. The International Court of Justice will have eleven judges and four deputy judges, to serve nine years. The Court will be open to all nations whether members of the League or not; it will be competent in all cases put before it by agreement of both parties; it may give judgment by default, and its judgments will be final unless the discovery of new facts leads to a retrial.

The revised Japanese-British alliance will, when it has been arranged, be submitted to the League of Nations, as will also the defensive military alliance between France and Belgium. This is in accordance with Article 18 of the Covenant, which reads as follows:

Every treaty or international engagement entered into hereafter by any member of the League shall be forthwith registered with the Secretariat and shall as soon as possible be published by it. No such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.

This article embodies the pledge in the famous "fourteen points" for the destruction of secret diplomacy, and it is encouraging to be informed that the Powers are indeed taking it seriously.

## Millerand Wins Out

THE most important test of the Spa agreement was, naturally, its reception in France. Germany was compelled to agree; there was no alternative but acceptance of foreign military occupation. England and Italy had less at stake than France and would be less apt to upset a ministry out of resentment at the necessary compromises made. To ask the French, who were still awaiting indemnities from Germany, to advance a loan of 1,200,000,000 francs in six months, with French finances already in a chaotic state, would test the strongest ministry that ever held office in the republic. But Premier Millerand, in the face of an adverse report by the Commission on Finances, secured a favorable vote of 356 to 169 from the Chamber of Deputies on the question of the German loan. M. Millerand said in part:

If you refuse to pass this bill, then our obligation to make advances ceases, but at the same time there disappears the coal protocol for 2,000,000 tons monthly to the Allies, the control commission vanishes, and finally there vanishes the provision for occupation of the Ruhr if Germany does not deliver 6,000,000 tons at the date fixed. You take also from our Belgian and Italian friends the coal Germany promised to deliver.

He reminded the deputies that previous to the Spa agreement the Germans had been paying only 500,000 to 800,000 tons monthly. The French Senate concurred in the decision of the Chamber of Deputies and the Millerand ministry was saved.

## We Remonstrate with Japan

THE United States has sent a note of protest regarding the Japanese occupation of northern Saghalien and parts of eastern Siberia. The first public announcement of the fact came from Japan, where one of the Tokio newspapers stated that an inquiry as to Japanese intentions in Siberia had been received from "a certain country." Details of the note were kept secret.

Japan has a strong case for the occupation of northern Saghalien and the Nikolaievsk region. The disappearance of all stable government in Siberia in consequence of the Bolshevik civil wars threw the eastern parts of Siberia into a state of anarchy which affected Japan, as the nearest of the Powers, very much as the disorders in Mexico affected the United States. Southern Saghalien already belonged to Japan as a result of the Russo-Japanese war and was separated from the northern part of the island by no natural



Wide World

A KING WITHOUT A COUNTRY

The seated figure is Emir Feisal, Arab King of Syria, at his military headquarters. Altho formerly a friend and ally of the British he has been deposed from his throne by the French





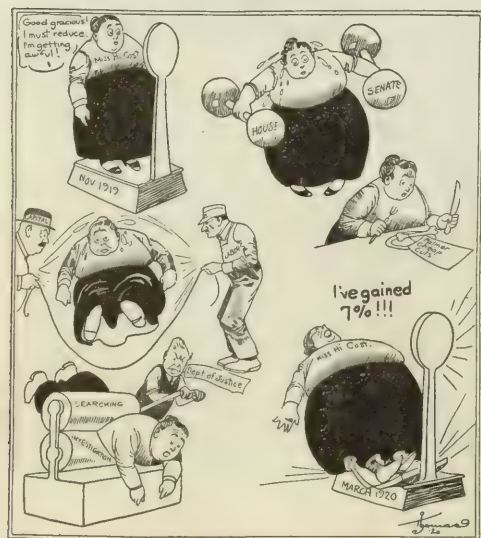
Wide World

HOW!

American boy scouts in Indian costume receiving British scout friends

barrier, but only by such an imaginary geographical line as divides California from Lower California. Finally, the massacre of several hundred Japanese at Nikolaievsk, on the Siberian mainland, gave Japan ample pretext for active intervention or even (following the precedents of England, France, Germany and Russia in acquiring ports from China) for permanent conquest. Japan has given assurances, however, that such occupation is but temporary until a stable government can be established in Russia, or at least in Siberia, which will indemnify Japan for the Nikolaievsk massacre.

But the action of Japan cannot be considered in isolation; it is intertwined with many other problems of interest to both Japan and the United States: the civil war in China, the Japanese penetration of Shantung and Manchuria, the possibility that a "buffer state" may be erected out of eastern Siberia which will be in reality a Japanese dependency, the recent expansion of Japan in the Pacific islands formerly belonging to Germany, the negotiations for a renewal or modification of the Anglo-Japanese alliance, the increased Japanese immigration into California and the Japanese protest against unfriendly land laws in California and other western states. It is because the whole "Pacific problem" between Japan and the United States has grown so complex and so fraught with peril to continued friendly relations that it was necessary for the American Government to make inquiry as to the significance of the latest development in Japanese policy. Fortunately, similar questions



Thomas in Detroit News

What next?

are being asked in Japan itself, and one of the Japanese newspapers has even had the courage to print the following:

The powers regard Japan as a country which doesn't mean what it says. The most important reasons for this will be found in the actions of the militarists. . . .

## Railroads Get Rate Increase

IN a decision rendered July 31 the Interstate Commerce Commission granted to the railroad companies of the nation almost the full amount of the rate increases which they had demanded. The basis of the new rates is to offset the additional expense to the railroads resulting from the recent increase of over \$600,000,000 in the pay of the railroad workers and in addition to make possible a six per cent profit on investment.

The following percentage increases on ordinary freight rates were granted:

	Per cent
Eastern group .....	40
Southern group .....	25
Western group .....	35
Mountain-Pacific group .....	25
Thru rates from points in one group to points in another .....	33 1/3

Passenger fares and charges, including commutation and excursion rates, may be increased by 20 per cent. Excess baggage rates and rates for carriage of milk and cream (which is not counted as freight revenue) may also be increased one-fifth. A special surcharge may be imposed for accommodation in sleeping and parlor cars amounting to one-half of the usual rate.

The Interstate Commerce Commission fully confirmed the contention of the railroad companies that it was becoming impossible for them to handle traffic adequately or to meet running expenses, even without taking into account the recent advances in wage scales. Carriers contend that the country imperatively requires the building of 100,000 freight cars, 3000 passenger cars and 2000 locomotives. As regards financial difficulties the railroads of the eastern states were the worst placed. For the period from 1912 to 1916 these carriers spent 71 cents out of every dollar of operating revenue received for operating expenses. This increased to 75.03 cents in 1917, to 85.82 cents in 1918; 88.51 cents in 1919, and to 97.68 cents during the first four months of 1920. In other words, increasing operating expenses have wiped out of existence the margin for tax accruals, uncollectable revenues, rents, interest on debt and dividends. The operating ratio for passenger trains was in general much more favorable than for freight traffic, which is the reason that a smaller advance was allowed to passenger fares than to freight rates. The passenger will, however, be confronted by a heavy supercharge on Pullman accommodations.

Even shippers admit



© Kadel & Herbert

Miss Sylvia Boyden soothes her nerves with a smoke after making a parachute drop of 1500 feet at an aerial exhibition held in England for King George



that the increased rates allowed the railroads were inevitable. Without such an increase, the transportation system of the nation could only have been kept alive by heavy subsidies, falling ultimately on the taxpayer. But the freight rate advances may be added to commodity prices paid by the consumer and thus give another boost to the high cost of living. The only hopeful element in the situation is that the new rates may permit the railroads to increase their equipment and thus eventually lower prices by making possible larger and speedier shipments of goods.

## The Church and the Steel Strike

THE Interchurch World Movement has at last made public its long awaited report on the steel strike. The full text of the report, a document of 94,000 words, will soon be published by the firm of Harcourt, Brace & Howe. The most noteworthy, or at least the most discussed, aspect of the report is the strong sympathy it shows with the cause of the strikers. In fact, it is prac-



Wide World

Mr. and Mrs. William Howard Taft and other members of the Taft family gathered in Quebec to attend the wedding of Miss Helen Taft, dean of Bryn Mawr and the eldest daughter of ex-President Taft, and Mr. F. S. Manning, an instructor at Yale



© Kadel & Herbert

### A TANK RACE

The military "tank" is designed for strength and tenacity rather than for speed or grace. But Paris has added a new sport, the tank race, to the conventional contests of horses and yachts. It is like a race between snails as large as elephants and as energetic as tigers—something no man has seen since the eighteenth amendment became law!

tically a complete justification of the strike on the ground that the steel trust has persistently refused to recognize or confer with organized labor and that, altho there is a "basic eight hour day" for the payment of wages, at least half the employees work twelve or more hours a day. The report denies that the steel strike was "Bolshevist" or connected with the I. W. W. and contends that it was fought along the lines of orthodox labor unionism.

The following recommendations to avert similar strikes in the future are contained in the report:

The adoption of the eight-hour shift on all continuous processes. Limiting of the day to not more than ten hours on duty, with not more than a six-day and a fifty-four hour week, with at least a minimum comfort wage.

Recognition of the right to join regular craft unions or any other freely chosen form of labor organization; recognition of

right to open conference, either thru shop committees or union representatives; recognition of right of collective bargaining.

A vast extension of house building—by the communities where possible.

That the President's industrial conference plan for standing tribunals of conciliation and publicity be given a fair trial.

## Coal Strike Called Off

PRESIDENT Wilson's personal intervention and appeal to the good will of the trades union leaders put an end to the coal strike in Illinois. He opened his letter to the United Mine Workers of America by reminding them that in striking they had violated their agreement to accept the award of the Bituminous Coal Commission. He warned them that any temporary gain obtained by the violation of existing contracts would in the long run work injury to the miners by depriving the union of its reputation for honest dealing, which was their most valuable



Wide World

### BEER AND WATER MIX

Picnickers in the suburbs of Berlin camp near the river so that the peddlers can pay a call on them with barges of bottled beer



asset in negotiation for better terms. Finally, he promised that if the miners returned to work, but not otherwise, a readjustment of wage schedules would be undertaken:

I must insist that the striking mine workers return to work, thereby demonstrating their good faith in keeping their contract. When I have learned that they have thus returned to work, I will invite the scale committees of the operators and miners to reconvene for the purpose of adjusting any such inequalities as they may mutually agree should be adjusted.

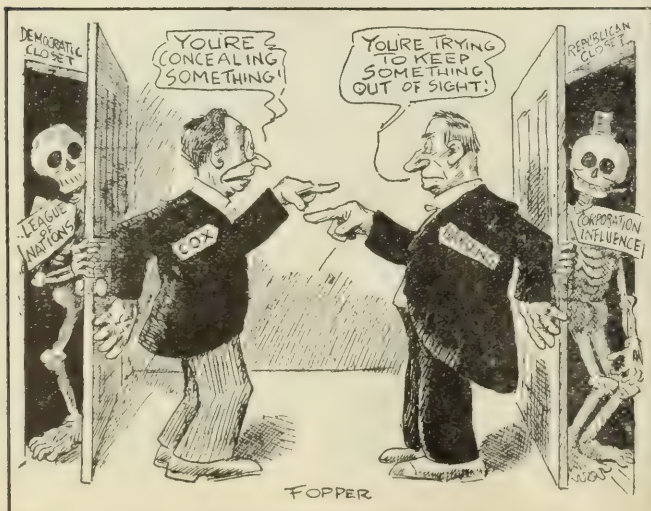
President Lewis of the United Mine Workers of America declared that President Wilson's appeal was fair and just and that he would immediately issue orders to the Illinois miners to resume work, pending the readjustment of wage rates. This he did by telegrams sent to the local unions. Frank Farrington, head of the state union in Illinois, the seat of most of the strikes, issued orders to the same effect. The strike ended at once. In the week ending July 24 the soft coal production of the United States showed a decrease of 329,000 tons as compared with the preceding week. This decline has been attributed to the Illinois strike.

#### OPINIONS SEEM TO DIFFER



Reid in the National Republican.

No skeletons



FOPPER

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Opfer in the New York American

Ain't skeletons awful?—or, won't somebody make those bones behave?

## Rebellion in Lower California

NO sooner has a Mexican Government quelled one rebellion than it is face to face with the next. Governor Esteban Cantu of the Federal Territory of Lower California has placed himself in an attitude of defiance to the authorities in Mexico City. For many years past Lower California, separated from the main body of Mexico geographically, has acted almost as an independent commonwealth, proclaiming its "neutrality" in various successive civil wars. Governor Cantu does not like the prospect of exchanging his nominal subordination to the central Government for a real one. But President De la Huerta is determined that the quasi-independence of the Territory shall end. As his secretary put the matter, Mexico "does not want what happened to Texas to happen in Lower California." This remark is a very pointed one, since there has been much talk in both the United States and Mexico that Lower California might eventually be added to the United States, by purchase or otherwise, thus giving us control of the mouth of the Colorado River and a considerable extension of our Pacific coast line.

The insurrection of Villa now seems to be definitely at an end. He surrendered unconditionally, but was granted a pardon for his past insurgency and permitted to settle down as a civilian on a private ranch. His followers were paid off and allowed to return to "private life" unmolested. The Government even extended its generosity to making good personal loans for which Villa had given receipt. If Villa remains contented with quiet ranch life in Durango the Mexican frontier may look forward to a condition of peace such as it has not enjoyed for a decade. There are now no rebels in northern Mexico east of the Gulf of California.

So quiet was Mexico as a whole that the regular Congressional elections were held on August 1.

The principal contests were between the candidates of the Government and those of the newly organized Conservative Party.

## Prosecution of the Communists

WILLIAM Bross Lloyd, millionaire Communist, and nineteen associates were convicted on August 2 by a Chicago jury of a conspiracy to overthrow the Government of the United States. Various sentences were imposed on the prisoners; terms of from one to five years in prison and in some cases fines in addition. All of the convicted men were active organizers of the Communist Labor Party, one of the "left wing" offshoots of the Socialist Party. The trial lasted eighty-five days and counsel for the defense have moved for a new trial, which may prolong the case yet farther.

The prisoners were released on bail pending a possible new trial.

Mr. Lloyd himself was given the heaviest sentence. Against him was not only the general charge of being active in a seditious organization, but the specific accusation of making speeches inciting to violence. In one of his speeches he is alleged to have urged a Milwaukee crowd to "dynamite the doors of the banks to get the money to finance the revolution." Whether mere membership in the Communist Labor Party is a crime or not is questionable, in view of the recent decision of the Federal Department of Labor that an alien resident in the United States could not be deported unless there were other charges against him than membership in the party.

The Chicago prosecutions were under a state law against "criminal syndicalism," the meaning and constitutionality of which will doubtless be determined in the course of the prosecutions now being carried on under its authority.



# Here Are Books—And Books

## These Jolly Admirals

There is something about the sea which gives its guardians an unrestrained vigor of personality and freedom of speech which boils over the confines of military discipline. From the disobediences of Nelson to the indiscretions of Sims this trait of verbal insubordination has been noted in many of the greatest admirals. *The Memories and Records* of Lord Fisher goes, however, beyond the tradition of the "freedom of the seas." It is a rambling autobiography without form or plan, frank to the verge of indiscretion or beyond, crammed with the enthusiasm and energy of youth (he was born in 1851 but was of the tribe of Peter Pan), exuberant beyond the bounds of the English language, and altogether delightful and incredible. In it we can read, for instance, of how King Edward begged Fisher to "kindly leave off shaking your fist in my face!" how Admiral Jellicoe is a most excellent naval officer except that "he is totally wanting in the great gift of insubordination"; how when Fisher was "Pooh-Bah at the Admiralty; the First Lord was in a trance, and the Financial Secretary had locomotor ataxy," and how he acted in place of both, "I wasn't justified but I did it"; how England owes its present prosperity to George Washington, "the greatest Englishman who ever lived," and how the Germans ought to have shot their Dr. Diesel "like a dog" for inventing the oil engine while the British controlled the world's greatest tracts of oil lands!

*Fifty Years in the Royal Navy*, by Admiral Sir Percy Scott, is another autobiography by a rebel against naval routine whom time has vindicated. Altho more sober and restrained in style, Sir Percy Scott's book is quite as critical in substance as Lord Fisher's. With evident delight he cites his warning that the submarine had revolutionized warfare, published in June, 1914, and all the gravely severe press comments and "official statements" which appeared at the time to reprove the fantastic speculations of the rash naval officer! *Indiscretions of the Naval Censor*, by Rear Admiral Sir Douglas Brownrigg, is a very frank and lively account of how the British handled censorship and publicity work in connection with the naval service during the war.

*My Memoirs*, by Grand Admiral von Tirpitz, sometimes facetiously known as the "good, grey pirate," shows the same fearless criticism of the powers that be as is evident in the British naval memoirs, tho von Tirpitz is sour and sulky where Fisher is genial and Scott straightforward. He has much to say about politics, criticizes the blunders of the Kaiser and the feebleness of his ministers, and declares that the war was lost mainly because unrestricted submarine warfare was—in deference to American feelings—begun a year too late. He describes the



Underwood & Underwood

The late Lord Fisher was the victim of outrageous calumnies during his lifetime. He was supposed to be a Malay! The son of a Cingalese Princess—hence his wicked cunning and duplicity! He had formed a syndicate and bought all the land round Rosyth before the Government fixed on it as a naval base—hence his wealth! And so forth! And so forth! But King Edward, for one, always had faith in him and the blacker the attacks, the more he revelled in Lord Fisher's reputed wickedness. The reader will find these reminiscences at the very beginning of the first volume of Lord Fisher's autobiography—memories which he first intended for use at his death, then published—only to die shortly afterward

*Lusitania* as "an armed cruiser," is unable to see anything wrong in the torpedoing of unwarned ships and clings to the delusion that a firmer diplomatic tone would have scared the United States into remaining neutral.

*Memoirs and Records*, 2 vols., by Admiral Lord Fisher. *Doran. Fifty Years in the Royal Navy*, by Admiral Sir Percy Scott. *Doran. Indiscretions of the Naval Censor*, by Rear Admiral Sir Douglas Brownrigg. *Doran. My Memoirs*, 2 vols., by Grand Admiral von Tirpitz. *Dodd, Mead & Co.*

## Uncensored Fiction

War fiction has entered the "Now It Can Be Told" stage. No longer is the hero sent to France because his dilemma is too much for his author and the only resource is to kill him; no longer is he sent for a broadening and clarifying of his point of view, an opportunity to discover the real and fundamental things of life. The present idea is not to show how war makes men but how it unmakes them. That phase of war was, while the battle was on, kept pretty generally out of print but it was no secret to anybody who knew anybody in any army. Nevertheless it is well to have it recorded not only for future generations but for the clearer enlightenment and better understanding of our own.

*The Secret Battle* is the record of a high spirited young Englishman whose

nerve was broken by the long and terrible strain of infantry warfare. It is simply and vividly told. It reads not like fiction but like fact, which perhaps it is. It pictures not only the fighting in France but the terrible ordeal at Gallipoli of which we know much less. It brings home to an American what we are too apt to forget, the length of four years of war. Its chief fault is the deprecating attitude of its author, A. P. Herbert, who almost apologizes for telling you in detail how Penrose's tragedy came about.

Gilbert Frankau errs in the other direction. He is so interested in every detail of the story of *Peter Jameson* that it never occurs to him that you may not be equally enthusiastic, and as a matter of fact you usually are. The book is about equally divided between the tobacco business, in which Peter was a very successful merchant; the war on the western front, in which Peter was a lieutenant of artillery; and the cure of a case of shell shock, effected by Peter's wife. Personally we were more interested in the tobacco business than in the shell shock, which is the real cause of the book, but that may have been because we knew less about it beforehand. Anyway Peter is very well worth knowing, as are a number of the lesser lights.

*The Secret Battle*, by A. P. Herbert. *Alfred A. Knopf. Peter Jameson*, by Gilbert Frankau. *Alfred A. Knopf.*

## Poetry and Verse

Perhaps there is a psychological basis for the tendency nowadays to speak always of modern "verse." We have grown chary of the word poetry—so many crimes have been committed in that name. Then, too, to find your modern "poetry" you must first define it. Verse is a safer word for general use, and it savors pleasantly of informality.

The amount of good contemporary verse seems to increase every year. The publishers say that more people are reading it than ever before. The editors know that more people are writing it—especially in the spring. In his *Anthology of Magazine Verse for 1919* William Stanley Braithwaite has collected the best of American verse published during the past year, an array far removed from war themes and dominated to a considerable extent by a lyrical spirit of joy in living, the normal reaction, no doubt, from war shadows. Sara Teasdale's verse, "The Debtor," exemplifies this trend.

So long as my spirit still  
Is glad of breath  
And lifts its plumes of pride  
In the dark face of death;  
While I am curious still  
Of love and fame,  
Keeping my pride too high  
For the years to tame;  
How can I quarrel with fate  
Since I can see  
I am a debtor to life,  
Not life to me?

But in contrast are such poems as



"Ma," by Alter Brody, and Edwin Arlington Robinson's "The Valley of Shadow," which Mr. Braithwaite refers to as "a piece of surgery" by a poet who "knows the anatomy of human character and experience, and whose passion is to heal, strengthen and restore."

All in all the anthology is valuable not only as literature, but as a barometer of the spirit of the times.

*The Second Book of Modern Verse*, made by Jessie B. Rittenhouse out of American poetry of the last six years, is perhaps too good an anthology.

Like its predecessor, it is closely fabricated. Poem shades into poem. But when one is making an anthology read like a sonnet-sequence, there is a temptation to pick and choose for the sake of the pattern. Miss Rittenhouse is not always able to resist, and some poems hardly deserving a place on merit win one because they fit.

The pattern, moreover, has little room for the thing that is *sui generis*. There is a lack of the "unrelated" stuff of the imagists—pictures and rhapsodies and adventures in sheer fancy—in these well-ordered pages. And the pattern tends to dwarf the single figure. The book reads almost too smoothly: something of the vigor and beauty of individual poems is lost in the less distinguished fabric.

Conscience is the bane of an anthologist. Miss Rittenhouse regrets she has had to omit many poets; she might have done better to omit more. The one and two poem people, in many cases, might better have yielded room to the real leaders.

How much we still owe the Britishers! The pages on the war cry aloud for the strong clear notes which poets across the water have sounded for us.

The little book makes excellent reading, nevertheless, and fills admirably the need for an inviting, convenient and generally adequate presentation of current verse.

*Anthology of Magazine Verse for 1919*, by William Stanley Braithwaite. Small, Maynard & Co. *The Second Book of Modern Verse*, by Jessie B. Rittenhouse. Houghton, Mifflin Co.

## A Self-Conscious Pilgrimage

We submit that Dorothy Richardson's *Pilgrimage* books are pernicious. They make you morbidly self-conscious. You find yourself minutely examining the way in which you eat buttered toast, noting carefully how your sister smiles before breakfast, considering solemnly the exact shade and texture of your hair. You keep watching yourself think to see if you do it in the jerky phrases of Miriam Henderson. Your peace of mind is altogether destroyed.

The trouble is that the books are interesting. There is a terrible fascination about their incisive minutenesses. Nothing happens, but you keep on reading. They are very skilfully done.

May Sinclair's laudatory introduction is of the sort which makes you determine to dislike the books if pos-

sible, but it contains, nevertheless, some exceedingly enlightening comment:

By imposing very strict limitations on herself Miss Richardson has brought her art, her method, to a high pitch of perfection, so that her form seems to be newer than it perhaps is. . . . Obviously she must not interfere; she must not analyze or comment or explain. Rather less obviously, she must not tell a story, or handle a situation or set a scene; she must avoid drama as she avoids narration. And there are some things she must not be. She must not be the wise, all-knowing author. She must be Miriam Henderson. She must not know or divine anything that Miriam does not know or divine; she must not see anything that Miriam does not see. She has taken Miriam's nature upon her. She is not concerned, in the way other novelists are concerned, with character. Of the persons who move thru Miriam's world you know nothing but what Miriam knows.

This is a distinctly interesting and certainly a permissible method of writing but we cannot feel, as Miss Sinclair seems to, that it is the ultimate method. And, personally, we can't get up the least enthusiasm about Miriam. She is an astute person in her comments and observations but she has an appalling dislike of people, all kinds of people. Moreover, we cannot agree with her, and Miss Richardson, and Miss Sinclair, that washing your face in the morning is as vital and fascinating a process as, for instance, falling in love.

Of the four volumes of *Pilgrimage* which have so far been published the first and the last are the most interesting; *Pointed Roofs* for its charming picture of the German boarding-school and *The Tunnel* for its pictures of people. Surely the creation of an admirable and likeable dentist is a feat unique in fiction.

*Pilgrimage: I, Pointed Roofs. II, Backwater. III, Honeycomb. IV, The Tunnel*, by Dorothy Richardson. Alfred A. Knopf.

## There Are Chinks in the Plot

Samuel Merwin has written better novels than *Hills of Han*, but it offers agreeable entertainment for an uncritical hour. It is an exciting tale of missionaries and journalists in China in 1907. The strong, silent men are the strongest and the silentest you ever met, but perhaps you like them that way, and anyhow the heroine is a most attractive young person and there are plenty of picturesque Chinamen of all ranks, many tense situations, and several narrow escapes.

*Hills of Han*, by Samuel Merwin. Bobbs-Merrill Co.

## Small Town Folks

It will be interesting to see whether the people who liked the somewhat oversentimental *Friendship Village* stories continue to like Zona Gale as the far from sentimental and exceedingly skilful author of *Miss Lulu Bett*. The book is a study of small town life in the Middle West, particularly of Lulu, living with her married sister, whose husband is a dentist and a justice of the peace, as "the family beast of burden." Lulu is neither young nor charming, it isn't

that kind of a story at all, but she is a very real and human person, they all are, appallingly human. There is a certain flavor of relentless realism which suggests Arnold Bennett. It is not a story you forget in a hurry. It haunts you, and the more you think about it the more you admire the skill with which it is written, the finish, the restraint.

*Miss Lulu Bett*, by Zona Gale. D. Appleton & Co.

## Another Cape Cod Story

"The Cape," as every one knows, is Cape Cod, but Joseph Lincoln is not its prophet. He knows the Cape, of course; he is a very competent photographer of its landmarks, geographical and social, but his "quaint characters" talk a language which was never heard on sea or land, least of all on that flat and sandy peninsula. He can tell a very good story, as he does in *The Portygee*, his psychology, tho somewhat obvious, is true, but his thoroly "wholesome" humor lacks the faintest alleviation of subtlety. Cape Cod deserves a better interpreter.

*The Portygee*, by Joseph C. Lincoln. D. Appleton & Co.

## Unearthing Henry James

If you were a magazine editor would you recognize the genius of Henry James on sight? Here is a chance to test your perspicacity. Four of his short stories, hitherto unpublished in book form, have recently been gathered into a volume. Among them is "Poor Richard" which, when James was almost unknown, William Dean Howells advised "The Atlantic Monthly" to accept and to take "all the stories you can get from that writer."

Brander Mathews has bewailed, and with more than a little justice, the present fad for digging up and republishing the obscure and better forgotten works of well known writers, but in this case the resurrection of James's stories seems justifiable, for, no matter who wrote them, they are stories well worth reading. Unusual in type, slender in incident, they are full of good dialogue and subtle psychology.

*A Landscape Painter*, by Henry James. Scott & Seltzer. New York.

## Studies in Character

Some one once said, in comparing the pleasures derived from reading "best sellers" and good literature, that the enjoyment of the former was of the sudden biting sort as contrasted with the quiet feeling of intellectual delight of the latter, which steals over the reader almost imperceptibly. The latter is the case with Laura Spencer Porter's collection of essays, *Adventures in Indigence*. They are a bit hard to get into, in fact you may have to read several essays before you are aware that the charm of the author's leisurely, delicately humorous style has crept over you, but by the time you have finished "Mamie Faffelfinger," the fourth essay, you realize that you have found a friend, whom you will cherish enough to keep on the shelf with Lamb



and Stevenson and Chesterton and others dear to the heart of the essay lover. Miss Porter is at her best in character studies and there are many of them in this little collection.

*Adventures in Indigence*, by Laura Spencer Porter. Atlantic Monthly Press.

## The Peace Conference from Many Angles

Five new important studies of the Peace Conference at Versailles have appeared; it will not be long before the Peace Shelf in the libraries will rival in length the shelf of books on the Great War. Professor Scott of the University of Chicago has prepared *An Introduction to the Peace Treaties* which is almost indispensable for anyone who has not closely followed the diplomacy of the war and the Peace Conference and wishes to gain some understanding of what issues were involved in the discussions and decisions at Paris. Charles T. Thompson, superintendent of the Associated Press foreign service, has chronicled *The Peace Conference Day-by-Day*. Of particular interest is his personal interview with President Wilson immediately after the completion of his work in Paris. There has been much speculation as to whether the President regarded the Peace of Versailles as based on the Fourteen Points. Here is the answer in Wilson's own words:

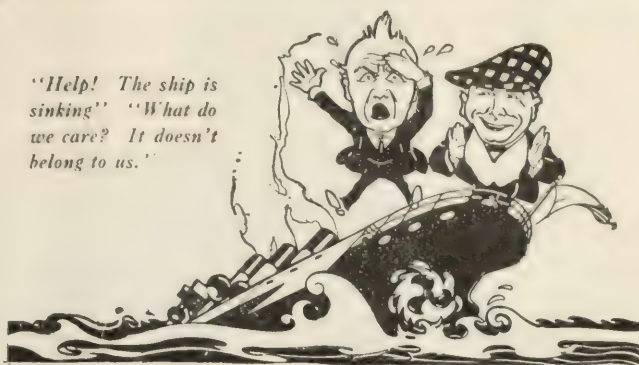
I think the Treaty adheres to the Fourteen Points more closely than I had a right to expect, in view of the difficulties which arose and the great number of divergent views which had to be reconciled. The Fourteen Points were the guiding principle thruout and their spirit entered into pretty much everything that was done.

Another good journalistic account is *The Peace in the Making*, by H. Wilson Harris, correspondent of the liberal and somewhat pacifist *London Daily News*. Mr. Harris is well-informed and his pen-pictures of the personality and policy of the leading diplomats, tho less lively than those of Mr. Keynes, are far closer to the facts.

But by far the best account of the Paris Conference which has yet appeared is *Some Problems of the Peace Conference*, by Charles Haskins and Robert Lord, two American scholars who served with distinction as expert advisers to the peace commissioners. Professor Haskins acted as American representative in preparing the clauses on Alsace-Lorraine, the Saar Valley and other territorial changes in western Europe; Professor Lord was, in coöperation with Dr. Bowman, largely responsible for American policy with respect to the complex problems of the Polish boundary. The book is a complete, first-hand and absolutely trustworthy account of the political and territorial decisions taken by the Conference and the reasons why they were taken. It does not, however, undertake to discuss the non-territorial issues involved in the peace settlement, such as reparations and the League of Nations.

*The War, the World and Wilson*, by George Creel, is intended as a vindica-

"Help! The ship is sinking" "What do we care? It doesn't belong to us."



## Look what's happening to your ship

Yes, it's yours. Instead of "ship" read "public utility"—perhaps even the Telephone or Electric Light Company in your town.

Rates at low tide have stranded it on the rocks, while a surging sea of costs for labor and material breaks over it smoke-stack high.

Whether you're a stockholder or not, through investments by your trust company and insurance company you are part owner in the public utilities. So you are protecting your own money when you see to it that they have a high enough rate to keep going.

These public servants are necessary for your safety and convenience, too. For if electric service were forced to shut down, picture the result—

No street cars running. Telephone communication suspended. Factories idle. Homes deprived of electric light. Theatres and "movie" houses closed. Increased fire risk. Streets unsafe at night.

Even now the Electric Light Companies and Telephone Companies are unable to supply service to hundreds of thousands of applicants. Lack of funds stands in the way of adding equipment to extend the lines.

The reasons for such a condition are different in different places, and each case must of course be settled on its merits.

After all, though, it isn't a question of fairness or generosity to the Companies so much as a matter of self-interest to you. "How can I assure myself good electric service?"—that is your problem.

Your law-makers and public service commissioners take their authority from public opinion. And public opinion divided by the population of your community is you.

Published in the interest of Electrical Development by an Institution that will be helped by whatever helps the Industry.

# Western Electric Company

No. 18. Wherever electricity is called on to render its manifold services—in office or home, in city or country—Western Electric, through its 46 branch houses, makes the distribution of electrical products more convenient and more economical.



tion of all the policies of President Wilson's administration, but it is a much less effective campaign document than Ray Stannard Baker's account of the Peace Conference or Professor Dodd's biography of Wilson because it is too obviously prejudiced and recklessly overstated. Its chief value lies in its refutation of some misrepresentations of the Treaty by Mr. Keynes and other "liberals."

*An Introduction to the Peace Treaties*, by Arthur Pearson Scott. University of Chicago Press. *The Peace Conference Day-by-Day*, by Charles T. Thompson. Brentano. *The Peace in the Making*, by H. Wilson Harris. Dutton. *Some Problems of the Peace Conference*, by Charles Homer Haskins and Robert Howard Lord. Harvard University Press. *The War, the World and Wilson*, by George Creel. Harpers.

## Natural History

*Homings with the Birds*, by Gene Stratton-Porter. (Doubleday, Page & Co.) Curious adventures in bird study and bird photography. If you are the sort of person who studies birds in your own backyard you will find the book delightful. There are many excellent and interesting photographs.

*Science of Plant Life*, by Edgar Nelson Trauseau. (New World Science Series. World Book Co., Yonkers, New York.) A practically illustrated high school botany treating of the plant and its relation to environment. A supplement to laboratory and field work.

*Wasp Studies Afield*, by Phil and Nellie Rau. (Princeton University Press.) Descriptive report covering four years' study of many species. A notably thorough work to whose scientific accuracy is added an entertaining style.

*The Human Side of Animals*, by Royal Dixon. (Frederick A. Stokes Co.) An informal gathering of facts to show that animal intelligence differs from human wisdom in degree rather than in kind.

*Famous Pictures of Real Animals*, by Lorinda Munson Bryant. (John Lane Co.) Photographs of pictures and statuary of animals, by artists old and modern, accompanied by simple explanatory text. Excellent for children of all ages.

## History and Current Affairs

*The National Government of the United States*, by Everett Kimball. (Ginn Co.) A very up-to-date civics textbook by the Professor of Government in Smith College. Gives not only the constitutional framework of the Government but an accurate and adequate discussion of its functioning under actual conditions of political life and party struggle.

*International Waterways*, by Paul Morgan Ogilvie. (Macmillan.) A useful handbook to students of international law, including a historical discussion of the evolution of the principles of "freedom of the seas" and "access to the sea" for inland states. A reference manual to treaties governing the navigation of international waterways forms the second section of the book.

*Law in the Modern State*, by Leon Duguit (Huebsch). A subtle and ingenious French student of political theory analyzes the "myth" of the sovereignty of the central government and discusses the mechanism of public administration.

*The Casual Laborer and Other Essays*, by Carleton H. Parker (Harcourt, Brace & Howe). An analysis of the psychological causes of industrial unrest among radical unskilled laborers. Believes that the I. W. W. and similar movements of revolt are not based on any social theory but are the instinctive reaction to abnormal and oppressive living conditions. Explains the revolutionary mind on Freudian principles.

*The Law of Struggle*, by Hyman Segal. (Massada Pub. Co.) "Sensitiveness" as the cause of struggle and struggle as the fundamental law of life that makes for progress, treated philosophically.

*Studies in the History of Ideas*. (Columbia University Press.) First volumes of a series from the most productive philosophical department at present in the country. Thirteen papers by Woodbridge, Dewey, Montague and others ranging from Empedocles to the present day.

*Under Caesars' Shadow*, by Henry Francis Colby, D.D. (Neale Pub. Co.) Studies from the religious angle of the careers of Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius and Nero, whose shadows darkened the path of Jesus.

*The Good Man and the Good*, by Mary W. Calkins. (Macmillan Co.) An exhaustive in-

roduction to the study of ethics. Written by a professor of psychology, primarily for college students.

*Essays in the Study of Siennese Painting*, by Bernard Berenson. (F. F. Sherman.) Carefully substantiated descriptions and discussions of a little-known phase of Italian painting, excellently illustrated. Mr. Berenson is an art scholar of thirty years' reputation.

## Psychic Phenomena

*Life After Death*, by James H. Hyslop. (E. P. Dutton & Co.) A psychic textbook inquiring into the spiritual phenomena of various religions, philosophies and civilizations.

*After Death*, by W. T. Stead. (George H. Doran Co.) Republication of the "Letters of Julia" with several new "spirit communications."

*The Seven Purposes*, by Margaret Cameron. (Harper & Bros.) Experiences with the planchette, recording conversations of information and comfort, many bearing prophecies about the war.

*The New Revelation*, by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. (George H. Doran & Co.) An intensely human narration of the gradual change from a strictly materialistic viewpoint to an abiding faith in the truth of spiritualism, by a man too sane, too reasoning, too thoughtful to have any illusions on this much-mooted subject.

## Textbooks

*How to Write Special Feature Articles*, by Willard Grosvenor Bleyer. (Houghton Mifflin.) It is now several years since general studies of the science and art of journalism began to be printed and specialization has begun. The volume in hand goes thoroughly into the making of the "feature" story and illustrates the correct practice by numerous extracts from standard periodicals. Every school of journalism will add this book to its technical library.

*What to See in America*, by Clifton Johnson. (Macmillan Co.) A guide book that makes you really quite anxious to see America first. There is a chapter for each state with brief information about the chief points of scenic, artistic and historic interest, adequate maps and excellent photographs.

*Aircraft*, by Evan J. David. (Scribner's Sons.) A history of aircraft from the glider up, the development of flying during the war, commercial flying, transatlantic flying, aero mail, an explanation for the untechnical reader of why planes fly and how the most important maneuvers are performed. A book for reference rather than general reading.

*A Manual of Homemaking*, by Martha Van Rensselaer, Flora Rose and Helen Canon. (Macmillan Co.) Arrangement, furnishing and care of the modern house; making of clothing; planning and cooking meals. For the woman who is managing a household.

*The Elementary Nervous System*, by G. H. Parker, professor of zoology in Harvard University. (J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia.) This second monograph in the series on experimental biology explains the elementary nervous system as it exists in the simpler forms, such as sponges, coelenterates and ctenophores.

*The Gun Book*, by Thomas McKee. (Henry Holt & Co.) Traces compactly the development of military firearms from "Greek fire" to the Lewis and Browning guns. For boys of all ages.

*The A B C of Aviation*, by Capt. Victor W. Page. (N. W. Henly Pub. Co.) Complete, practical and well-illustrated book, outlining clearly the elements of aeronautical engineering.

*Motor Vehicles and Their Engines*, by E. S. Fraser and R. B. Jones. (Van Nostrand Co.) The authors are both late U. S. Army instructors in the Motor Transportation Corps, and they have written a practical handbook on the care, repair and management of motor trucks and automobiles, for owners, chauffeurs, garages, and schools. There are nearly three hundred useful illustrations.

*Farm Management*, by J. H. Arnold. (Macmillan Co.), a secretary in the Office of Farm Management, U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, discusses types of farms, advantages of situation, organization, business methods, crop and live stock problems.

*Industrial Nursing*, by Florence S. Wright, R. N. (Macmillan Co.) A reliable manual for those taking up this rather new work, which was started in 1897 in a small way by John Wanamaker Employees Benefit Association, and which now has grown to be a recognized profession.

*English for Coming Citizens*, by Henry H. Goldberger. (Charles Scribner's Sons.) Simple and well-illustrated lessons in spoken English, based on the topic as a starting point. A book of value, especially to teachers.

*The A B C of Exhibit Planning*, by Evert G. Routzahn and Mary Swain Routzahn. (Sur-

vvey and Exhibit Series, Russell Sage Foundation.) Gives a carefully prepared and well-illustrated plan which should be studied by communities and organizations contemplating exhibits for such or similar purposes.

*Human Conduct*, by Charles Clinton Peters. (Macmillan Co.) A combination text-book of philosophy, psychology, logic, ethics, treated from the viewpoint of the individuals control of conduct. Appropriate for secondary schools or reading circle.

*Effective Farming*, by H. O. Sampson, Professor of Agriculture, Wintrop Normal and Industrial College. (Macmillan Co.) A comprehensive textbook designed for American schools, but a book which any student of agriculture, any progressive farmer, can use to good advantage.

*Mythology of All Ages*, Vol. III. (Marshall Jones Co., Boston.) Deals with the Celtic imageries still known to us, gathered with discriminating care by Dr. John Arnott Macculloch, and the early beliefs of the Slavs, by Dr. Jan Machal. In this volume is gathered material not new, but all of which is closely identified with mythology as distinct from fairy or folk tale remnants.

*Swimming and Watermanship*, by L. de B. Handley. (Macmillan Co.) Beginners and experts can learn swimming from this manual of practical explanation, easy to follow. Photographs make each point clear.

*Diet and Health*, by Lulu Hunt Peters. (Reilly & Britton Co., Chicago.) If you would be fat or thin follow Dr. Peters' simple rules enjoyably prescribed. She hasn't much patience with thin people, but relents in a late chapter and helps them out.

*Architecture and Democracy*, by Claude Bragdon. (Alfred A. Knopf.) Theories on ornament and mathematics and a new art of mobile color. A book of distinct personality and charm.

*The Theory and Practice of Color*, by Bonnie E. Snow and Hugo B. Froehlich. (Prang Co.) A guide to the intelligent use of color and an explanation of its laws and principles. Contains many beautiful colored charts.

*Office Management, Its Principles and Practice*, by Dr. Lee Galloway. (Ronald Press.) Comprehensive, alive and interesting, of practical assistance to executives. Valuable suggestions for efficient office equipment and system.

*Accounting as an Aid to Business Profits*, by William R. Bassett. (A. W. Shaw Co.) Explains how accounting should be made to serve the business man. Illustrated with charts and written with an understanding of common business troubles.

## Miscellaneous

*The Young Man and the Law*, by Simeon E. Baldwin. (Macmillan.) The ex-Governor of Connecticut discusses the advantages and drawbacks of a lawyer's career in the United States and the ethical problems and standards of the profession.

*The Disillusions of a Crown Princess*, by Princess Catherine Radziwill. (John Lane Co.) If you are one of those who find that reading of the domestic difficulties of royalty makes you more contented with your own hard lot you will be interested by this "inside story" of the ex-Crown Princess of Germany.

*The Romance of Aircraft*, by Laurence Yard Smith. (F. A. Stokes Co.) A history of the development of aviation with the emphasis on its romantic rather than its technical aspect and on personalities rather than on planes.

*The Complete Opera Book*, by Gustav Kobbe. (G. P. Putnam's Sons.) It contains the stories of the operas, hundreds of the principal airs and motives, brief histories of the composers, interesting facts about the productions and the singers who have made certain roles famous, scores of portraits, some brief and informing criticism. The book is arranged so that it makes a comprehensive, consecutive history of the opera and is intelligently indexed so that it is possible to find quickly the particular bit of information you want.

*A Survey of Religious Education in the Local Church*, by William Clayton Bower. (University of Chicago Press.) An analysis of the survey method as used for social and educational purposes, with practical suggestions for adapting it to religious education.

*Splendors of the Sky*, by Isabel M. Lewis. (Duffield & Co.) Articles on astronomy that tell in non-technical terms the progress that has been made in understanding the planetary system. Excellently illustrated.

*The Profits of Religion*, by Upton Sinclair. (Pasadena, California.) The author of "The Jungle" has taken to muck-raking the churches—with similar success at unearthing malodorous features and similar failure to portray a truthful picture.



## Letters to the Great and the Near Great

By John Citizen

Mr. Irvin Cobb,  
Blue Grass Region, Kentucky  
Dear Cobb:

Congratulations on that vote you got in the San Francisco Convention! Probably few votes cast in that or any other convention were so spontaneous and unbossed. Tammany; Wall Street, the Administration, the Senate, the liquor interests, the hyphenates—not your most jealous foe could ascribe that vote (or, more exactly, that one and one-half vote) to such influences or to anything but the admiration of a neighbor who knew you as a man or the admiration of a stranger who knew and loved you as a journalist. Perhaps if I and Mary Citizen had been there you might have had two votes more. And if you had had enough votes you might have been nominated! Many a candidate has been taken far more seriously who deserved it far less. Of one thing I am certain; to judge from photographs you are certainly of Presidential size.

Admiringly yours,

. JOHN CITIZEN.

Premier Witos,  
Warsaw, Poland.  
Dear Sir:

Being a foreigner, and ignorant, no doubt you meant no harm in writing to President Wilson as "at this hour of our country's greatest need nearer and dearer than ever to every Polish heart." Very possibly he may stand high in the opinion of Poland, but if you were to read the American papers you would see that President Wilson was an incompetent lunatic, a dictator, a traitor to the independence of his country, the enemy of the nation's liberties, a Bolshevik, a reactionary, a tool of England, a tool of Germany, a man from whom it is imperative to save the nation. You would learn that the League of Nations, which Poland joined in ignorance, is nothing but a dastardly conspiracy against the Monroe Doctrine and the weeping shade of George Washington. You would know that Wilson committed unforgivable sins in foreign policy; to wit, being elected for keeping us out of war, entering the war, not entering the war soon enough, stopping too soon, imposing severe terms on Germany, letting Germany off too lightly, encouraging Polish imperialism and disregarding Poland's just aspirations. That some of these charges seem to contradict each other only deepens the black wickedness of the man who could be guilty of them all. No, say nothing good of our President if you would please us, for do not the politicians tell us that he is very unpopular? Sympathetically yours,

JOHN CITIZEN.



## High Living

which costs only one cent per dish

The Quaker Oats breakfast is the height of good living, for the oat is the greatest food that grows.

Practically every element the body needs is there in right proportions. And in a luscious food. No price could buy a better breakfast for the grown-up or the child.

Yet you serve a large dish for one cent—the cost of a bite of meat.

Quaker Oats yields 1810 calories of nutriment per pound. It supplies sixteen elements in well-balanced form. A pound of round steak yields 890 calories, and of eggs 635.

One cup of Quaker Oats contains as many calories as a pound of fish.

### Food values

Note how foods differ in the cost per calory. These comparisons on necessary foods are based on prices at this writing.

### 85% less for breakfast

A Quaker Oats breakfast saves 85 per cent compared with the average meat breakfast. It supplies supreme nutrition for the first meal of the day. It saves the average family about 35 cents toward costlier foods for dinner.

#### Cost per 1,000 calories

Quaker Oats	5½c	Average fish	50c
Average meats	45c	Hen's eggs	60c

## Quaker Oats

The choicest one-third of the oats

In Quaker Oats you get just queen grains flaked. All the puny, insipid grains are discarded. A bushel of choice oats yields only ten pounds of Quaker. Yet these rich, flavory oat flakes cost you no extra price. Be wise enough to get them.

Packed in sealed round packages with removable cover

3430



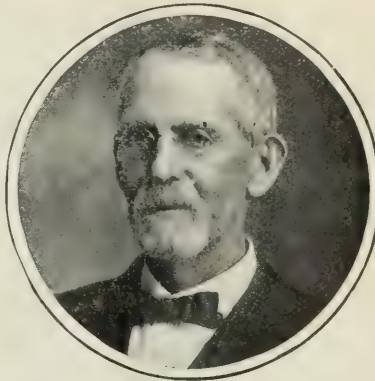
# "The Best Man in My Town Is B. P."

*One of our favorite manuscripts in the "Best Person in Your Town" contest, this answer would have appeared in The Independent weeks since had it not been for the shortage of white paper and other arbitrary things of a similar nature that make editors' lives miserable. In our opinion B. P. is a "real" best person, upright, kind and courageous—but let him speak for himself*

**B.** P. he is commonly called to distinguish him from the son and nephews with the same family name and who have grown into prominence in the small town. A cordial hand-clasp, a smile which lights up his face, a trust in his fellowman, and a big heart make Ben Wade a universal favorite. People in trouble turn to Ben Wade for sympathy and help as naturally as the sunflowers turn toward the sun.

Since early manhood he has lived on his farm at the edge of town and tilled many of its acres himself just as tho his name, as president, was not printed on the letterheads of the single bank of the village and as if his money had not helped finance all of the village enterprizes. No church for miles around has been built without his owning many bricks in its walls and the famous boys' school of his own town long ago became his special hobby. But Ben Wade dresses little better than his hired man, and if he loans out money it is as much for the accommodation of the borrower as for the interest.

In the church of his own denomination Ben Wade is one of the official board. He and his family are there as regularly on Sundays as the minister. He thinks, too, that in the best sense it pays to quit work a little early on Wednesdays and go to prayer meeting, even tho his neighbors are sometimes roused from their slumbers by the calling of his hogs on his return. After breakfast, even in haying time, the chairs are pushed back while Ben



B. P.—otherwise Ben Wade—of McKenzie, Tennessee, is willing to help anyone who wants to lead an honest, useful and God-fearing life

Wade reads a few words from the Good Book and leads the household in prayer.

Tho well past seventy there is no one in the neighborhood younger of spirit than he nor could a more tireless worker be found. Before his return from a business trip to the city he visited every boy of his acquaintance, whether he were then in the Confederate Home or a Freshman in the University. If the pastor's salary and conference expenses were falling short toward the close of the year, Ben Wade could get more contributions than all the other members of the official board combined. Even tho the meetings of the committee to erect a war memorial

drew well on into the night, he was there to the close and next morning his list of subscribers had already grown long before a single name had been added to most of the lists.

But after all what Ben Wade will be remembered longest for, perhaps, is the class of boys which he taught in Sunday school. He took them when they were "little shavers," as he called them, and he kept them till they were men grown. Ben Wade has not the remotest acquaintance with modern theories of pedagogy, but somehow he got the idea across to those boys that they must lead honest, useful, and God-fearing lives. Sometimes the boys whispered and were a bit restless, but they loved their teacher. As they left home, some of them for college, Ben Wade loaned them money to help secure an education. When one of them entered the business world, it was Ben Wade who gave the support and encouragement, which he most needed. When another of them returned as the circuit preacher, it was Ben Wade's horse that carried him to his charges. In vacation time when the boys came back to the place of their birth or else to visit their Alma Mater, they did not rest until they had been out to see Ben Wade. From early summer till late fall his home was filled with guests and during the day scarcely a train arrived which his automobile did not meet. From no one did they receive quite so hearty a welcome as from Ben Wade himself.

## For This Have We Congress

(Continued from page 168)

portance to the nation and consuming a large part of the time of Congress failed to pass; some of these, indeed, did not even reach the floor of either House. After a year of debate the Treaty of Versailles was killed; the restoration of the nation to a peacetime basis is yet to be accomplished. The Kendrick-Kenyon bill, now known as the Gronna bill, providing for federal regulation of the meat industry—a measure vigorously fought by the meat packers, if enacted and enforced, should have wrought a decrease in the cost to the consumer of one of the staple articles of food. Another measure of import to the purchaser, introduced but not passed, is the French "truth in fabric," or "honest cloth," bill, designed to prevent "deceit and profiteering that result from the unrevealed presence of substitutes for virgin wool in woven fabrics purporting to contain wool, and in garments or articles of apparel made therefrom," by providing that tags be used to show the contents of the fabric—virgin wool,

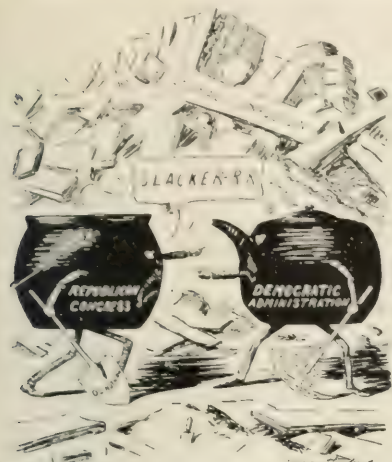
shoddy, cotton, and silk, and the relative proportion or percentage of each, together with the registration number of the person, firm or corporation making the fabric. The Curtis-Gard child labor bill, providing for the regulation of employment of minors in the District of Columbia, for their compulsory education and for a school census, was not reported out of either committee, altho, like the two preceding measures, it was backed by the National Consumers' League and other organizations working for social welfare and having the highest scientific standing. The Sheppard-Towner bill, providing for federal aid in the protection of maternity and infancy, to the end that over 17,000 mothers (23,000 in 1919) and nearly a quarter of a million babies under one year of age who die yearly from causes in the main preventable may be saved to the nation—a bill formulated upon the principle that the Federal Government share with the States the responsibility for the care of mothers and babies—

also failed of passage. The Smith-Towner education bill, prepared by the National Education Association and backed by practically all of the educational forces of the country, providing for a Federal Department of Education, with a Secretary in the Cabinet, was one of the measures not reported out of committee. Other measures not passed were the resolution granting to the Executive power to accept a mandate over Armenia, the Lane-Mondell bill, providing for land distribution among soldiers, and the Plumb railroad bill. More to the credit of Congress is its failure to pass the soldiers' bonus bill (passed by the House but not considered by the Senate), and the "sedition" bills, presented by those who would by this means have treated symptoms rather than causes of our malady.

The Sixty-sixth Congress will be known in history as a reveler in investigations. Over eighty were ordered by the House and Senate—one in every four working days.



The resolutions for investigations were most inclusive as to subject matter, ranging from those to investigate "Lansing resignation and affairs of other cabinet officers," the "suspension of Miss Alice Wood, school teacher,"



Nelson Harding

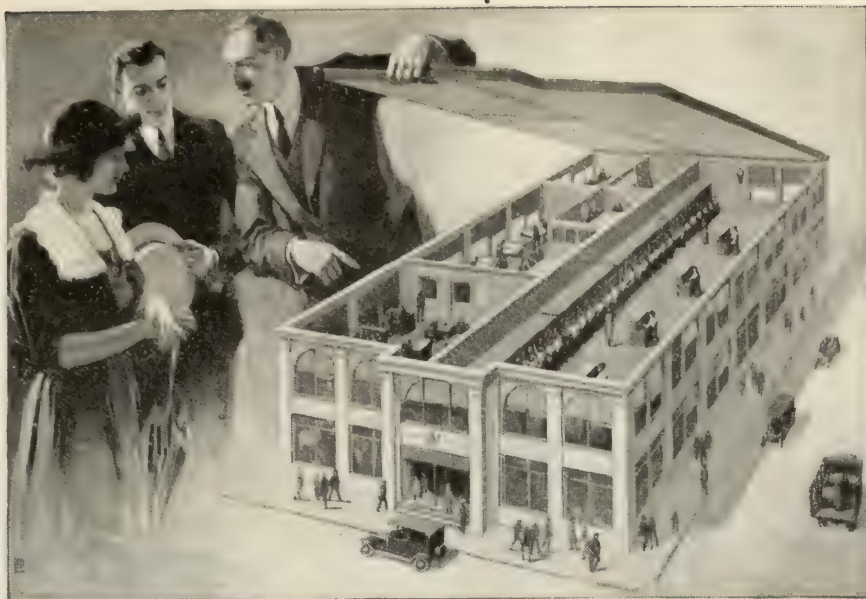
The pot calls the kettle black

the "acceptance of gifts by President," "whether Henry Ford benefited from improvement of River Rouge, Mich.," the "discrimination against individual hackmen in District of Columbia," "prices of men's collars," the "eligibility of Victor Berger," "use of power by Postmaster General," "living conditions of trainmen who lie over between trips," the "status of C. K. Martens, of Russia," and "garden, city, and suburb movement in Europe" to those investigating "influenza," "United States Grain Corporation officials involved in alleged speculations," the "strike of railroad employees," the "Shipping Board," "alleged chemical treatment of certain foods," "wheat problems in Southwest," the "charges against Louis F. Post, Assistant Secretary of Labor," the "high prices of meat and food, and profiteering," the "coal strike," the "shortage and prices of sugar," the "strike of telephone and telegraph operators," the "high cost of living," the "action by the Attorney General on Louisiana sugar situation," "print paper as to prices and discrimination," "Mexican situation," "Bolsheviki propaganda," and "campaign expenses."

Among the more important investigations made are those concerning war expenditures, the Shipping Board, the sugar situation, and the meat packers.

Only a few reports of the investigations actually undertaken have thus far been made, the work not being completed. A vast amount of testimony has been taken which lies entombed in printed reports that will never be read. Nor can one hope for more in the way of results—at least before the first Tuesday in November.

The Sixty-sixth Congress has already taken its place in history. The Congressional post-mortem boast of a Republican leader may load official documents with assurances to the world that the "record of diligent and intelligent consideration of the public business; careful scrutiny of and economy in appropriations; and wise, construc-



## The Public Confidence

An important part of the management of the Bell System is to keep the public informed concerning all matters relating to the telephone.

We consider this an essential part of our stewardship in the operation of this public utility. It is due not only the 130,000 shareholders, but it is due the whole citizenship of the country.

We have told you of new inventions to improve service, of the growth of service, of problems involved in securing materials, employing and training workers, of financing new developments, and of rates necessary to maintain service.

You have been taken into our

confidence as to what we are doing, how we do it, why we do it. You have been told of our efforts to meet unusual conditions; of how we have bent every energy to provide service in the face of storms, floods, fires.

It is an enormous task today to provide adequate service in the face of shortage of workers, raw materials, manufacturing production and transportation.

Nevertheless the service of the Bell System has been improved and extended this year. Over 350,000 new stations have been put into operation. And the loyal workers of the Bell System are establishing new records for efficiency and will establish new records for service.



AMERICAN TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY  
AND ASSOCIATED COMPANIES

One Policy

One System

Universal Service



"BEGINNER'S."

Now is the time to replenish your Sketching Outfit.

Easels, Camp Stools, Umbrellas, Canvas, Academy Boards, Colors, Brushes, etc.

The Beginner's Box, as illustrated, \$3.00. Full line of boxes of Oil, Water Color and China Painting, Pastel and Crayon Drawing.

Catalogue sent on request

DEVOE & RAYNOLDS CO., Inc.

101 Fulton Street, New York



# For a Comfort Shave

Soften the beard *before* lathering

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tive, progressive legislation" constitutes "the finest record ever made in the same period by an American Congress." No such flights of oratory can, however, change the place which this Congress has made for itself. Faced by post-war problems of reconstruction, national and international, problems more tremendous than any before in the nation's history, Congress has failed, with any degree of adequacy, to measure up to the demands made upon it. It has been one of the most partizan of all Congresses. It has condemned to its death "the President's" Treaty of Versailles. It has left the country nearly two years after the cessation of hostilities still a nation at war. It has ignored responsibility for human suffering at our doors. It adjourns, its members to attend to their own and their friends' political fortunes, the problems of the people and of other peoples, so far as these should concern us, unsolved.

That a record such as this could be written by any Congress is possible only because of our "fatuous faith" in our public men and our lack of intelligent interest in affairs of government.

The outstanding conviction in my mind from months spent in Washington is that we, the public, must do more than give proxies. We must know what our representatives do after we have voted them this power.

On November 2 we shall be put to the test. Are we to make possible a duplication of the record of the Sixty-sixth Congress by the Sixty-seventh?

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## Meet the American Idol

(Continued from page 171)

him. One day when he was pitching for the Red Sox against the Athletics a formidable batter came up to the plate. "Don't groove the ball for him. He'll knock it out of the park," advised a teammate.

"Who's he?" asked Ruth, unimpressed.

"He's Home Run Baker," whispered his comrade excitedly.

"Who's he?" repeated the young pitcher impassively. He grooved the ball and struck Baker out.

He played two seasons with the Red Sox and helped them to win a world's championship series. He was getting a big salary and the world's series money was a fortune in addition. Ruth had money to spend and his first use of it was characteristic. He went to his adviser, Brother Paul, with a plan for setting his father up in business. Brother Paul pretended to listen to the project coldly (the boy's mother had long been dead).

"Maybe your father wouldn't do well in business," said Brother Paul. "He never was successful, you know. He never gave you a good home. I can't see that you owe him anything."

Ruth looked disappointed. He was used to acting on Brother Paul's advice. But this was one time when he decided for himself. His face cleared up after a few seconds and he said



quietly: "He may do well. He never had a fair chance. Anyhow, he's my father."

Then Brother Paul smiled: "That's the spirit, George," he said. "Go on with your plan. I hope it will work splendidly."

The plan did work well. Old Man Ruth was fairly successful during the short remaining term of his life and his son was proud of him.

Ruth did good pitching for the Red Sox. He didn't know that the Athletics were invincible so he went ahead and beat them. But his ability to knock home runs and bring other runners across the plate with him made him too valuable to use as a pitcher who of necessity would have to rest two-thirds of the time. So the Red Sox put him at first base and he came to bat every day they played. And he did things in home run getting that had never been done before.

During April of last year he made one home run, during May two, during June four, July nine, August seven, September six. Only nine of these homers were made in Boston; the others while he was on the road. Generally speaking, he played no favorites; he got at least three home runs at the expense of every opposing club. From the Detroit pitchers he got seven home runs. But there was an exception—Washington. He got no home run from Washington till the very end of the season. On July 5, July 18, and August 24, respectively, Ruth made two home runs and the same thing happened on June 5. He kept whacking out the longest hits ever seen; over fences and over grandstands that had never been so traversed before. He had opposing pitchers in a state of nervous prostration. When they saw Ruth at the bat they felt like the coon did when he saw Davy Crockett point his rifle.

The most impressive thing happened in Cleveland on July 18 of last year. Lee Fohl, the manager, sent in Coumbe to pitch against Ruth when the bases were full. Ruth hit a terrific liner that scored four runs and won the game for the Red Sox. Fohl immediately resigned.

Much to his disgust more and more pitchers began to "walk" Ruth; they wouldn't give him a crack at the ball. Still when the season closed his position as Home Run King was safely established for the time being and he thought that under the circumstances he ought to be getting \$20,000 per year. There was a bitter controversy, echoes of which are still resounding thru the baseball papers, and the Bostonians sold Ruth to the Yankees for \$125,000. They also satisfied Ruth's salary requirements.

Mr. Harry Frazee, president of the Red Sox, came out with a statement justifying his action in parting with Ruth. He admits that Ruth broke the home run record last season, but asks what guarantee there is that he would continue as well as he had begun. He might even fall ill and then where would the club be? Let the Boston fans

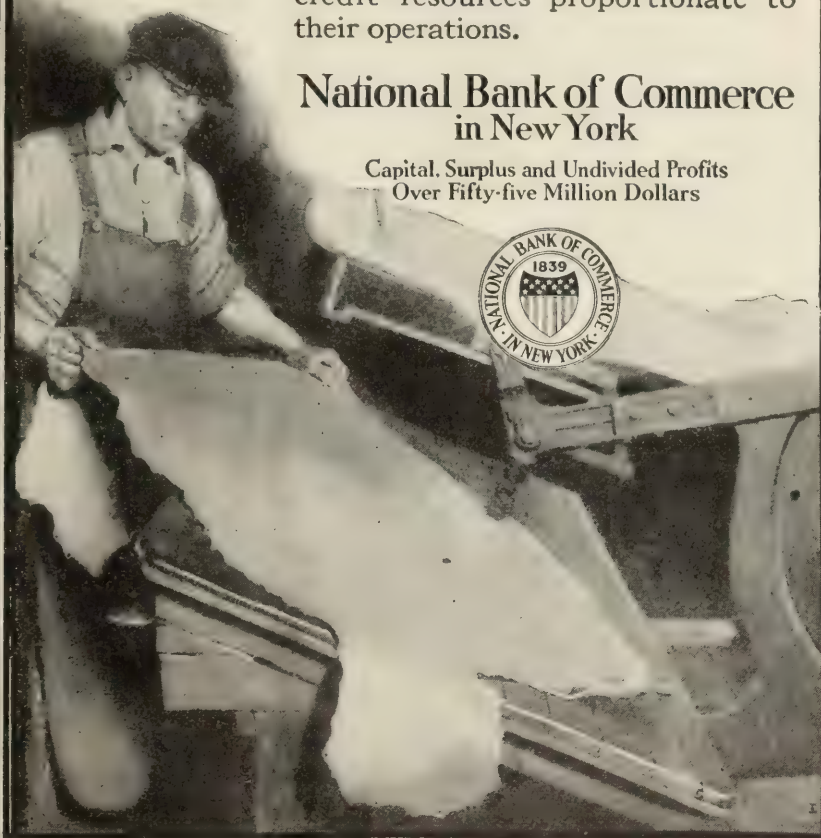
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who are blaming him for sending away a star pause and consider that a well balanced, smoothly working club sometimes does better without stars. And anyhow Ruth made a contract and then refused to live up to it.

Apparently, therefore, Mr. Frazee and his associates are satisfied. As to the Yankees they are more than satisfied. They are on the broad grin. Ruth is making his phenomenal performance of last year look like thirty cents. On June 30 of last year Ruth had only seven homers for the season; June 30, 1920, he had twenty-three, on July 21 he had thirty-two. It looks as if he is going to double last year's tally—at any rate bat out fifty homers this season.

Polo Ground fans have been greatly stimulated, excited and increased in numbers and save and excepting Ruth they can't see anyone as a hero. He has his team well up in front and a likely contender for the championship. Sometimes he disappoints his worshippers, but not often. Once recently he struck out five times in one day and was so mad he smashed his bat. Since then he has made more homers.

Take it on the whole, things are going mighty well with the boy from St. Mary's. They're using him and his career there now as an inspiration to other boys. Quite often he runs down to see them. He is not a talker, but his memory is good. He is still a boy and the adulation he receives is certainly welcome. But it has not unduly swelled his head. He has taken up golf and married a beautiful girl, so his time is fully and pleasantly occupied. As a special favor to him Yankee club officials avoid giving out his home address. He wants and is entitled to his private life.

Baseball stars as a rule do not remain long in the firmament. Ten years is a long time for one of them to stay in the front rank. Ruth is so strong and sound that he may last much longer than the average. Then again he may develop into a Nestor of the game like Comiskey, lasting practically forever, while succeeding generations of youngsters sit at his feet and learn.

Failing that, Ruth will probably be all right anyhow. His outlook on life is kindly but shrewd. He has various sources of income in addition to his salary and he is not spending all he makes. When baseball finishes with him Ruth will have money. Being a likable young man he will also have friends who are willing to do real services for him. He will probably have his choice of a dozen good business offers.

And he may turn them all down and decide to go it alone in some field of big business. If he does his admirers will expect him to make good. They say he has business sense.

Woodhaven, New York

Doctor (complacently)—You cough more easily this morning.

Patient (querulously)—I ought to, I practiced nearly all night.—Exchange.



## If We Had Anarchy Tomorrow

(Continued from page 169)

ment is the care of those unable to support themselves; such as paupers, the aged, the sick poor, the insane, the orphan. Under anarchy private charity would be charged with all the duties which now fall on the public purse. This would be a great step towards capitalism and away from collectivism.

Perhaps the greatest social revolution would be in education. The rich would hire private tutors or establish private schools; as they frequently do today. But the poor could not afford the tutor or the private school or the fee-supported college; their children would have to take the crumbs of charity or remain illiterate. A broadening gulf would thus open between the educated upper class and the uneducated masses which would eventually make aristocracy inevitable and democracy impossible.

Government is to the rich only a convenience; it is a necessity to the poor. A really democratic anarchist régime is only thinkable if inequalities of wealth have already been abolished before government is dispensed with, and if society is already so completely organized on a coöperative basis that it is impossible for such inequalities to arise thereafter. Lacking these two conditions anarchy means an open door to capitalism.

"Everyone for himself and the devil take the hindmost," said the elephant as he danced among the chickens. All very well for our financial elephants. But as for the proletarian chickens—!

## A Hundred Million Horsepower Waiting to Be Used

(Continued from page 172)

industrial America of the advisability of making the transition from direct steam power to electric power. Many of our railroads would electrify their systems at once could they secure the necessary capital.

Applications for licenses to operate water power sites capable of producing 2,000,000 horsepower have already been filed with the Federal Power Commission since the passage of the new water power legislation. Easing of the financial situation should bring a development of our water power resources comparable only to the railroad expansion in the period following the Civil War.

The twelve years' delay in enacting comprehensive water power legislation to permit this development cannot all be counted as lost. The discussion and controversy that have marked its course thru Congress have served to clear away non-essentials and concentrate attention on the matters of real public importance. It is to be doubted if the results finally achieved could have been secured in any other way. The legislation that has just been made law crystallizes the best thought and practice of recent years. It lays

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## DIVIDENDS

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G. D. MILNE, Treasurer.

**AMERICAN TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY**

Seven Year Six Per Cent. Convertible Gold Bonds  
Due August 1, 1925

Coupons from these Bonds, payable by their terms on August 1, 1920, at the office or agency of the Company in New York or in Boston, will be paid in New York at the Bankers Trust Company, 16 Wall Street.

G. D. MILNE, Treasurer.

**THE AMERICAN BRAKE SHOE AND FOUNDRY COMPANY.**  
**NOTICE OF SPECIAL DIVIDEND**  
**ON NO PAR COMMON STOCK**

The Board of Directors of the American Brake Shoe and Foundry Company has this day declared a special dividend of Two Dollars (\$2.00) per share upon its outstanding no par common stock payable on August 31, 1920, to stockholders of record at 3 o'clock P. M., on August 20, 1920, and thereafter to the holders of all such common stock as may be issued and exchanged for preferred stock of the company outstanding at the time of the amendment to the certificate of incorporation of the company. Checks will be mailed.

GEORGE M. JUDD, Secretary.

Dated, New York, July 27, 1920.

**GENERAL DEVELOPMENT COMPANY**

61 Broadway, N. Y., July 29, 1920.

At a meeting of the Board of Directors of the General Development Company held this day, a dividend of fifty cents (50c.) per share on the capital stock of the Company was declared, payable August 20th, 1920, to stockholders of record at the close of business on August 5th, 1920. Books will not close.

SAM A. LEWISOHN, Treasurer.

**NILES-BEMENT-POND COMPANY,**  
111 Broadway, New York.  
**PREFERRED DIVIDEND NO. 84.**

New York, August 4th, 1920.

The Board of Directors of NILES-BEMENT-POND COMPANY has this day declared the regular quarterly dividend of ONE and ONE-HALF PER CENT. upon the PREFERRED STOCK of the Company, payable August 20th, 1920, to stockholders of record at 3 P. M. August 5th, 1920.

The Transfer Books will not be closed.

JOHN B. CORNELL, Treasurer.

**NILES-BEMENT-POND COMPANY,**  
111 Broadway, New York.  
**COMMON DIVIDEND NO. 73.**

New York, August 4th, 1920.

The Board of Directors of NILES-BEMENT-POND COMPANY has this day declared a dividend of TWO PER CENT. upon the COMMON STOCK of the Company, payable September 20th, 1920, to stockholders of record at 3 P. M. September 1st, 1920.

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down the broad outlines of a national policy for the development of a permanent natural resource and in its dealings with public utility corporations establishes principles that can be counted upon to exert an influence far beyond the scope of the act itself.

All water power sites on the public lands, the national forests and other Federal reservations, on the navigable streams and at Government dams come under the provisions of the act. The authority to control water power development where Government lands are involved rests upon the fact of present and continuing ownership. Where navigable rivers are involved, the authority rests upon the powers conferred by the Constitution upon Congress for the regulation of commerce. In one form or another the jurisdiction of the Federal Government extends over 85 per cent of the water power resources of the United States. This jurisdiction is now, for the first time, consolidated in one Federal agency, the Federal Power Commission, made up of the Secretaries of War, Interior and Agriculture.

The Commission has authority to issue licenses to provide companies for the use of water power sites under its control for periods of fifty years. If the conditions of the licenses are fulfilled it can be terminated before the end of the fifty-year period only by the purchase in condemnation proceedings of the properties erected by the licensee. Thus there is established a certainty and reasonable duration of tenure that has been lacking under previous legislation and has therefore retarded development.

The licensee at the end of the fifty-year period has a right to a new license upon reasonable terms, or to receive payment for his properties. The Government may take them over and operate them, or it may permit their purchase by a new licensee. In either case the purchase price will represent the "net investment," which is the original cost of the property, minus such depreciation, sinking fund and other reserves that may have accumulated from earnings in excess of a fair return on the property.

The licensee receives a full return of his actual investment. He is permitted neither to gamble for more nor to risk receiving less. No allowance is made for increases in land values, water rights or other similar items, or for depreciation that cannot or has not been met out of revenues.

The policy of returning to the licensee his net investment is fundamentally in the public interest. It is directed toward securing a public service at the least possible public cost. If a business is made hazardous, the investor either discounts the hazards in the price he charges for the use of his money or stays out. In either case the public suffers, for in the first case there is development, but at an unnecessary cost, and, in the second, no development.

The regulation of rates, service and securities is left to the states. Even when the power developed enters into

interstate commerce the Power Commission will not take a hand, except in cases where the states directly concerned have no agencies to perform these functions or cannot come to an agreement.

In the valuation of properties for the purpose of rate making, no value may be claimed by licensees in excess of their net investment. Here again recognition is given to every dollar honestly invested, but no more. The basing of property values on cost, which is one of the really striking features of the new legislation, means to the investor security for the capital used, and to the public charges based only upon the amount actually required to put the properties into operation.

Cheap and abundant power will be one of the most important elements in the future industrial and social progress of the United States. To increase production and reduce its cost without reducing present-day wage scales we must have an increased use of mechanical as compared with manual power and at a lessened cost for such power.

Power production and distribution in this country today are at the stage represented by the independent short line railway in transportation. The consolidation of short lines into great interstate systems has improved the quality and reduced the cost of our transportation service. In the field of power production and distribution we need the application of these same principles. Putting them into play will result in greatly increased consumption of electric power in the home and in industry; in the gradual substitution of large and efficient power stations, operating as links in extensive chains, for our present small and isolated stations; in the rapid electrification of our railroads and in the creation of new industrial centers in the West, near our greatest sources of water power.

Operating under the broad charter of powers conferred by the new legislation, the Federal Power Commission will be able to give invaluable assistance in the application of these principles in the field of power supply. We have wise power legislation, but it is not self-executing. The degree in which its administration is marked in the years ahead by fairness, intelligence and constructive imagination will determine the extent to which the nation will reap the benefits it promises.

Washington, D. C.

Janson is very refined in his tastes. He never reads anything "popular"—always it's Browning or Emerson or something equally literary.

One day he dropped in to see Smythe and found him deeply interested in a novel.

"What are you reading?" he asked.

"A story by Chambers," replied Smythe.

Janson sniffed.

"I cannot see," he said, "how an immortal being can waste his time with such stuff."

"Are you quite sure that I am an immortal being?" asked Smythe.

"Why, of course you are!"

"In that case," retorted Smythe cheerily, "I don't see any need to be economical of my time."—*New York Globe.*



# The Independent

FOUNDED 1848

## Buddy to His Dad

DEAR DAD—Thanks, Dad, for rescuing me from being a dyed-in-the-wool bigot on the subject of politics. Four issues of The Independent, to which you subscribed for me, cured me of taking pride in being a staunch Democrat. I still am a Democrat, but thanks to The Independent's policy of giving authoritative articles on what the different parties stand for, I am getting some real thoughts back of my opinions.

You have done some mighty clever maneuvering, Dad, to keep your son and heir from making a fool of himself and from growing to be one and I can see that sending me The Independent was just another of your well thought out schemes to help me to find myself. In fact it was a master stroke.

I like the magazine immensely, Dad, and I find it a well balanced mental meal. It has already given me poise in discussions of the questions of the day with other boys at college. I feel broadened, and Europe and our international problems are not as remote as they were before I started to read it. I wish I could get as much out of an hour's grind at mathematics as I do out of my delightful hour with The Independent.

It is going to do for me all that you intended it should, because like you, dear old Dad, it gets its message over without preaching.

Again thanks, and always affectionately,  
BUDDY

## Remarkable Remarks

MARY PICKFORD FAIRBANKS—Married life is an art.

ROY K. MOULTON—They will soon be selling carrots by the karat.

MRS. CALVIN COOLIDGE—I haven't given Washington one little thought.

MEREDITH NICHOLAS—America's need for leadership was never greater than now.

MRS. WARREN G. HARDING—A man to succeed must be well fed and well groomed.

WILLIAM HARD—How can people vote classlessly when they do nothing else classlessly?

JOB HEDGES—If any candidate asks "May I not?" we will say with emphasis "You may not."

PROF. JOHN ERSKINE—Kill off every known and suspected poet, and there will be as many as ever after a generation or two.

REV. GEORGE CHALMERS RICHMOND—The Democratic party has sold out to those forces in American life which face moral ruin and spiritual isolation.

JOHN BURROUGHS—I did something the other day that I had never done before or seen done. I carried a live skunk by the tail, and there was "nothing doing" as the boys say.

LINA CAVALIERI—Boiled fresh beans, mashed with a potato masher to the consistency of a thick soup, and applied to the skin for several nights, have cured ordinary freckles with ease.

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## Pebbles

Boss—Why were you late this morning?  
Office Boy—My clock pointed with pride instead of viewing with alarm.—*New York Sun*.

"I always sleep with my gloves on. That is what makes my hands so soft."

"I'm, I suppose you sleep with your hat on also?"—*Boys' Life*.

As we go to press news reaches us to the effect that a Sinn Fein paper is giving away a paper pattern of the latest bomb with each copy.—*Passing Show*.

He—Here comes a friend of mine. He's a human dynamo.

She—Really?

He—Yes, everything he has on is charged.—*Electrical Experimenter*.

The little girl had the little hen fast and was trying to bring her head close to the ground. "What might you be trying to do?" exclaimed her father, coming upon the small girl in the garden.

"I'm trying to make this hen say her prayers."

"Well," said the parent sadly, "I hope she'll say: 'Now I lay me.'"—*London Opinion*.

Young John was late in attending Sunday school that particular Sunday and the minister inquired the cause.

"I was going fishing, but my father wouldn't let me," announced the lad.

"That's the right kind of a father to have. Did he tell you the reason why you should not go fishing on the Sabbath?"

"Yes, sir," replied John; "there wasn't bait enough for two."—*New York Globe*.

A lady who kept a little curly poodle lost her pet, and called on the police to find it. The next day one of the force came around with the dog, very wet and dirty. The lady was overjoyed, and asked a number of silly questions—among others:

"Where did you find my sweet, dear little darling?"

"Why, ma'am," said the officer, "a fellow had him tied to a pole and was washing windows with him!"—*Electrical Experimenter*.

A suburban housewife relates overhearing this conversation between her Cape girl and the one next door:

"How are you, Katje?"

"I'm well; I like my job. We got cremated cellar, cemetery plumbing, elastic lights and a hoosit."

"What's a 'hoosit,' Katje?"

"Oh, a bell rings. You put a thing to your ear and say 'Hello,' and then some says 'Hello,' and you say 'Hoosit.'"—*Johannesburg (South Africa) Times*.

The maid-of-all-work in the service of a Pottsville family, the members whereof are not on the most amicable terms, recently tendered her resignation, much to the distress of the lady of the house, who was loath to part with so excellent a servant.

"So you are going to leave us?" asked the mistress, sadly. "What's the matter, Mary? Haven't we always treated you like one of the family?"

"Yis, mum," said Mary, "an' I've sthooed it as long as I'm goin' to!"—*Exchange*.





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# The Independent

August 21, 1920

## Our Senator Harding

How the Republican Nominee for the Presidency  
Looks to His Neighbors in Marion

By Charles Clement Fisher

IN writing Knickerbocker's History of New York, Irving found it necessary to begin with the creation of this globe; and after an exhaustive survey of all the learned authorities, ancient and modern, sacred and profane, he reached the conservative conclusion that it *had been created* and consists of land and water. But for a brief sketch of the early years of Warren G. Harding it seems safe to accept the record of the family Bible that his birth took place on November 2, 1865. This is a date in his calendar marked with a white stone; for on its anniversary, six years ago, he was elected to the United States Senate, and this year on the same date will be decided his presidential fate.

Senator Harding is of Scottish descent on the father's side; while his mother furnished some of that Dutch blood of which the Roosevelts are so justly proud. For our purpose it is enough to say that he is a thoro American, a typical American—no alien blood for several generations, no foreign education, not a single abnormal element in his composition.

Yet if there is apparently nothing unusual in their inheritance the family as a whole have somehow developed personalities quite out of the ordinary. Each one of the present generation is distinguished not only by strength of

character and winning personal charm, but also by a rare idealism. To those who know the family well Senator Harding's eminent position seems a fortunate recognition of ability rather than an anomaly.

He was born on the farm of his maternal grandfather in Morrow County, Ohio, and the environment of his childhood was precisely like that of thousands of other boys of the same age growing up in the country. He enjoyed not a single external advantage; for his father, marrying shortly after his discharge from the Union army, found the fees of a country doctor to afford a meager support for a rapidly increasing family. Plain living was their necessity, high thinking their privilege. Warren evidently made the best of both. Just like other boys he worked when he had to work, went to school when sent (except on circus days) and learned all kinds of sports. Of these his favorite was swimming, which he justifies on the ground that he is a Baptist.

But if his surroundings were ordinary, this boy quickly began to distinguish himself from his fellows. He was both precocious and enterprising. At eighteen he was graduated from a small college, at Iberia, Ohio. And before seriously beginning his beloved profession of journalism he had been an amateur editor, a house-painter, a



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Senator Harding loved his mother. As long as she lived, he took a bouquet of flowers and went to call on her every Sunday morning. Linked with her in his boyhood memories are the church which he attended at Corsica (left) and the farm of his maternal grandfather in Morrow County, where he was born







© Underwood &amp; Underwood

When the proprietor of the *Marion Star* ran over broken glass or a tack, and punctured one of his tires, he used to take his wheel to this Mr. Keeler in Marion to have it mended



© Keystone View

broom-maker, a fire insurance agent, a typesetter, a musician and a law student. He was as expert with his hands as he was eager in his mind. His constant desire was not merely to see or to hear some new thing, but also to do it. And while still in school he experienced the rapture and anguish of an ardent love.

When Warren was under nineteen he had some differences with his partner in insurance and went to Chicago (his first visit) to see his uncle, Mr. A. J. Harding, western manager of The Springfield Fire and Marine Insurance Company, with the hope of retaining the local agency of that company. He was taken to his uncle's home and treated so kindly that next day he tried to show appreciation by inviting his young cousin to lunch at a restaurant. Those were the days when the Palmer House was furnishing a room and four meals of delicious food for three dollars. The appetite of the boys was 100 per cent efficient and there was nothing mean about the host. He was appalled at the discovery that the waiter's check exhausted his only five-dollar bill, but never lost his nerve. Being too proud, of course, to borrow from his guest, after their parting he walked to the Dearborn station and practiced watchful waiting until he finally spied an Erie conductor who lived in Marion. This official, obeying his heart instead of his conscience, returned the penniless adventurer to his home without money and without price. The Erie was so used to being robbed that this little sting never touched it.

In 1885 his father bought the *Marion Daily Star* by the simple process of trading in a vacant lot and assuming the debts, which Warren was left to pay the best

way he could. And for a dreary period Friday night often found the Saturday payroll dependent upon an appeal to fortune. There be those who accuse him of having a poker-eye, but perhaps this has been no defect in his equipment for life.

How insignificant this property was can best be shown by the testimony of Warwick, his former lieutenant, now an editor of the *Toledo Blade*, who relates how, after the parade celebrating Cleveland's election three friends went into a restaurant to revive their exhausted bodies and minds. Harding proposed, "Jack, let's buy the *Marion Daily Star*." "If we do," I asked, "who's going to pay for these oysters?"

When Harding at the age of sophomores in college assumed this responsibility, Marion was a village of about four thousand, and the newspaper atmosphere was filled to the point of saturation by two party organs which played hideous discords in their personal attacks on each other and developed notes of harmony only after they discovered the necessity of joining in a duet to drown the piping of the infant rival. In six years of

struggle the editor had advanced enough to marry and to build the comfortable home to which was afterward added the spacious porch destined to become famous by its reception of distinguished visitors. Mrs. Harding applied her inherited talent for business with such zeal and industry that she became a material factor in the financial growth of their newspaper.

Harding's success as a publisher and editor has been due to no mere chance, but rather to qualities which characterize his career. During the early years of this enterprise "there were many hard days and long nights in the old *Star* office. But thru them all Harding was in and out among the workers, one of them, and with a sense of humor that shortened the hours. Most of the way in the early days the traveling was up-hill, but thru all the rough stuff of disappointment W. G. kept his head up and face toward success." And when success was won

it meant not only growth in the paper but also development in the executive instincts of the manager. His associates were always asked to say they worked "with him" rather than "for him"; and gradually they assumed such share in the management as to "carry on" with complete suc- [Continued on page 224]



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Not a single advantage not possessed by these youngsters did Senator Harding enjoy as a boy. He worked when he had to work, went to school when he was sent, except on circus days, and loved to go swimming



# If You Were an Immigrant

An Italian Message to the American People

By Captain Alessandro Sapelli

*Captain Sapelli is the former director of the Italian Bureau on Public Information in the United States and he knows intimately the various phases of Italo-American affairs. In "Americans by Choice," a book to be published shortly by the War Records Publishing Company, he develops further his contribution to the pressing problem of Americanization*

**R**ECENTLY Frederick A. Wallis, Commissioner of Immigration, after spending a night among the immigrants at Ellis Island and subjecting himself for several hours to all the annoyances, delays and downright physical inconveniences which the immigrant must put up with when he comes to these shores, made a brief statement, which, in its simplicity, embodies a significant lesson and points out a great truth which most of us know but few of us practise.

*"It is highly important for us of the immigration service and those working with us . . .,"* Commissioner Wallis said, *"to make as good an impression as possible on the incoming workers. That is the very starting point of curing the country of anti-Americanism and Bolshevism."*

Speaking in general terms, we must admit that any American who goes to Europe is received everywhere with marked attention. It seems as if the people of Europe look upon those who come from across the ocean as more venturesome, bolder brothers who return to the old family after a long absence, strengthened by a vaster experience, with a broader vision of life, and called back by an indistinct, indefinable feeling of nostalgia. And if any American, no matter where or when born, visits Europe he finds there places and people to whom he is peculiarly attracted for no apparent reason; he feels as if there were awakened in him reminiscences of things never seen, perhaps, but always remembered; he experiences emotions which, though unjustifiable are nevertheless acute. It is true that many of the ideas, usages and customs may seem antiquated to Americans and at variance with theirs. They may perhaps feel that those people beyond the sea are bound to old traditions and almost suffocated by them, but nevertheless they try to justify and understand them.

Why is it then that so many Americans greet those who come to their shores much as a porcupine greets its enemies? They stand on the defensive, with bristles erect, as if a thousand dangers threatened them, and then, after a while, they adopt an offended attitude because the newcomer does not approach that bristling barrier in an attempt to overcome that hostility, which he knows he has not provoked and which cannot be explained except as a manifestation of blind egoism.

In fact, only blind egoism can make us forget that we too, prompted by diverse motives, came to these shores in search of fortune or of peace; only blind egoism can hinder us from seeing that the immigrant



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These Italian reservists, who had lived and worked in America, all wanted to come back to this country as soon as their service with the Italian army was over

streams which hundreds of ships are pouring onto our shores consist of men who some day will become flesh of our flesh, to the benefit of the nation; that they are virgin ground ready to fecundate the seed scattered upon it—ground on which many of us unwittingly sow hatred instead of love.

Economists and employers of labor admit that the great tide of immigration which came to this country from about 1890 to the outbreak of the war, by furnishing an adequate labor supply, made possible the development of America's mineral wealth and the expansion of her industries, yet even among such keen observers as Dr. Jeremiah W. Jenks and Mr. W. Jett Lauck the fear persists that "the extensive employment of southern and eastern Europeans has seriously af-

fects the native American and the older immigrant employees from Great Britain and northern Europe by causing displacements and by retarding advancement in rates of pay and improvements in conditions of employment." It is this fear, that the immigrant from southern Europe may lower the standard of living, that accounts for much of the recent hostility displayed toward him, but if it is true, as we must all admit, that this immigrant from southern Europe has stimulated production and the development of the natural resources of the country, we are confronted by this dilemma: Is it more beneficial for the nation to attain remarkable industrial growth rapidly, perhaps even at the cost of holding back systematic wage increases, or is it preferable to retard this industrial growth in order to insure higher wages to "native Americans and older immigrant employees from Great Britain and northern Europe"?

The reply is self-evident. First of all, because the industrial development of the country benefits the entire nation. Furthermore this industrial expansion offers a broader field of opportunity to the "immigrant from Great Britain and northern Europe," who has greater technical ability and broader industrial experience, to assume directive and executive duties, which he would not have were it not for the new immigrant who assumes the more menial labors. In addition, despite the retarding influence on wage increases alleged to be due to this labor from southern Europe, wages have increased. If, during some periods, the increase has not been sufficiently rapid, the fault lies in equal measure with labor speculators, who have taken advantage of the ignorance and need of the [Continued on page 223



# Let's Give 'Em All a Fair Start

A Message from the United States Government to the American People

By Julia C. Lathrop

Chief of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor



International

In comparison with European starvation American children such as these appear well off. But we have only begun the child welfare work that is necessary if the United States is to progress normally

A TRAVELER who has spent a few months in Central Europe must feel startled upon returning to the United States by the difference between the lavish standards of ordinary comfort here and the depths of wretched poverty in which millions of families are existing there.

One thinks of our per capita wealth—greater than that of any other country—of the unexhausted plains of the middle west against worn lands whose costly tillage requires great skill and labor and which must support populations five to ten times as dense as the population of the United States; of our prospering industries and of all their empty idle factories, of the war-cheapened money which cannot be stretched to buy the needed products of our workshops.

The traveler dines well at the best hotels in half a dozen countries for a price of vast extravagance if kronen retained their old value, but trivial when it requires from fifty to two hundred to make a dollar. And this cheapened money which is so oppressively costly to the inhabitants, and which makes it possible for the American to live almost for nothing, exists at a time when great expenditures are needed for rehabilitating each country's social and economic life and for no more imperative item of expenditure than the protection of children. In short, the traveler comes home well understanding what Sir Bernard Mallet had in mind when he said to the Royal Statistical Society that "Financial and economic conditions after the war will have quite as much to say to the welfare of the community as any such measures as might come within the province of a Ministry of Health." Sir Bernard might well have added the Ministries of Social Welfare, of Education, of every portfolio which stands for activities directly conserving human life.

These economic contrasts between ourselves and Central Europe breed no complacency—rather they compel an uncomfortable self-examination when considered in their bearing on child welfare in this country.

Is the United States doing what its unapproached re-

sources permit for its children? Do we realize that child welfare no longer can be dismissed as a mere philanthropy, but that it must be recognized as a serious concern of statecraft? Every country in Europe knows this only too well.

How do we stand in the United States? There are two great divisions of the efforts to promote child welfare:

1. The activities for children who are dependent, delinquent and defective to use the conventional words which describe children for whom in some form parental protection is lacking, or whom Nature herself has defrauded.

2. The activities for normal children with normal homes and parents.

The United States has dependent children filling many institutions, or boarded out in a comparatively small number of cases—wayward children who appeared before our courts in 1918 to the estimated number of 175,000; feeble-minded children crowded into all the institutions for the feeble-minded, altho' not one state in the Republic takes care of all the feeble-minded who need its protection. Perhaps 500,000 is a conservative estimate of the number of children receiving some form of support or supervision from the public. Whether this estimate is sound or not, it appears certain that the total does not decrease and that the cost of care does not lessen, but that there is a constant slipping down from the level of family independence which thrusts new children into dependency—or pushes them out into delinquency.

Indisputably many dependent children and many delinquent children ultimately rise to the normal social level. But it is equally indisputable that most of our charities have been able to perform but a negative service to the whole body politic and perhaps that is all that should be asked.

How then shall we approach constructively the care of this great number? Social workers and modern social economists agree that most of these children come from poor families where incomes are too low for decent



living even if parents are industrious—fathers are dead and mothers are struggling with the impossible—trying to earn the living and “mother” the children at the same time—or mothers are dead and there is no “mothering.”

Space cannot be taken for statistics and proofs, but they exist and are convincing. For a great proportion of this half million army, the true remedy is direct and practical. Two words give the recipe—Abolish Poverty. A simple remedy, but slow in action. Yet not hopeless. There are signs of speeding up.

Poverty is not static, it cannot be defined in permanent terms of money. Perhaps no better gauge has been found than that drawn from the infant mortality statistics obtained in nine cities, which show that as the income drops from a decent standard of comfort, the infant mortality rate rises, until when the income is cut in two the infant mortality rate is doubled.

One companion of poverty chargeable with a share in all the consequences to children suggested above and many others more insidiously harmful are destroyed by prohibition. Obvious results are already seen in greater family stability and comfort. And if alcoholism in parents is responsible for any considerable share of the mental and physical deterioration in offspring assigned to it by reliable authorities, another generation will exhibit a genuine shrinkage in the numbers of mental defectives.

But when we turn from the discouraging aspect of injured childhood which our institutions and courts present to the consideration of that one-third of our population under sixteen—the 30,000,000 children who are the stuff out of which the nation's future must be made—we realize first that their numbers contain not only the half million or so who are especially handicapped or out of the running, but that of necessity many more must have been somewhat injured or their chances in life reduced by the causes to which the most unfortunate have succumbed. And we suddenly see that the surest way to lessen the problems of dependency and delinquency and defect must be to strengthen the whole



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The Hoover mission has been feeding 100,000 boys and girls a day in Vienna. President Seitz of the Austrian republic is inspecting one youngster's rations: a plate of cooked rice and a bowl of cocoa

fabric of the child population, so as to increase not only physical but mental and moral vigor, in short the power of resistance.

When we look at our 30,000,000 as a whole we are faced with signs of a social wastage which we all know is preventable, but to which we do not pay much attention because it is not new and its discussion is neither cheerful nor far away enough to be picturesque.

Thus, tho we know that infant mortality rates are a sign of the state of social well-being, we are not nationally excited to learn that ten civilized countries have a better rate than the United States. Strangely indeed we are still less aroused to learn that in fourteen civilized countries the deaths of mothers in childbirth are less than in the United States. A few

individuals are working to make the nation understand the need—a handful of public health nurses and social workers are helping in the rural areas where there should be thousands. A few devoted physicians regard these matters seriously, but the general public is indifferent.

We talked for a few months excitedly about our disgraceful illiteracy rate when the army draft revealed it afresh, and some of us insisted upon linking it with the lack of “Americanism,” which is only too true, but in quite another sense than was intended, for this illiteracy of ours is two-thirds of it among those of pure American parentage, while the most literate group the census shows are the children of the foreign born—a proof that immigrants really mean what they say when they insist that they come over to give the children a better chance. We are producing now illiteracy on the fields where American children work instead of going to school, for the great areas of rural child labor and of illiteracy are identical.

What have we done since the war ceased to cure this ugly inverted Americanism? It requires nation-wide expenditures for schools fitted for adults and for children. They have not been made.

Our schools need better buildings and equipment, more teachers, better trained and better paid. Especially do our rural schools need improvement. Unless rural schools are made adequate, we shall increase steadily our illiteracy and near-illiteracy, whatever regulations we make at Ellis Island.

But all this costs money? Will we pay?

The welfare of all children requires the same essentials—first and all-important—good wise parents, with fathers' earnings to provide a fair standard of family life, then decent food and clothing, proper housing, a true education, opportunity for clean, active recreation. All these are needed to give a fair start.

The standards here slightly indicated were set forth in detail in the series of Child Welfare Conferences of May, 1919, to which representatives came from various allied countries. They expressed with conviction, born of their war experiences, the [Continued on page 226



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The one remedy for dependent and delinquent children, says Miss Lathrop, is summed up in two words, “Abolish Poverty.” This tenement in Vienna suggests the conditions that the whole world must contend with now if we are to save the future generations



# Master Workshops of America

A Series of Monthly Articles Written from a First Hand Survey of Big Business Enterprizes That Have Given the United States the Name of the Foremost Industrial Nation of the World



Irénée du Pont, younger brother of Pierre, was recently elected president of E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Company of Wilmington, Delaware

## Gunpowder for Peace

Some reasons for over  
a hundred years of  
du Pont success

By Edward Earle Purinton



Pierre S. du Pont, former president and now chairman of the board of directors. The management of the du Pont plant has never left the family

**T**HE chemist of today is the conqueror of tomorrow. If, before the Great War, the chemists of the Allies had been superior in number and skill to the chemists of Germany, there would have been no airplane or submarine attacks, no devastation by poison bullets or poison gas, no lingering deaths by thousands of Allied soldiers for lack of the proper care.

The beauty of the chemical arsenal is that, during peace, it may be devoted to great industrial pursuits and the winning of the trade war that America hopes to win thruout the world; but, on the approach of war, it may be suddenly transformed into a combination of munition factory, hospital and drug house, army equipment store, observation tower, communication center and supply base.

Germany spent fifty years learning how to lead the world in the discovery, manufacture and sale of dyes, drugs, various chemical compounds. In less than fifty months America took first place away from Germany, and is now producing 90 per cent of the staple dyes and derivatives needed by America. The du Ponts went further. Believing that a calamity is only a concealed opportunity, they learned a patriotic lesson from the calamity of war, and proceeded to found the first national chemical industry, self-contained and self-perpetuating, using American raw materials in the hands of American workers and the ownership of American capitalists, for the preservation of American lives, institutions and ideals, in war as in peace. Let us note a few results of, and reasons for, this patriotic business adventure, which has, by the way, cost the du Ponts over \$20,000,000. What are they doing, and why are the deeds of national importance?

First, the du Ponts are training and organizing an expert corps, probably the largest and finest in the world, of research men and technical authorities, who could, in time of danger, make this country virtually attack-proof by means of huge quantities of chemical munitions of war. Lieutenant Colonel Amos A. Fries, lately chief of the Chemical Warfare Service of the American Expeditionary Forces, deems the presence of

such a body of great industrial chemists as vital to the protection of a country as a trained military force. Already France, England, other Allied countries, have passed laws forbidding the entrance of German dyes on a competitive commercial basis; partly to keep Germany from regaining the dye monopoly, partly to encourage native manufacturers to educate and reward chemical talent for emergency use. The Great War showed that, hereafter, the second line of defense of any land will be the trained reserve of chemists; and the larger the reserve, the better for the country.

Second, the du Ponts are maintaining a peace-time factory capable of turning out, on short notice, all the high explosives needed by any army the nation could raise, including poison gases more deadly than those of Germany, and unlimited supplies of medicinal aids to the imperative surgery of war. Chemistry has a mutability like magic. When, for instance, you treat picric acid a certain way, you get for your product a commercial dyestuff; when you treat it another way, you get a high explosive ready to aim at a foe. It was natural and economical for the du Pont house, which manufactured more than 40 per cent of all the explosives used by the Allies, to take advantage of the knowledge, the plant, the organization, required for military service, in evolving a dye and paint concern, holding the chemists, machines and buildings against a future need in case of attack.

Third, the du Ponts are promoting, incidentally, the means for discovering and elaborating medicines highly esteemed by physicians and surgeons. Literally hundreds of the most common drugs and pharmaceuticals owe their existence to the research of chemists and the combination of chemicals in a dye plant. Some of the most widely used coal-tar products are atophan, held to be the sovereign remedy for gout; procaine, a substitute for cocaine, better and safer, without the bad effect of cocaine on the heart; and aspirin, the most popular aid for relief of many kinds of pain. Scientists believe that from the same source will eventually come specific remedies to cure pneumonia, tuberculosis, even cancer. Medical opinion holds that the dye industry



promises great things, even greater than it now performs, to increase the health of the nation.

Fourth, the du Ponts are helping to stabilize industry at large. When Bernstorff wired the Imperial German Government, "Shut off dye exports and you will put 400,000 textile workers in America out of business," what did he have in mind? The disruption of the clothing trade. Worse, the demoralization of a score of other essential industries—twenty-four, all told, to be exact—which depend for their very existence on chemicals derived from coal-tar. A dye famine would imperil \$3,000,000,000 worth of textile industries alone, shutting down production, tying up capital, throwing employees into a state bordering on revolution. Further, manufacturers of paper, leather, ink, paints, varnishes, furs, feathers, foods, pharmaceuticals, photographic materials, perfumes, and many other classes of goods need a large daily supply of colors and auxiliary products from the dye factory. Put an embargo on dyes and you throw 2,000,000 people out of work, to say nothing of keeping idle \$4,000,000,000 of invested capital. No wonder Germany wanted, and still wants, the dye trade of America grasped in her mailed fist. No wonder, also, that the du Ponts and other big dye makers have resolved that she shall never have this monopoly again.

Fifth, the du Ponts are stimulating college research and experiment, also the training of young men of marked chemical ability. Eighteen du Pont fellowships for post-graduate work, each carrying a value of \$750, and thirty-three du Pont scholarships, each of \$350, for senior class work, have been assigned to forty-six representative colleges, universities and technical schools of America which have specialized in chemical instruc-

war contract of the kind ever given, that for 115,000,000 tons of powder, this corporation served the country so well that not one complaint was recorded by Government officials. The company pride is so great that every big job undertaken for this or any other country has to be done right, for the sake of doing it right.

The du Ponts know how to regard and treat the public. A head man says: "It is the business of a corporation to tell the public what it is doing, and why; giving out the information regularly, freely, widely, accurately, forcefully. We maintain a Publicity Bureau whose sole function is to tell the truth about our business, apart from any advertising or press agent considerations." You cannot sell truth, but truth can sell your products. The time will come when the editor of a business house will mostly take the place of the advertising writer.

The du Ponts know how to make pure science a source of profit as well as benefit. Their laboratories are pure science laboratories—their products are financial triumphs of trade. This modern blend of the professional and commercial is ideal. No business can achieve high quality apart from the high dignity and authority of the man of science; and no man of science can render broad service apart from the broad stability and practicality of a business organization. The founder of this company, E. I. du Pont de Nemours, was a pupil of the great Lavoisier, the foremost chemist of his time; and on the basis of original research and development thus made possible has the whole enterprise been carried forward. Every college should be linked to the community thru a factory, every classroom should open to a salesroom, every man who knows should make himself a man who *does*.

The du Ponts know how to make blood relationship a mighty business force. They have made their *family* efficiency a marvel and a model for the whole country. Since the founding of the du Pont industries on American soil in 1802, the fourth largest manufacturing trade of America, and the world's largest house in the trade, have been owned and managed exclusively by members of this one family. The disintegration of American home life could be largely arrested by a national study of how to make a family a thinking, working unit, like that of the du Ponts.

Few people realize how far explosives break the ground for the growth of civilization and of na- [Continued on page 227]



tion or investigation. There are no "strings" attached to this annual investment of \$25,000 in our chemists of tomorrow; no beneficiary has an obligation thrust on him to enter the du Pont works, or to pay back the sum provided for his tuition. Partly because of this generous offer, the attendance in college and university chemistry classes of the favored institutions has recently grown to as high as 300 per cent of the enrollment prior to the war.

The du Ponts know how to work for the Government. Fulfilling the largest Federal



In 1802 the du Pont de Nemours family established this powder mill on the historic Brandywine just above Wilmington, Delaware. Today the house of du Pont is the largest one in the fourth largest manufacturing industry in America



# Simple When You Know It

But this American invention to trail U-boats was one of the most baffling secrets of the Navy Department during the war

**B**EFORE America entered the world war, a sailor with an inventive turn of mind was detailed to use the ship's hose on a part of the deck of one of our war vessels. By accident, the business end of the hose fell overboard and the end attached to the standpipe became detached. The jerk unloosened the coupling, and the sailor held the open end of the hose in his hand. He tied the detached hose to the rigging until he had shut off the pump, and then took up the hose. But as he did so, he heard a peculiar noise in the tube, and curiosity impelled him to put his ear closer. What he heard at first startled and amused him. He called a few of the other sailors nearby, and asked them to listen. Then the scientific interest of the sailor was aroused. The rush of water could be plainly heard. Suddenly a new sound was heard in the tube, and the sailor looked about to see what caused it. Far in the distance, another ship was passing, and what the sailor heard was the thrashing of her propellers.

Duty compelled the men to finish their job; but in this slight and casual experience was born the idea which resulted in the invention of the hydrophone, and its development by the Navy Department to such a state of perfection that all war vessels in the United States Navy, from the smallest sub-chaser to the largest battleship, are now equipped with the latest improvement on this device.

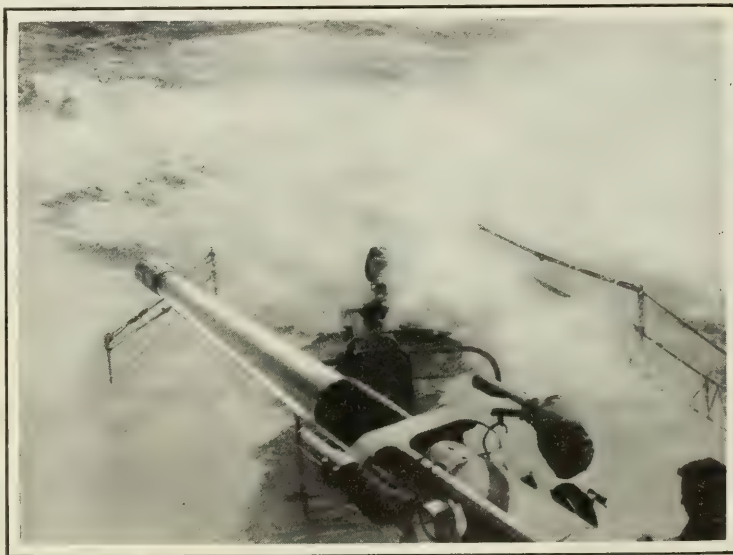
In construction, the hydrophone is comparatively simple. It consists of few parts; but the construction of the vital organ, the "ears," which catch and transmit the sound waves, is an absolute secret of the Navy Department, and has not as yet been disclosed. Nevertheless, these "ears" are known to be constructed somewhat like the human ear. The three chambers of man's ear have been mechanically imitated. There is an outer, a middle, and an inner ear; but where, in man, auditory nerves convey sound waves in the ether to the brain, a hollow rubber tube forms the path thru which sound waves in the water reach the stethoscopic device which leads to the operator's ear.

From a physical aspect the hydrophone presents no complexities. A hollow brass tube extends from the deck on which the operator is on watch, thru the bottom of the boat, and some three feet into the water below. Attached perpendicularly to this vertical shaft is a six foot horizontal hollow bar of hard rubber, on the outer curve of which is a double row of "ears." Above decks, in the operator's room, the stethoscope leads from the vertical shaft to the operator's ears, and a steering wheel attached to the shaft is within easy reach of the man on watch. There is also a circular dial

registering 360 degrees, on which the operator locates the submarine's position.

The hydrophone was developed at one of the American Naval Bases on the Atlantic Coast; and when the first sub-chasers of the 110-foot class were launched they were all equipped with it. Out in the Mediterranean, these sub-chasers were as thick in war time as pleasure launches in the days of peace. They made excellent use of the hydrophone and got marvelous results in locating hostile submarines.

One of the first discoveries made by American naval men in the Mediterranean was that German and Austrian submarine commanders had a secret way of communicating with their bases while remaining submerged. By acute listening, a definite code was deciphered, similar in some respects to the dot and dash system used in telegraphic communication. Sound travels at a tremendous rate of speed in the water, and the enemy submarines were found to have contrived a hammer-like device with which they tapped out signals against the metal hulls of their craft. These signals were supposed to have been picked up by their own secret bases, and they probably were. But what the enemy did not reckon with was that the signals were also heard by American sub-chasers.



The breaking waves dash high over a destroyer going at full speed

Listening as a fine art was soon developed to the *n*th degree. When an operator was on watch, every engine on a chaser was stopped, every man removed his shoes, all talking and all work ceased, and the men remained motionless during listening periods. The operator on watch placed the stethoscope, similar to the instrument with which a physician examines the heart beats of a patient, to his ears, and listened for the sound of a submarine propeller. Thru careful experimenting with the listening device the

sound of a submarine propeller was discovered to be quite different from the thrashing noise made by ships on the surface of the water. Here it may be well to state that the propeller of every ship has a characteristic sound when heard in the hydrophone. But the steady, subdued and "tubby" noise from the submarines was unmistakable. Some of the American sub-chasers and other anti-submarine craft were able to distinguish this sound at a distance of twelve miles; others, with finer-tuned instruments, operated over a range of forty miles. Consequently, the American ships were so distributed that every square mile of dangerous water was "covered" by expert listeners. In practise, learning to listen is a difficult task. The cultivation of fine hearing sensibilities requires time, concentration and [Continued on page 224]



# The Democratic Platform

By Talcott Williams and Norman Hapgood

## The Main Issues

By Talcott Williams

CHEAP party patter can always be said on the platform of the opposing party. President Wilson and Senator Reed are both standing on the Democratic platform just as the Republican platform holds comfortably ex-President Taft and Senator Hiram Johnson. If, as Democrats assert, Penrose and Lodge nominated Harding, so, and to the same extent, Murphy of Tammany Hall and Taggart of the Indiana Democratic ring nominated Cox. One is as true as the other.

We forget all the teaching of the war and its glorious memories of mutual action and inspiration by all men of all parties, if we do not realize that the great mass of Americans mean to do right by their land. Both conventions at Chicago and San Francisco were good conventions. If you have a wide national acquaintance and knowledge of men and read the roll call of both bodies, you will see that they are made up of men of experience in many fields, good Americans—some bad eggs—but fewer than in the past. Each convention, individually and as a whole, wanted the success of their view of national affairs and did the best they could under the circumstances. What you and I would have done, if we had been there. They put up good men of the same type. They adopted platforms intended to unite and not divide. They did exactly what that body of just men made perfect by their absence from politics for the occasion, which met in Independence Hall in 1915, Taft presiding and Lowell of Harvard leading, did when they adopted the platform of the "League to Enforce Peace," they compromised.

Why not avoid mental *strabismus* even when a Presidential campaign is on?

I prefer to go to the main issue. The Democratic platform apparently proposes to take Wilson's League and push it thru without substantial change. The Republican platform changes it by proposing to limit the President's power to act in matters relating to the Covenant by requiring for such acts the consent of Congress where the army and navy are required.

The Democratic platform, like the Republican, can only be fully weighed with the speech of acceptance by the candidate. The Democratic platform lays stress on the claims of the world. The Republican party on the claims of this country.

The real issue between President Wilson and the strong majority of the Senate (nearly all one party, nearly half the other) was (over Article X and thruout) whether the League should be amended to bring the two chambers of Congress in or leave power with the President. This last was natural to European countries because they always confuse President and Premier. We cannot. "The members of the League," says Article X, "undertake to respect and preserve, as against external aggression, the territorial integrity and existing independence of all members of the League." Under a host of past precedents the President could do all this without the consent of Congress and the Democratic platform, when it proposes to stand by the League and all its many extensions of the President's power, takes dangerous ground.

Adopted, the League would give at least as great powers to the President as Monroe's declaration of non-interference in the Western Hemisphere by Europe. It is no an-

swer to say, "Only Congress can declare war." President Roosevelt, defending the Monroe Doctrine, when the German fleet was approaching Venezuela, ordered Dewey to attack if it landed men and served notice on the Kaiser that would have brought war, if disregarded. On American issues we could permit this. Such a power is unwise and unconstitutional if extended by treaty to all the world's affairs. Given the League in being now and President Wilson could join the three Premiers in attacking Soviet Russia. Does anyone think this power should be his?

Our presidents have again and again used the army and navy without consulting Congress to execute a treaty and to protect territorial rights or the personal safety of our citizens. Under the treaty of 1846 with Colombia, presidents occupied all or part of the Isthmus of Panama almost every year and at last seized it "for keeps." Wilson seized Vera Cruz and McKinley went to Peking. Our presidents first landed in Hayti, Nicaragua and Santo Domingo and later asked Congress. Roosevelt seized Cuba under the "Platt Amendment" to keep order. All these were done without consulting Congress.

If this power is to be extended to all the world, Congress must be asked to consent as the Republican platform proposes. The Democratic platform leaves the President's discretion open. Already President Wilson has shown what he thinks can be done by seizing Archangel and Vladivostok, tho not at war with Russia. Is such power wise?

The Democratic party having won in 1916 by keeping the country out of war and refusing to prepare for one, proposes to win this election because it went into war and without preparation. It justifies extravagant expenditure by the needs of war when life and treasure were lost by its policy. Take the aeroplane. Everyone knew they were needed in war by 1915. None were made. Our troops fought without them. For every life so lost the President, the Democratic party and every man who fought preparedness in 1916 are each responsible. The claim of the platform for a party victory in a war won by an aroused nation in spite of the criminal lack of preparation, cannot possibly stand the battering of a campaign.

The financial plea of the platform is as fallacious. Inflation of the currency was not needed to finance the war. It has come because the Federal Reserve Banking Act (Dec. 23, 1913) omitted some of the precautions for safety provided in the plans laid before Congress under Republican direction, always more conservative in financial matters. No preparation was made in the act for possible war by a party and an administration never in favor of "preparedness," financial or military (witness 1860-1 and 1916-17). The addition of vast public credits which were sold under a policy which inflated the currency and finally depreciated the bonds, was the chief cause why prices rose past endurance. Public refusal to buy has led to cancelled orders. Cancelled orders to mill shut-downs. Land banks have added over \$400,000,000 in two years to credits stimulated by Democratic legislation, suddenly halted by the Federal Supreme Court. This flowing tide of inflation by Democratic legislation has so far floated bank credits, but when the ebb comes, as come it must, it will turn to as bitter mockery the claim that Democratic financial skill has kept banks out of bankruptcy as events dealt to the Demo-



cratic assertion in 1916 that Wilson had a patent right on keeping a country out of war.

On "labor" in all its phases, the Democratic platform has fully satisfied labor unions. The Republican platform here showed a courage in its support of law echoed by its candidate. The campaign is yet to come. If devastating strikes appear the labor plank may displace every other issue.

## Yes: the Democratic Platform

By Norman Hapgood

**D**R. Williams is such a courteous and high-class debater that I am glad to grant him all I can. He does not mention the Democratic plank on "Free Speech and Press," but I will concede that it is unmitigated hypocrisy. I will go further and say that if either of the Cabinet officers to whom it seems to refer had been nominated by the Democrats I should not have supported the ticket. I am not as generous as Dr. Williams. If the San Francisco platform and candidate had disappointed me on the pressing issues as much as the straddle on the League, followed by Harding's agreement in Johnson's interpretation, must have disappointed Dr. Williams, I should have had nothing whatever to do with the Democrats, their platform, or their candidates. I support Cox and the Democrats in this campaign not on party grounds but on their platform, on Cox's record in Ohio, and on his utterances on national and international questions before his formal speech of acceptance, which has not been published as I write. I salute the Democratic platform because it takes an attitude toward our foreign responsibilities similar in spirit to the attitude once taken by Mr. Taft, Mr. Hoover, Mr. Strauss, Mr. Lowell, Mr. Talcott Williams, and even Senator Lodge, and because it is more progressive than the Republican platform on the industrial issue, especially if we look at the two platforms as illustrated by the records of Harding and Cox. Before passing to these two critical issues I will say a few words on two other points raised by Dr. Williams. If I believed Cox likely to be subservient to Murphy, as Harding to Penrose, I should vote for neither of them. In my opinion the sole reason Murphy and his friends voted for Cox was that there was no other way of stopping McAdoo or else some administration dark horse like Davis. Cox's record in Ohio can well stand by itself, even without comparison with Harding's "deference and devotion" to George B., his loyalty to Foraker, and his rubber-stampism in the present problems, loudly proclaimed by himself. One of the readers of *The Independent*, holding a public office, bitterly assails me for dragging in the fact that Harding voted to refuse to allow Mr. Brandeis to sit on the Supreme Court and says I am arousing race antagonism. As a matter of fact I do not believe that Mr. Brandeis' being a Jew had much to do with Senator Harding's vote. I gave the case as a perfect instance of subservency to the political ring that always knows its masters' voice.

The other point is financial. Those who prefer the finance of Aldrich to the finance of Wilson, Glass, and McAdoo have their own point of view, and they are in general the same ones who are afraid labor may get too much out of something. For my part I am prouder of the results achieved by the Federal Reserve Act than of anything else in the domestic legislation of these times, and as for our war finance I look upon McAdoo as the greatest modern Secretary of the Treasury. Those who want our finance turned back to a Penrose-Lodge-Smoot standpoint will not be affected by any arguments of mine.

With Dr. Williams' last sentence I heartily agree. The election is more than likely to turn on whether we wish the great industrial upheavals of the next years to be met by Judge Gary, Senator Harding, Ralph Easley, and their

species of "courage," or by the spirit that Cox showed when he made of Ohio, even during the war, a place where labor could congregate and discuss as freely as directors of the Steel Corporation or the American Woolen Company. Let us go to the mat on this issue. It is on this issue that Harding, if elected, will in 1924 be beaten as decisively as Mr. Taft was in 1912. The country will have lost much and gained only further assurance that the industrial question cannot be smothered: it must be solved.

**N**OW for the outstanding question. In a country in which the press falls short of the best prevailing intelligence the *Springfield Republican* is a constant satisfaction. It says: "Last year the world had a chance to choose between Lenin and Wilson, with the odds on Wilson. That choice was lost when the Treaty was defeated in the Senate. . . . Let Mr. Wilson's opponents denounce Lenin and Trotzky to their heart's content; it will not alter the fact that the song of triumph chanted at Moscow over the discomfiture of 'capitalism' is an ode to the men who killed the Peace Treaty, wrecked the League of Nations, and made the world what it is today."

Recently I quoted Marshal Foch on our behavior and its consequences to the peace of Europe. Since then there has been plenty more to illustrate the League of Nations situation on its real side, not front-porch stuff from Marion, but the struggles of twenty-eight nations to reconstruct and guide the world, and their wondering why we alone of the great and eligible nations insist on setting back the clock. Since Foch gave his evidence not only has Nicolai Lenin said that the inability of the nations to act together in their League was giving a great start to Bolshevism, but Lord Grey has said: "One of the greatest lessons of the war is that thinking nationally, without thinking internationally, leads to disaster. Before the war, it seems to me, Germany was thinking more intensely nationally and less internationally than any other country in the world, and this led to disaster." Now the Republicans, under the proud leadership of Senator Harding and his everlasting noise about Americanism and America first, would adopt for our country this small conception of nationalism and inflict on us an American version of *Deutschland Uber Alles*, which properly translated only meant Germany first. Of course our guilt for the next war will not take the same form that Germany's took for the last war. It will take the form rather that has been pointed out by Foch and reinforced by what I have quoted from Lenin and Grey: a narrow-minded unwillingness to do our share in constructing peace, after doing our part in winning the war.

The question is not whether or not we shall be in the next world-war. Who supposes that we can keep out of it? The question is whether or not we are willing to help prevent it, or whether we are going to be kept from our part in world-leadership and world-protection by misquotations from men who lived and thought for themselves a century and more ago, and by third-rate oratory in the service of a petty conception of patriotism, of possible cost, and of possible calls for assistance in some policing. As if any possible calls of this kind could mean one billionth part of what the next war will cost us, to say nothing of the ruin to which it will bring the civilization of Europe.

On the second day of this month Mr. Taft made a characteristically frank declaration which ought to be known to every voter in the land. He said.

When Mr. Wilson brought to this country the League covenant as reported to the Paris conference I urged on the same platform with him that we join the League. I thereafter recommended amendments, some of which were adopted into its final form.

Had I been in the Senate I would have voted for the League and Treaty as submitted, and I advocated its ratification accordingly. I did not think, and do not now think, that anything in the League covenant as sent to the Senate would violate the constitution of the United States or would involve us in wars which



it would not be to the highest interest of the world and this country to suppress by universal boycott and, if need be, by military force.

I consider that the moral effect of Article 10 on predatory nations would restrain them from war as the declaration of the Monroe Doctrine has done, and that the requirement of the unanimous consent by the representatives of the great powers in council before League action would safeguard the United States from any perversion of the high purpose of the League.

Moreover, I believe that the issue of the League transcends in its importance any domestic issue and would justify and require one who believes so to ignore party ties and secure this great boon for the world and this country.

Yet he supports a candidate who declares himself sharply against the League altogether. The reasoning is too much for me. It is intended for other kinds of minds. But when a man never bolts his ticket, whatever the situation, why then he never does: and I do not happen to remember when Mr. Taft has ever bolted his.

## The Path to the Best for All

By Talcott Williams

I DO not think anyone could debate with Mr. Hapgood without wanting to be fair. I believe each of us desires what is good and only what is good for the great commonwealth of humanity. We differ in the means. He is with the Democratic party chiefly because he believes in one particular thing its platform already proposes, joined to a general approval of its candidate. I act with the Republican party because, with all its faults, I believe it governs and directs public affairs better than the Democratic party, which owes its power to its suppression of the votes of my fellow citizens of negro descent. This great wrong I can never forget. If the Republican party does not do all I think it should, it takes more to pry me loose than it would Mr. Hapgood, who joins his party "for this time only." With very many other fellow Republicans—enough I believe to defeat Senator Harding—I am waiting until the position of both parties and candidates is clear on the League and as to what the real issue of the campaign proves to be. It may be the supremacy of law, the equal freedom and protection of all men in seeking a job and the right of the public to free communication. If the mat is spread for that wrestle, I follow in the steps of those who sought freedom here and have shared, generation by generation, in the task of preserving it.

When President Wilson came to Washington in February, 1919, we were practically all for the League he brought. Why does Mr. Hapgood's splendid and sincere burst of loyalty for the League sound a little out of date and overstrained now? Read the daily papers! I wish there existed Mr. Hapgood's "struggles of twenty-eight nations to reconstruct and guide the world." Where are the twenty-eight? Is Persia among them, deprived of self-government by a treaty with Great Britain? Has Syria, where I was born and which I know and love, a chance for freedom with French troops crushing its liberty? Is Italy giving Albania a chance to become one of the nations which enjoy self-government? Albania! To which even the Turk gave local liberty, as I trust Italy may. When Poland wantonly attacked Galicia and Russia was it trying "to reconstruct and guide the world"? Were England and France, when they urged Poland on so as to protect holdings of Russian bonds, many usurious and semi-fraudulent? I know Mosul and its outfields well. I lived there once. Its people are better equal to self-government than the Hedjaz. Is England astride these oil fields "to reconstruct and guide the world"? Has Japan laid hold of the upper half of Saghalién "as one of twenty-eight nations struggling to reconstruct and guide the world"? Is this the reason why this member of the League is crushing Korea and has its flag still flying at Kiao Chan?

But why go on with this sad and discouraging record

which stares at us from the pages of every newspaper. In spite of all this, I believe in the League. I think a League of Nations is a necessity to prevent war. We ought to be in it. Is there no possible path to such a League and no policy in regard to creating a League feasible but one which accepts all these things and sees in them the "struggles of twenty-eight nations to reconstruct and guide the world" when, as a matter of fact, five members, a majority of the Council of the League, England, France, Italy, Japan and Greece, are working together to stake out eligible real estate and acquire it, while the world is in flames?

I appreciate the difficulty. Day by day, I see the stupendous blunder of President Wilson when he was not as ready to compromise in July, 1919, as, Mr. Hapgood tells us, with accuracy, he was in February, 1920; but this blunder of the President does not increase my confidence in his approval of the Democratic platform now. Both parties are reshaping their lines. Men are leaving each, both on the League and labor issues.

I think it wise for those of us who believe in a League and would like the League rather than none to wait until we know what is the best path to the best League and what the crucial issue is to be, League, labor or financial.

### Synonyms

A separate peace with Germany; Peace without honor; Peace without victory.

### A Home Duty

OUR League of Forty-eight States should have its attention called to the recent pitched battles in Denver, Colorado, and in West Frankfort, Illinois.

### To the Railroads

WE have granted you the increased rates you asked; we have returned the railroads to private ownership; we have readjusted wage scales to keep the men from striking. The public has paid for all this. Now, Mr. Railroad Corporation, it is up to you to give the fine service you promised us. Bad service can no longer be blamed on labor troubles, Washington mismanagement or inadequate rates. The American people have given you your chance—perhaps your last chance.

## Is Poland's Peril Ours?

NO doubt many shortsighted persons are congratulating themselves that by "withdrawing from foreign entanglements" we have escaped the duty now apparently incumbent on England and France of preventing Russia from destroying Poland. In just the same mood many a good, cosy-minded citizen read the news six years ago that a Balkan war had broken out and threatened to engulf the European Powers. "How thankful I am," he reflected, "that we have no European policy or obligations which could involve us in the struggle." Three years later he was serving in the army. That one lesson should have taught us that until the world is so organized that every nation is safe no nation is safe. Fires spread; and the wise citizen not only buys a fire extinguisher for his own home but supports a fire department.

Heaven forbid that the present outburst of Bolshevism should lead to a general war as did German imperialism! But it is not impossible. Suppose, for example, that Germany should join Russia against the Allies and attack the army of occupation on the Rhine—American soldiers among them. Suppose that the Bolsheviki should massacre such Americans as happened to be resident in Poland. Suppose

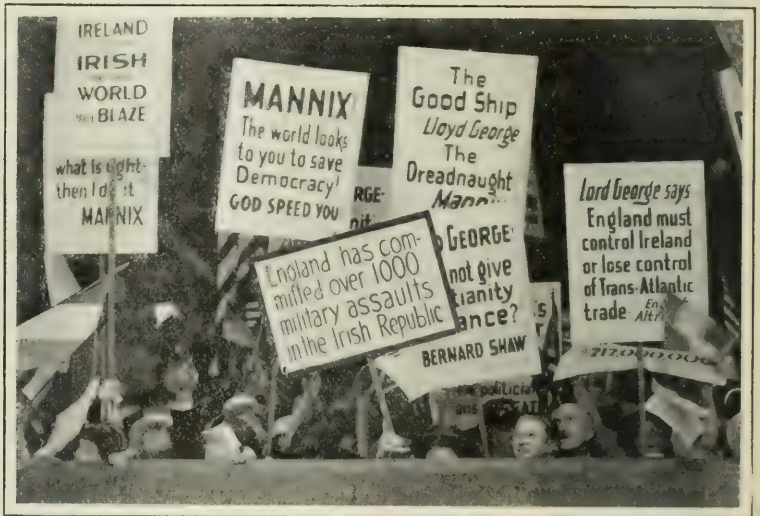


# The Emerald Isle Turns "Purple with Rage and Red with Vexation"

At the left are two leaders of Ireland's rebellion against English coercion: Archbishop Daniel J. Mannix of Melbourne, Australia, and Eamon de Valera, so-called president of the Irish Republic

Wide World

Archbishop Mannix has been the center of an unintentional comedy in which the British Government played the part of stage manager. Fearing the demonstration that would welcome Archbishop Mannix on Irish soil the authorities twice changed instructions to the "Baltic," on which he was a passenger, and finally sent a warship to land the Archbishop at Penzance; from there he went to London under guard



Wide World

IS THE PLACARD MIGHTIER THAN THE SHILLELAGH?

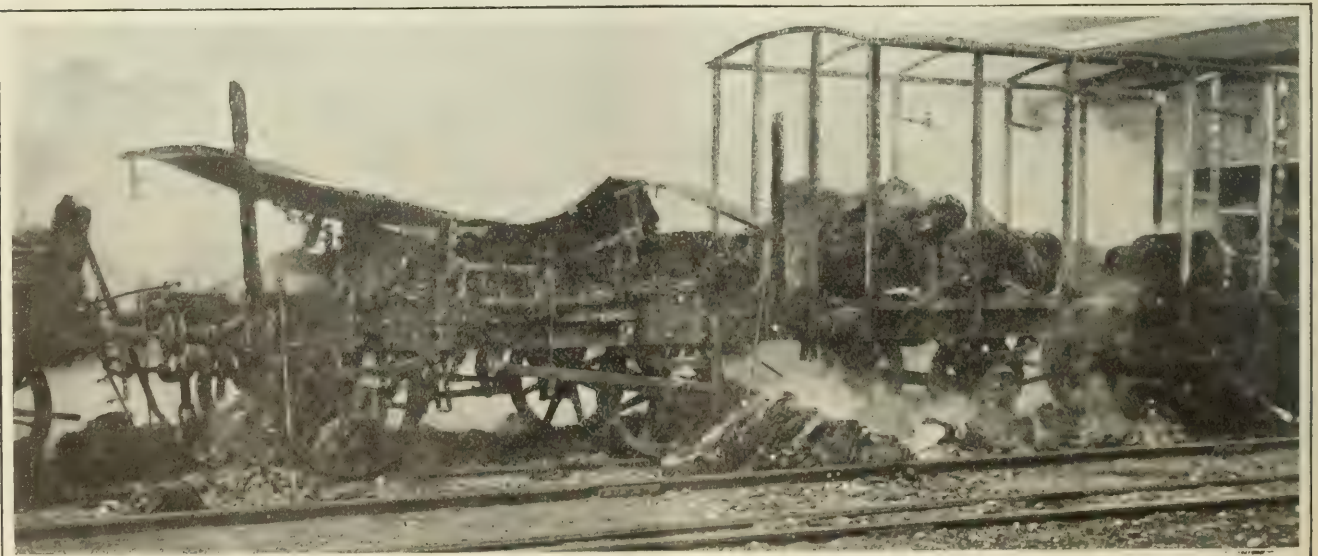
Irish-Americans in New York "demonstrated" to their heart's content over Archbishop Mannix's visit to the United States—several hundreds of them crowded the pier from which the "Baltic" sailed

FROM DUBLIN TO BELFAST—NO THOROFARE

At the left is one of the British military outposts on the road entering Belfast from Dublin. The British railway wagons below, filled with clothing and supplies, were "mysteriously" fired. The raiders overpowered the guard

© Kadel & Herbert

Wide World





that as a last resort the Soviet authorities should invest their remaining productive power in building submarines to prey on "capitalist commerce of all nations." The news from eastern Europe is now just reading matter in the daily paper to most of us. But no one looking back on the history of the last six years can read it without a sense of dread.

### Those Bolshevik Idealists!

WE wonder how the apologists of Bolshevism like the recent alliance between the Bolsheviks and the Turkish Nationalists for the extermination of what is left of Armenia.

### Korea

KOREA was the "Hermit Kingdom." Some would like to make the United States a hermit republic. We all know what happened to Korea.

## Soul Saving by Groups

By Shailer Mathews

THE need of reorganizing our ethical thought is more apparent every day. The church has largely been concerned with inducing individuals to obey the Ten Commandments and assent to the law of love. At all events that is the morality set forth in the great Protestant Confessions. Such an ethic is oblivious to the fact that no one acts strictly as an individual. We all act as members of groups. The moral ideals of these groups may be very different from those of their members when acting as individuals. A ruthless highwayman may be kind when he is not acting as a highwayman.

This lack of a social ethic has been brought to light by the public letter of Mr. Frank Morrison of the American Federation of Labor, relative to the public and the labor unions. He says in effect that the only interest which the public has in labor is to see that it produces as much and as cheaply as possible; that therefore it will not be interested in higher wages or other economic gains on the part of the workingman. It would therefore follow, Mr. Morrison argues, that the obligation of the labor union is to itself and that its philosophy is abundantly able to find some sort of *modus operandi* with the employer. It owes no obligation to the public.

It is not necessary to discuss the truth of this position, altho if I have understood it correctly, both it and Mr. Morrison's preliminary remarks upon the division of interests in the economic process seem mistaken. But whether the economic analysis be correct or not, the exposition of the relation of a labor union to society at large is certainly an argument for recasting our ethical teaching.

A thoro-going individualist naturally shrinks from any concession to group consciousness, but as things stand at the present time the laboring men whom Mr. Morrison represents do not act in the world of industry as individuals, but as members of labor unions. Similarly the capitalist employer does not act as an individual but as a member of a group which has particular economic interests and functions. We shall never have a morality strong enough to bear the weight of our present industrial system until we take account of these obvious facts.

If Christianity is to be a moral force it must establish a morality that fits the actual world, not the world of the time of Moses or even the time of Thomas Jefferson and the farmers of New England. Whether we like it or not, the very structure of our social life forces us into groups that act as individuals. These groups must be taught that they have obligations and that loyalty to one's immediate group is not necessarily the supreme loyalty. The morality

of the labor union has not been exhausted when it denounces scabs and lays down conditions for employers. The individual workman is as impotent against his organized group as the individual citizen is impotent in international affairs. So, too, the morality of the employing class has not been exhausted when its members are good fathers and honest citizens. There is yet the overhead moral demand that the entire class of employees meet certain obligations.

The church must teach a social morality, the obligations of which rest, not directly upon separate men and women, but upon the groups in which the individuals find themselves. That means that labor unions, manufacturers' associations, associations of teachers and other groups of allied interests must learn that they are not ends in themselves, but must observe a moral obligation to give justice as well as to demand justice. The Ten Commandments if applied to individuals will produce little more than respectability. The Sermon on the Mount if really wrought into the action of social groups will help onward the Kingdom of God.

The possession of power means tyranny or service. The records of the past may tell of tyrants who have been known as benefactors, but the future will be secure only as any class with power uses that power for society and not for itself. Group selfishness means group hatred. A church that does not preach a morality capable of producing group coöperation will be of small service to its day. You cannot mend a leak in a dike by sticking your finger into a hole. That may do for legends, but it will not do for life. The church must be an ethical engineer, not a child trying to hold back a deluge with a chilled forefinger.

### Sympathy

THE Allies appear to have difficulty in getting the Germans to deliver coal. Well, coal dealers sometimes fail to make good their promises in our own country.

### Lower California

MEXICO is greatly troubled by the rebellion in Lower California, geographically cut off from the rest of the country by the Gulf of California. It is Mexico's business and none of ours how this trouble is settled. But if Mexico wishes a short cut out of the difficulty it would be no bad idea to sell out to the United States. The land in question is of little value to Mexico, but we could afford to pay a good round price for it since it would give us control of the mouth of the Colorado River and extend our Pacific coast line by several hundred miles.

## Speeches of Acceptance

WE have read them all: Harding, Cox, Coolidge and Roosevelt. As to their content every reader must make up his own mind, as we will ours. As to style, we must say that the next President, whichever he may be, should get his second-in-command to write speeches for him after he gets into office. A Presidential speech of acceptance, like the average party platform, tries to cover too much ground and covers it too thinly. More sledge hammer blows on the living issues of today and less formal eloquence about principles and ideals which no one disputes would be welcomed by a jaded public. Why not take Americanism and the Fathers and the virtues of the farmer and the horny-handed workingman for granted in the platforms and speeches of 1924? The American people are not Bolshevik that they should differ about the need for economy, efficiency, justice, a square deal, patriotism, the home, the dignity of womanhood, prosperity, liberty, order, democracy and the rest of it; we all want these things but we sometimes differ about the method of attaining or safeguarding them.



# The Siege of Warsaw



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The cathedral of Warsaw has added strategic importance in the recent fighting to the fame of its beauty. On August 7 a sentry's suspicions led to the discovery in its basement of a tunnel opening, leading to army headquarters across the street. The discovery foiled a Communist plot to blow up headquarters and execute a coup d'etat simultaneous with the Bolshevik attack



International

These Polish troops are part of the force that tried to defend Warsaw from the Bolsheviks. They were supplemented by French and British officers and by a squadron of American aviators



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The Polish Women's Battalion of the severity of the fighting was heavy, but the morale of the women was equal to that of the men. They were always outnumbered by the better armed and better equipped Bolsheviks. The victory was due to the bravery of the cavalry to which the women were attached.



Wide World

International

The market place under the entrance to the Alexander Bridge shows the characteristic commingling of medieval and modern in Warsaw. Its fall will give into the hands of the Bolsheviks many historic treasures and a thriving industrial center whose population ten years ago was estimated as 750,000. The photograph at the right, taken from an aeroplane, shows the main part of Poland's capital; the cathedral stands out near the center







Warsaw has a large overpopulated Jewish quarter which has been further crowded during the past months by refugees pouring into the city in fear of the Bolshevik advance. In the market place they talked and bargained, says one correspondent, with singular apathy as to the future. There was no panic; it looked as tho years of subjection had made the Poles fatalistic

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Underwood  
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women soldiers were fully  
The Polish troops were  
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Wide World

This bridge over the Vistula is one of the points of chief importance in the defense of Warsaw, and the only highway by which vehicles or pedestrians can enter the city. The photograph shows the Prague suburb, on the east bank of the Vistula; the Prague road has been filled almost constantly with refugees waiting their turn to get across the bridge



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General Haller, leader of the Polish army against the Bolsheviks, has time and again proved himself a brilliant strategist. But his troops in the defense of Warsaw were outnumbered nearly two to one by the enemy and his eleventh-hour attempt to raise volunteer forces could not provide the necessary equipment and ammunition for them. The people of Warsaw, however, united in a courageous effort to protect the city. Squads of citizens wearing civilian clothes and straw hats got rifles somehow and drilled in the streets. Women acted as couriers behind the line. Many of the refugees coming into Warsaw abandoned their household goods and gave up their wagons for carrying barbed wire and supplies toward the front



# The Story of the Week

## The Conquest of Poland

THE military success of the Bolsheviks continues, tho the Russians advanced more slowly after they crossed the frontier of "ethnographic Poland," that is to say the regions inhabited by a majority of Polish speech. While sweeping thru Lithuania, White Russia and the Ukraine the invaders met sometimes with resistance from the civil population, but sometimes with encouragement and usually with indifference or a terrorized submission. In these border countries, tho historically Polish and containing large Polish settlements, the mass of the peasantry is neither Polish nor particularly friendly to Poland. Once back on truly Polish soil, however, the retreating Polish army was strengthened by the national sentiment of the populace. To counteract Polish nationalism the Bolshevik invaders appealed to class feeling and urged the Polish peasants to rise against their Government. In the occupied region, as formerly in Lithuania, they endeavored to overthrow the existing local governments and establish workers' soviets.

In spite of the collapse of the Polish armies Warsaw, the capital, and Lemberg, the chief city of eastern Galicia, still remained unconquered more than a fortnight after the Russians had reached the Prussian frontier in the north and Brest-Litovsk and the Bug River farther south. Every day rumors came that the fall of Warsaw was imminent, but the Russian strategy seems to have been based on the outflanking of the capital before a direct attack was attempted. Since aid from the Allies could most easily reach Warsaw by way of Danzig, the Bolsheviks advanced along the southern frontier of East Prussia in the direction of the Danzig-Warsaw railway to cut off this channel of aid. The Allies cannot well send troops and supplies directly thru Germany to Poland, because Germany is strictly neutral in the Russo-Polish war and would oppose any use of German soil as a military base by Allied or Polish troops. With Danzig cut off, Poland would be practically isolated. It has been rumored that there is also a political object behind the Russian strategy in keeping touch with the Prussian frontier, that the Russians intend to propose to Germany, if they have not already done so, a new partition of Poland and a restoration of the old frontiers much as they existed in 1914. But Germany continues to remain quiet in the face of temptation; if the Germans covet their old Polish provinces they know that any attempt to join with the Bolsheviks in reconquering them would involve renewed war with France and England.

## Prospects of Polish Peace

FUTILE as have thus far been the negotiations for a Russo-Polish peace they have continued. The Bolsheviks do not so much wish to reject the idea of peace, which is essential to the prosperity of Russia, as to postpone the final conclusion of the armistice until they are in a position to dictate terms to defeated Poland and to defy any intervention by the Allies. The terms offered by Russia comprise the drastic disarmament of Poland and the relinquishment of any claims to territory east of the "ethnographical frontier." What further terms may be demanded is perhaps the question on which the future peace of Europe depends.

The Allies do not altogether see eye to eye on the Polish question. France has been for active military intervention to save Poland as a barrier against both Russian and Ger-

man ambitions in eastern Europe. Italy wishes to keep out of the quarrel altogether. Great Britain, disapproving emphatically of Poland's Russian adventure, wishes to save Poland from destruction, tho not from punishment, to avoid active intervention if possible, and to turn the negotiations between Poland and Russia into a general conference on the affairs of eastern Europe in which the Powers would be represented and international questions cleared up.

Premier Lloyd George address the House of Commons on August 10 in a very frank speech summarizing the whole situation. He admitted that Poland had attacked Russia "in spite of warnings of France and England," that Poland had been completely defeated and that victorious Russia is "entitled to demand such guarantees as would be exacted by any Powers against repetition of an attack of that kind." But should the Bolshevik authorities, drunk with power, attempt to obliterate the independence of Poland within her legitimate boundaries Great Britain and the other Allied Powers would be obliged to go to the rescue on three grounds: that Poland, like other nations, was entitled to independent national life; that the



De Amsterdamer

HOLLAND'S VIEW OF POLAND'S POSITION  
"Help me, boys, or I can't hold the fort!"

League of Nations would be discredited if a Member State were destroyed and the other nations in the League lifted no hand to prevent it, and that the existence of Poland was essential to the stability and safety of Europe. If the Bolsheviks took an unreasonably imperialistic position England and France would send supplies to Poland and aid in the reorganization of the Polish army, but would not send their own soldiers. "With the force at the disposal of the Poles, if it is well directed and well organized, there ought to be no difficulty in resisting." He could foresee no contingency in which it would be necessary to employ a British expeditionary force in Poland, but it might be necessary to reimpose the blockade on Soviet Russia "by naval action or by international action, or by both." He hoped that in such an event the attitude of the United States would be friendly, since Polish independence was a cause very dear to American sentiment. He rebutted the charge of the Labor Party members that the Allies were attempting to "overthrow a government merely because it is revolutionary" by demonstrating from the testimony of many British Socialists and trades unionists how reactionary and anti-democratic was the form of government established in Russia by



the Bolsheviks. But in spite of his denunciation of the Bolshevik régime he ended his address with the hope that the Soviet Government would consent to a moderate peace.

## Poland and the United States

**I**N response to a request from the Italian Ambassador, Secretary Colby of the Department of State stated the position taken by the United States Government with respect to the affairs of eastern Europe. Three positions are taken up, defended and explained: that Polish independence must be sustained by "all available means," that the United States cannot recognize the Bolshevik Government on account of its bad faith in matters of international diplomacy, and that the United States will not take part in any agreements for the partition of Russia and will not even recognize the independence of the newly created republics until negotiations with a government representing Russia are once more possible. Outstanding statements in the American note are:

This Government believes in a united, free and autonomous Polish State, and the people of the United States are earnestly solicitous for the maintenance of Poland's political independence and territorial integrity. From this attitude we will not depart.

The Government therefore takes no exception to the effort apparently being made in some quarters to arrange an armistice between Poland and Russia, but it would not, at least for the present, participate in any plan for the expansion of the armistice negotiations into a general European conference, which would in all probability involve two results, from both of which this country strongly recoils, viz.: The recognition of the Bolshevik régime and a settlement of the Russian problem almost inevitably upon the basis of a dismemberment of Russia.

It is not possible for the Government of the United States to recognize the present rulers of Russia as a Government with which the relations common to friendly governments can be maintained. This conviction has nothing to do with any particular political or social structure which the Russian people themselves may see fit to embrace. . . . The responsible leaders of the régime have frequently and openly boasted that they are willing to sign agreements and undertakings with foreign powers while not having the slightest intention of observing such undertakings or carrying out such agreements.

This Government would regard with satisfaction a declaration by the Allied and associated powers that the territorial integrity and true boundaries of Russia shall be respected. These boundaries should include the whole of the former Russian Empire, with the exception of Finland proper, ethnic Poland and such territory as may by agreement form a part of the Armenian state.

Thus only can the Bolshevik régime be deprived of its false but effective appeal to Russian nationalism and compelled to meet the inevitable challenge of reason and self-respect which the Russian people, secure from invasion and territorial violation, are sure to address to a social philosophy that degrades them and a tyranny that oppresses them.



El Donaciano, Mexico City

First Mexican General: "Well, old friend, it seems that Villa has at last surrendered."

Second Mexican General: "What a disaster!" This cartoon, from one of the leading newspapers of Mexico City, seems to support the impression sometimes felt on this side of the border that the bandits' activities were not altogether without honor in their own country



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On their journey all the way round the world to get back to their homes and parents these Russian children landed in San Francisco the other day in charge of the American Red Cross. They were picked up as refugees in the Ural Mountain region of Russia and the Red Cross is undertaking to get them safely back to Petrograd, from which they were driven out in the fighting of May, 1918

## Greater Greece

**O**N August 10 the Turkish Treaty, the last of the treaties closing the Great War, was signed at Sevres, near Paris. The Turkish delegates signed, as did representatives of the Allied nations with the exception of Serbia and the Arab Kingdom of Hedjaz.

Next to the partition of Turkey the outstanding feature of the Near Eastern settlement of the Great War, as embodied in the Bulgarian and Turkish treaties and in special agreements among the Allied nations, is the expansion of Greece. During the early days of the Great war Greek prestige was at its lowest ebb. The Allies and the Bulgarians alike used Greek soil as a camping place and the Greek court was a hotbed of intrigue; the nation seemed to be a mere passive counter on the diplomatic board. From this position Greece was rescued by the energy and genius of Eleutherios Venizelos, whom many observers called the shrewdest statesman at the Peace Conference. By entering the war at the psychological moment Greece claimed the rewards that came with Allied victory. By the subtle diplomacy of Venizelos Greece obtained recognition of her claim to Bulgarian Thrace, to Turkish Thrace (except for the immediate environs of Constantinople), and to a large part of western Asia Minor around Smyrna held by "mandate." And now the report comes that the islands of the Dodecanese, held for years by Italy, will be surrendered to Greece; the smaller islands immediately and the island of Rhodes after a plebiscite to be held after five or more years. Thus Greece rounds out her Aegean Empire and the dream of a Greater Greece is realized.

M. Politis, Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs, assures the world that the newly acquired territories will be administered in a liberal spirit. He said:

Politically the Turks are the easiest people to govern, so long as their religion is not touched. It is our intention to help maintain the mosques. We are so careful in this respect that we did all that was humanly possible to take Adrianople without damaging these master works there. We have already founded a Mohammedan chair in the University of Smyrna. We will do the same in Athens, as well as expend sums to keep up Turkish schools. . . . We will not employ carpet-bagging methods, tho it is difficult to harmonize the interests of the Turks with the 450,000 Greek refugees we had on our hands for several years, whose homes were destroyed by the Turks or were occupied by them.

In Turkish Thrace the Greeks are already completely



victorious, but fighting continues in Asia Minor. The Greeks have been almost uniformly successful thus far and have advanced far beyond the limits of their new frontier in Asia Minor, but the Turkish Nationalists can always retreat to new positions farther in the interior. The Armenians do not seem able to defend their own frontiers and the English in Mesopotamia and the French in Syria and Cilicia are finding difficulty in maintaining their positions against hostile Moslem populations, Turkish, Kurdish or Arabic. Several American destroyers have been sent to Turkish waters to protect the lives of American citizens should they be endangered.

## Irish Coercion Bill Passes

ON August 6 the House of Commons passed the Coercion Bill by 206 votes to 18. The small opposition vote was due to the fact that the Irish Nationalist members refused to participate. The Sinn Fein members of Parliament always refuse to attend, since they do not recognize the authority of the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland over "John Bull's other island." The members of the old Nationalist party, the former followers of Redmond, took an active part in the debate, but withdrew before the vote was taken as a protest against the suspension of Joseph Devlin for disorderly conduct. Many of the Labor party members withdrew in sympathy with the Irish.

The Coercion Bill provided for "the trial by courts-martial or courts of summary jurisdiction" of Irish criminals, subject to the conditions that the penalty for any crime shall be that fixed by the statute or common law only, and that in cases involving the death penalty the court martial must include a judicial official of certified legal knowledge and experience. Persons sentenced to imprisonment may be sent to prison in any part of the United Kingdom; this provision, of course, is intended to make impossible the rescue of prisoners detained in the midst of a sympathetic neighborhood. Civil cases may be tried without a jury. Sums payable from taxation to the local authorities may be withheld by the Government if "the local authority has in any respect refused or failed to perform its duties."

The preamble of the measure practically admits the existence of rebellion in Ireland—"owing to the existence of a state of disorder in Ireland the ordinary law is inadequate for the prevention and punishment of crime or the maintenance of order."

During the discussion of the Coercion Bill, Mr. Asquith surprised the House of Commons by coming out in favor of "Dominion Home Rule"; giving Ireland the status now enjoyed by Canada and Australia. This not only goes far beyond the provisions of the Home Rule Bill now supported by Premier Lloyd George, but it goes equally beyond any proposal made by Mr. Asquith himself when he was at the head of the British Government. In reply, the Prime Minister raised the objection that with a Dominion status Ireland would raise an army and a navy of its own, as Australia has done, and that it would be dangerous to permit this while Irish sentiment remained hostile to England.

Archbishop Mannix of Australia was not only debarred from landing in Ireland but even from remaining on the ship to Liverpool. The British Government remembered—rather belatedly—that part of Liverpool was like an Irish city in England and that there was as much danger of a demonstration of sympathy for the Archbishop if he landed in Liverpool as if he had been permitted to carry out his original intention of going directly to Ireland. So he was taken off the ship by a British destroyer and conveyed to Penzance, Cornwall, and thence by train to London. He will not be permitted to visit Ireland.

## Cox Champions Covenant

GOVERNOR Cox accepted the Democratic nomination for President at Dayton, Ohio, on August 7. He declared the Covenant of the League of Nations to be the paramount issue of the campaign and devoted the first part of his speech to it. His position was exactly that of the San Francisco platform: ratification of the Treaty, with "interpretative" reservations if necessary, but without such "nullifying" reservations as were demanded by Senator Lodge. Particularly he denounced as dishonorable the proposal to make a separate peace with Germany, along the lines of the Knox resolution, and thus abandon once and for all our associates in the Great War.

CANTANKEROUS CANTU—LEADER OF THE LATEST IN MEXICAN REVOLUTIONS  
Estaban Cantu, Governor of Lower California Territory, has defied the Mexican Federal Government. The photograph below shows the headquarters of the rebellious army at Mexicola; these are the only troops in northern Mexico, since Villa's surrender, to resist the authority of Obregon and De la Huerta

International







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The Democratic nominee for Vice-President has several of the famous Roosevelt characteristics. Like T. R. he likes to share outdoor sports with his sons, and to use the same concentration in play that he shows "on the job." Franklin D. has T. R.'s gift of always being in command of the situation, and that without any trace of self-consciousness

On the subject of ratification with reservations Governor Cox said:

The first duty of the new Administration clearly will be the ratification of the treaty. The matter should be approached without thought of the bitterness of the past. The public verdict will have been rendered, and I am confident that the friends of world peace as it will be promoted by the League, will have in numbers the constitutional requisite to favorable Senatorial action.

The captious may say that our platform reference to reservations is vague and indefinite. Its meaning, in brief, is that we shall state our interpretation of the covenant as a matter of good faith to our associates and as a precaution against any misunderstanding in the future.

Our platform clearly lays no bar against any additions that will be helpful, but it speaks in a firm resolution to stand against anything that disturbs the vital principle.

We hear it said that interpretations are unnecessary. That may be true, but they will at least be reassuring to many of our citizens, who feel that in signing the treaty there should be no mental reservations that are not expressed in plain words, as a matter of good faith to our associates. Such interpretations possess the further virtue of supplying a base upon which agreement can be reached, and agreement, without injury to the covenant, is now of pressing importance

Governor Cox proposed two reservations of the sort which he considered acceptable, as tending to clarify rather than to contradict the terms of the Covenant. They were:

In giving its assent to this treaty the Senate has in mind the fact that the League of Nations, which it embodies, was devised for the sole purpose of maintaining peace and comity among the nations of the earth and preventing the recurrence of such destructive conflicts as that thru which the world has just passed. The coöperation of the United States with the League and its continuance as a member thereof, will naturally depend upon the adherence of the League to that fundamental purpose.

It will of course be understood that in carrying out the purpose of the League the Government of the United States must at all times act in strict harmony with the terms and intent of the United States Constitution, which cannot in any way be altered by the treaty-making power

## Cox on Domestic Issues

THE latter part of Governor Cox's speech was devoted to a general, and somewhat diffuse, survey of national problems. A few of the more specific statements on the more important issues (the plums in the pudding, as it were) are here extracted:

One of the first things to be done is the repeal of war taxes.

I believe that a better form of taxation than the so-called excess profits tax may be found, and I suggest a small tax, probably 1 to 1½ per cent, on the total business of every going concern.

There is no condition now that warrants any infringement on

the right of free speech and assembly nor on the liberty of the press.

We need a definite and precise statement of policy as to what business men and workmen may do and may not do by way of combination and collective action.

The Federal Reserve Act is admitted to be the most constructive monetary legislation in history.

Many of the states have adopted a budget system, and with a success that carries no exception. . . . The same can be done by the Federal Government.

I am convinced that the expense of the Government can, without loss of efficiency, be reduced to a maximum of \$4,000,000,000, including sinking fund and interest on the national debt.

When we enter the League of Nations we should at the same time diminish our cost for armament.

The rehabilitation of the disabled soldiers of the recent war is one of the most vital issues before the people.

The women of America . . . are entitled to a voice in the readjustment now at hand.

All that we ask is that both parties deal in the utmost good faith with the electorate and tell the plain truth as to the amounts received, the contributors and the items of disbursements.

The Democratic candidate had nothing to say on the liquor question, which so many prophesied would be the issue of his campaign, unless a general reference to the duty of the President to enforce the laws be construed as relating to that issue. He emphasized two points in opposition to Senator Harding's confession of political faith; attacking the concept of "government by party" as an abdication of the constitutional right and duty of the President to use his own judgment as chief executive, and attacking the motto "back to normal" as a mere plea for reaction and a return to pre-war conditions.

## The Fourth Acceptance

ON August 9, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Democratic candidate for Vice-President, was formally notified of his nomination. His speech concluded the series of "keynotes" by the nominees of the two great parties and with it the campaign may be considered under way. In vigor, compactness and "fighting" quality the speech ranks high; higher, possibly, than the acceptance speeches of either Harding or Cox. Perhaps an aspirant for the Presidency must be more careful than a Vice-Presidential candidate to weigh his words and be certain that no phrase will give offense, and thus necessarily loses something of the free movement discernible in the speeches of Coolidge and of Roosevelt. A few quotations may be taken to typify the address:

The war was won by Republicans as well as by Democrats.

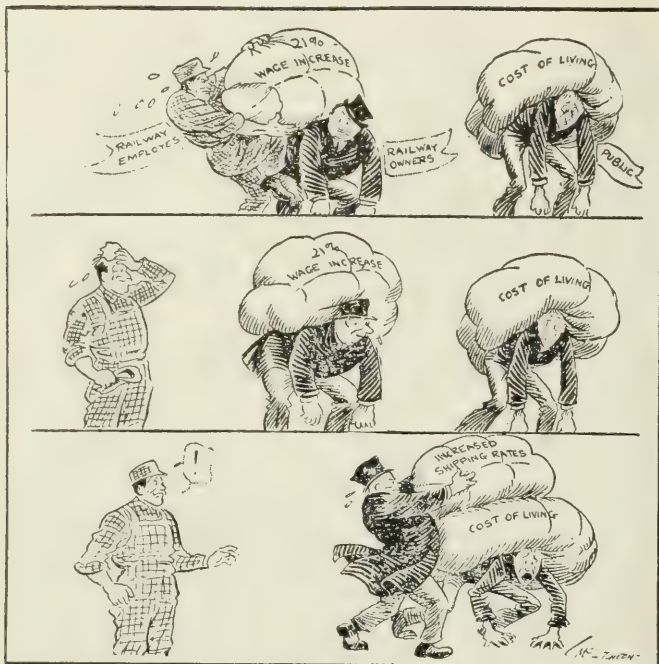
A real treaty for a real peace must include a League of



International

Governor James Cox has one kind of popularity in Dayton, Ohio, but his elder brother, Bill, has another. All the Dayton youngsters know "Mr. Bill" as the man who mixes the best sodas in town, and sometimes passes out a free one when the thermometer is high and the gang's funds are correspondingly low. "Mr. Bill" isn't letting his brother's candidacy for President of the United States interfere in the least with his own career as proprietor of the candy store and soda fountain





McCutcheon © 1920, by the Chicago Tribune

The patient public, like the lady in the melodrama, always pays

Nations. . . . The League of Nations is a practical solution of a practical situation. It is no more perfect than our original Constitution, which has been amended eighteen times and will soon, we hope, be amended the nineteenth, was perfect. It is not anti-national, it is anti-war.

The methods of the legislative branch of the National Government, especially in the upper House, require drastic changes. It is safe to say that the procedure of the Congress has progressed less with the times than in any other business body in the country.

Some people have been saying of late: "We are tired of progress, we want to go back to where we were before, to go about our own business, to restore 'normal' conditions." They are wrong. This is not the wish of America. We can never go back. The "good old days" are past forever; we have no regrets. For our eyes are trained ahead—forward to better new days.

## Watchfully Awaiting Those Rates

**W**ILL the increased railroad rates mean higher prices for commodities? Perhaps more citizens of the United States are asking that question than any other; even "who will be our next President?" takes at best a second place. The new rates become effective after five days' notice to the Interstate Commerce Commission and must all be in effect by January 1, 1921. Most of the railroad companies will have their new rates established by the beginning of September. The aggregate increase of income, if all the companies take full advantage of the authorized advance in charges, is placed at approximately \$1,500,000,000, of which rather over \$600,000,000 will be spent in wages and the rest will enable the railways to bring their equipment up to date as well as to secure the revenues necessary for the 5½ per cent return guaranteed under the Transportation Act. What the public wonders is what the portentous sum of \$1,500,000,000 is going to do to the pocket of the ultimate consumer, since it is certain that the merchant will not stand the loss if he can pass it on.

The Pennsylvania Railroad has published figures intended to reassure the public by demonstrating that the new charges will be spread out so thinly over the various classes of freight that there will be very little excuse for higher prices on ordinary retail commodities. Thus a barrel of flour shipped from Minneapolis to Philadelphia, if shipped in a carload lot, will cost only 33 cents more on account of the 40 per cent increase in freight rates in the Eastern zone; or about four cents for a twenty-four pound sack. Shipped in less than carload lots, the increase would

be about seven cents a sack. The added freight charge on a dozen eggs would be from one-half to two-thirds of a cent if shipped from Chicago to Philadelphia. Butter sent over the same route would cost about one-half cent a pound more than formerly. Oranges from "a typical Florida point" to the northeastern states would bear an added charge of three to three and one-half cents a dozen. Potatoes from "Virginia points" to the larger eastern cities would require an advance of about a cent a peck. All of these slight increases in price would be more than offset, in the opinion of the Pennsylvania freight expert, by the decrease in the cost of coal owing to the improved facilities for transportation which the new increases will make possible. "Good and adequate transportation will serve the people of the country at large in dollars, where a freight rate increase is measured in cents." That is the promise; let us hope it comes true.

As an aftermath of the outlaw railroad strike John Grunau and forty of his associates have been indicted for conspiracy to tie up the transportation of necessary commodities. Federal Judge Alschuler of Chicago has ordered an investigation of the mysterious "leak" by which it became known to the press in advance of the jury's verdict what the decision would be. Many of the outlaw strikers are now trying to get back their old positions in view of the increased wages which have been granted, and there does not seem any present prospect of new strikes.

## State Politics

**P**RIMARY and state convention contests were held in several states in July and August.

In New York, where there is a state-wide primary, the law permits informal party conventions to "designate" or "suggest" official tickets, and both parties took advantage of their opportunity in spite of objections raised by friends of the direct primary. The Republican convention at Saratoga selected a full state ticket headed by Judge Nathan L. Miller of Syracuse. He will be opposed at the primaries by Francis M. Hugo, Secretary of State, and State Senator George F. Thompson.

Altho Judge Miller was the nominee of the "machine" he is described as being personally of progressive tendencies, one evidence of which is the fact that he voted for Mr.



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Demonstrating again that truth is more melodramatic than fiction, Charles Ponzi, an Italian in Boston, earned the title of "financial wizard" by giving a 50 per cent profit in forty-five days to anyone who wanted to invest money with him. When his success became so spectacular as to attract the attention of the authorities Mr. Ponzi had accumulated millions of profit for himself and at the same time had not failed to satisfy one investor. During the subsequent run on his office he seemed to have unlimited surplus funds—the photographer who took this picture saw him cash a check for \$389,000 at the time. But bankruptcy proceedings were brought against him, he admitted to having served two terms in prison, and the rocket of his success fell as rapidly as it had risen when he was arrested on the charges of larceny and using the mails to defraud.



Hoover for President when a delegate to the Republican National Convention. Senator Wadsworth was renominated, but he, too, may have to face opposition at the primaries on account of his hostility to woman suffrage.

The New York Democratic Convention renominated Governor Alfred Smith on August 4 and selected a state ticket. One of the places on the ticket was given to a woman prominent in the suffrage movement, Harriet May Mills, nominated for Secretary of State. In spite of the opposition of Mayor Lunn of Schenectady, the convention adopted a "wet" plank, favoring such a modification of the Volstead Act as would permit the sale of light wines and beer.

In Kansas the chief interest of the state primary centered around Governor Allen's fight for renomination by the Republicans against the opposition of organized labor, which was offended by his Industrial Courts Act. Governor Allen won a sweeping victory. Senator Curtis and the Republican Congressmen of the state were also successful.

In Oklahoma and Missouri the primary elections tested the popularity of the League of Nations issue among the Democrats of the southwest. Senator Spencer of Missouri, Republican, will be a candidate for reelection. He will be opposed by Breckinridge Long, an "Administration" Democrat and an advocate of the League. The primary vote is regarded as a defeat for the anti-League Democrats.

In Oklahoma the friends of the Covenant won an even more striking victory. Senator Thomas Gore was defeated for renomination by Representative Scott Ferris. Senator Gore was an anti-Administration Democrat who had been one of the "little group of wilful men" opposed to the protection of American merchant ships against submarines. He had the advantage of local popularity and his defeat is a vindication of President Wilson's policies.

## Western Labor Riots

THE street car strike in Denver was broken by its own excesses, which not only alienated public sympathy but led to the intervention of Federal troops. On August 5 a riot broke out in the course of which two men were killed and many injured. The strikers did not confine them-



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President and Mrs. Wilson seem to be bringing back the Victorian era, at least in recreation. Their appearance in the park recently in this old-fashioned open carriage caused as much gossip in Washington Society as the announcement some months ago that President Wilson was going to take up bicycling.

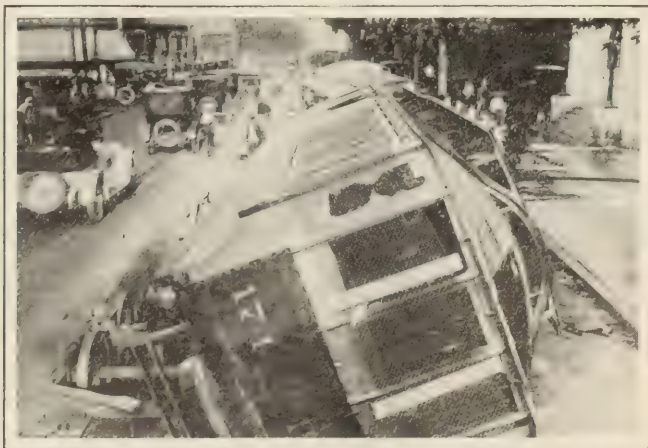
selves to mobbing cars containing strikebreakers, but raided the plant of the *Denver Post*, a newspaper unfriendly to their cause, and wrecked it. On the following day a mob of strikers and sympathizers attacked the car barns and was repulsed with rifle fire by the police and the strikebreakers. Three more persons were killed in the attack. Federal troops were then sent into the city, equipped with tanks and machine guns, and a number of veterans of the Great War volunteered to help the police and soldiers guard the city. The labor union officials expressed deep regret at the disorders, disclaimed responsibility for them, and offered to end the strike and permit the resumption of traffic if the strikers were reinstated as a body by the company.

The labor troubles in West Frankfort, Illinois, were even more serious than the Denver riots since they threatened international complications. There is a large Italian colony in West Frankfort and much friction existed between the Italians and the English-speaking laborers. A mob invaded the Italian quarter on August 5 and again on the two following days, burning houses, looting, assaulting the Italians and attempting to drive them out of town. State militiamen were sent to quell the riots. The Italian consuls at Chicago and Springfield have undertaken an investigation. In 1891 the United States was compelled to indemnify Italy for the mobbing of some Italian subjects in Louisiana. The present case presents an obvious parallel.



International

Several men were killed and the whole city of Denver was thrown into disorder by the riots incident to the street car strike there on August 5 and 6. The strike leaders, it is said, violated an injunction of the city restraining the company from reducing wages and the men from striking. But the strike leaders maintain that the trouble was due entirely to propaganda for the open shop and to the use of strike-breakers. A thousand volunteer civilians, backed by machine guns, tried to restore order pending the arrival of Federal troops. The photograph at the left shows part of a crowd in front of the City Hall demanding the removal of police protection from the strike-breakers.





# A Little of Everything



Out in Kansas the farmer is threshing his wheat by electricity while his wife uses the same power to make toast, clean her rugs, wash her dishes and curl her hair

## Thresh Your Grain by Electricity

By C. M. Harger

With wheat harvesters demanding 70 cents an hour and threshers asking 40 cents a bushel for separating the grain, the farmer is looking for methods of reducing the labor cost of production. A national convention of wheat raisers recently declared that for the present crop \$3.13 a bushel must be obtained if they are to make a fair percentage of profit. This price is higher than the farmer has ever received, except for a short time before the Government control became effective.

To reduce the cost of his operations the wheat farmer of a considerable portion of central Kansas is utilizing electricity for power. In eleven counties over five hundred farms have electric current supplied by one central plant. The transmission lines, which furnish current to fifty-nine towns in their course over the farm country, are tapped by lines leading along the highways and with transformers at the farmyards. The farmhouses are equipped not only with lights but the farmers' wives are using electric toasters, vacuum cleaners, electric dishwashers and curling irons. The barns, garage, feed yards and dairy sheds are lighted, water is pumped and feed grinding performed by electric power.

But, most important of all in these days of shortage of man power on the farm, is the application of electric current to the threshing operations. The central station supplies a cable a half mile or more long with a transformer truck, carrying a motor and other equipment. The cable is stretched across the fields to the threshing separator and the current furnishes power which is even and steady and gives the finest surface.

The saving of man power comes from the elimination of the cumbersome engines, with their engineer, firemen, fuel

hauler and water hauler. One man from the central station at a cost of \$1 an hour supplies the power. Last season, when wheat was heavy of straw and threshing was difficult, a charge of \$100 to \$150 a day for the use of machine and engine with the men to handle them was made. This season threshers are expecting to charge 40 cents a bushel for the process of threshing. With electricity as power farmers buy a community thresher and the cost is reduced to 6 to 10 cents a bushel, something worth while when it is remembered that the producers claim that they are now paying \$2.75 a bushel to raise and deliver wheat. They have de-

manded that they have a living return, but where electricity can be utilized they have opportunity to cut the cost materially.

With a tractor to till his soil, electric power to thresh his grain, cut his silage and run his feed grinders, and motor trucks to haul his produce to market and handle other farm operations, the modern farmer is able to dispense with a great portion of the hired help formerly required. With the farm labor shortage so great, now only 73 per cent of normal compared with 84 per cent last year—then considered serious—every invention that can be added to the farm assists in producing the food-stuffs on which the nation is depending for its prosperity.

## Exit the Horse

By Robert H. Moulton

Preposterous as it may seem, not a horse is in use on the largest farm in the world, comprising some 200,000 acres. This huge farm is devoted entirely to the growing of wheat and was one result of the Government's efforts to increase wheat production during the war. The land is located on the Crow, Blackfeet and Fort Peck reservations in Montana and Wyoming. A corporation with a capital of \$2,000,000 is managing the enterprise, altho the approval and assistance of the Secretary of the Interior were necessary before the use of the Indian lands could

## The Basis of Success

By Edward A. Filene

Head of Filene's Department Store in Boston

A store has no right to succeed unless it is of real service to the community. Real service in a store consists in giving people merchandise of reliable quality for the lowest possible price, provided that merchandise is made and sold under just conditions.

The relentless application of this fundamental to every function of the business will greatly strengthen its ideals and greatly increase the success of the business. It is dependent for its value on its application to every question arising in the business and not only to some questions. So applied it will exclude anything, however desirable or benevolent in itself, that increases prices unless it is justified under the above rule.

No store can be a permanent success—and of course if it does not succeed it is not an ideal store—unless the fundamental truth that service must be the guiding purpose of the storekeeper is recognized, and it must be service not only to the public, but to the work people in the store. We should be careful to appreciate the important fact that our associates are entitled to an opportunity to work out for themselves their own remedies. This means that instead of handing down a ready-made scheme of betterment, we should give them freedom to better themselves. There can be no real freedom unless there is a margin of income over outgo, so that after the pay envelope has made provision for the necessary food, clothing and shelter, there must be sufficient remainder for recreation, for education, and for illness and old age.





Wide World

"See the World," the Navy slogan, has picturesque proof in this land cruise of American gobs on Egyptian camels. Evidently Jordan isn't a "hard road to travel" after you've been in the Navy

be secured. The reason that not a horse will be used on these acres is because all the work of plowing, harrowing, seeding, harvesting, etc., will be done by tractors. More than seventy-five of these machines are now the property of the corporation. Last fall a record of one acre plowed per minute was made, which is something quite impossible where horses are used. On one day alone more than 1,800 acres were turned and broken.

While there is a general manager of the entire farm, it is impossible, of course, for him to give his constant personal attention to every portion of it. Therefore, the farm has been divided up into units of 5000 acres, each unit having a farm manager, a general foreman and a crew of men. Each unit also has its own group of permanent buildings, modernly equipped.

One of the most difficult problems the general manager had to solve in the beginning was estimating the amount of machinery required on this vast project. This he did by figuring on the basis of 5000 acres, allowing a certain period for plowing, and estimating the number of tractors it would take to do it. Seeding was figured in the same way. Enough 11-foot seeders will be hitched behind the tractors to finish the job of seeding a unit in a week. In the same way, the number of threshers required was worked out.

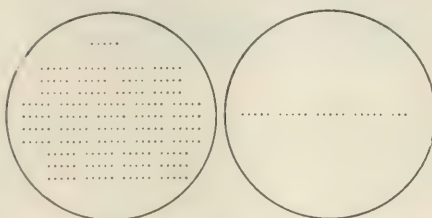
## The Human Ant Heap

The builders of the Tower of Babel deliberately intended to create a skyscraper.

But the wild skyline of New York "just grew"—like Topsy or the

British Empire. Our insurgent individualism did not permit such minute building regulations as in Berlin and other German cities, nor did we realize in time how rapidly the industrial whirlpool was sucking in the population from the country and from foreign lands. When New Yorkers first became conscious of the problem of congestion they were already living in ten-story apartments and working in forty story office buildings.

What does congestion mean? Darkness: The shadow of the Equitable building on a December noon extends for a fifth of a mile and covers seven and a half acres. The transportation tangle: Mr. MacAneny, former president of the Board of Aldermen of New York, estimates that the daily population of the Woolworth Building alone would fill the subway cars for thirty minutes if they all wanted to go in the same direction at the same hour. Danger: The Board of Health prints figures showing that over a hundred babies are killed and several hundred injured every year by falling from windows, fire escapes and roofs. Crowds: If New York State were "built over" as densely as Manhattan borough it would contain three times the entire population of the world.



CONGESTED NEW YORK HAPPY LOS ANGELES  
Greater New York and Los Angeles are of about the same area: but their use of the space is very different. In these diagrams comparing the proportion of people to land in the two cities: each dot represents 25,000 people

## Squiblets

An apiarist in Canada is having bees sent to him by airplane from the United States.

\*\*\*

By wireless telephone at Newfoundland a phonograph was heard at a distance of more than 500 miles.

\*\*\*

Republican National Conventions have met at Chicago on ten occasions. No wonder it is called the Windy City.

\*\*\*

Wyoming has more bank depositors in proportion to the population than any other state; Montana and Idaho come next.

\*\*\*

There are more than twenty million bank depositors in the United States, or nearly one bank account to each five persons.

\*\*\*

During the Great War suicides in the United States decreased by more than one-third according to the insurance companies.

\*\*\*

Within the last fifteen years it is estimated that the United States has lost two-fifths of its bird life. Only three states gained in the estimated number of birds within their limits.

\*\*\*

Altho the United States is a great producer of peanuts it imported in a single year more than \$40,000,000 worth of peanuts and peanut oil.

\*\*\*

In the course of a heavy thunderstorm this summer New York City lost 15,000,000 hours or more than seventeen centuries of sleep, estimates a metropolitan newspaper.

## The "White Peril"

The meek may inherit the earth, but the civilized inhabit it. It is estimated that since the early part of the eighteenth century the population of the world has increased by about two-thirds; roughly, 650,000,000. Half of this increase must be credited to the



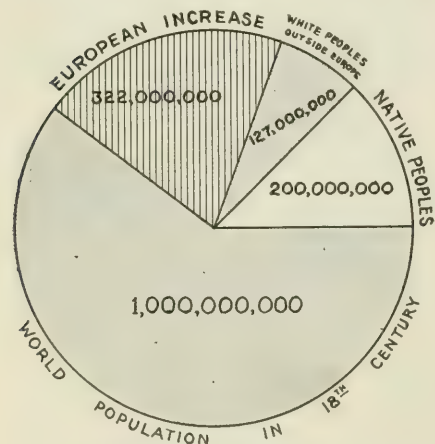
© Keystone View

This "human ant heap" is an expensive luxury dangerous to health and even to life. But we can't seem to get along without it



tiny little continent of Europe. According to a statistical estimate by Mr. W. F. Willcox in the *American Economic Review*, the number of Europeans increased from about 130,000,000 in 1741 to 452,000,000 at the outbreak of the Great War. To this should be added an increase of 127,000,000 in the "white" or European population outside of Europe, chiefly in America. This leaves only about 200,000,000 increase for all the "native" or "colored" peoples on earth. It is time for the Chinese to do some worrying about the "rapid multiplication of the white race."

The comparatively slow increase of non-white population is not due, as some suppose, to extermination by the rifles, luxuries or diseases of the white man. On the contrary, those parts of the world which have become most thoroly Europeanized have shown the most rapid increases of the native population. In exceptional cases, of course, contact with the European colonist has meant a decrease in native population; for example, among the Indians of the eastern United States, the Polynesians of the Pacific Islands, and the Australian blackfellows. But, on the other hand, the little island of Java has increased its native population tenfold since the beginning of the nineteenth century under the efficient rule of the Dutch, and now has almost as many inhabitants as England. Probably the increase in population in Java alone is greater than all



EUROPEANIZING THE WORLD

Three-fifths of the circle represents the world's population two hundred years ago, inclusive of all races. As the shading of the rest of the circle shows, the increased population is mainly of European stock

the decrease in native population, due to contact with the whites, the wide world over since colonization first began. But we must add to the increase in Dutch Java, the still greater increase in British India, and the marked increases in other well-managed colonial dependencies such as Egypt, French north Africa and the American Philippines. Japan, also, has nearly doubled its population since it began to assimilate the white man's industrial civilization.

But when we turn to those parts of the world which have remained in the savage state, like central Africa, or have clung conservatively to their old



An enthusiastic young American on Armistice Day left his tin hat on this statue in the Crystal Palace Grounds in Paris—and the French have let it stay there as a souvenir of "Les Americains"

civilization, like China or Asiatic Turkey, the population does not seem to increase at all. Of course, this is hard to prove, since exact statistics are lacking outside the area of European influence. Chinese "official statistics" are so unreliable that we cannot tell with certainty whether the great republic of the Orient has thrice or four times the population of the United States. But Mr. Willcox gives evidence for his opinion that the natural increase in the number of Chinese is very great in "normal" years, but is wholly eliminated every few years by famine, flood or civil war. The great Taiping rebellion of the middle of the nineteenth century, for example, probably cost China more lives than the Great War cost the whole world.

The uncivilized parts of Africa, Asia and the East Indies are, in comparison with their vast areas, almost uninhabited, as was the greater part of America in the days of Columbus. If the Dutch East Indies generally were as densely peopled as Java they would contain as many inhabitants as all Europe; yet in natural advantages Borneo, Sumatra and the rest are comparable with Java, the chief difference being that the Dutch haven't "got around to" developing the other islands as yet. In a word, except for the influence of modern civilization, the population does not tend to increase. It may

remain stationary at a low level, as in Africa, or a high level, as in China, but bad sanitation and bad government fix a limit somewhere which it cannot pass.

## Five Million Laborers Wanted

Everybody has his own theory to account for the high cost of living. The Inter-Racial Council, which favors a more liberal and positive immigration policy, points out that American industry is short some 5,000,000 unskilled laborers. The manufacturers report that they cannot get men and so are compelled to limit production, and limited production means higher prices.

What became of the missing millions? Mr. Barr, President of the Inter-Racial Council, thinks that part of the labor shortage is due to the general substitution of the eight-hour for the ten-hour day, but that most of it can be accounted for by the drop in immigration. If immigration and emigration had continued for the five-year period of 1915 to 1919 inclusive at the same rate as during the months immediately before the outbreak of the Great War there would have been an excess of immigration over emigration of more than 3,800,000. Actually 1,612,743 persons came to the United States and 1,180,859 departed from it during that period; a net immigration of about 432,000. This means that some 3,370,000 persons whom we would have had as permanent settlers in the United States if the world had been at peace are still in their home lands or dead on the battlefield.

There has been very little immigration of unskilled labor since the armistice. Mr. Barr estimates that from November, 1918, to October, 1919, five times as many unskilled male laborers left the country as entered it. Most of the recent immigration has consisted of women and girls. In some weeks several times as many women as men entered New York. It appears that a number of European Governments are deliberately discouraging the emigration of laborers in order that they may work for the rebuilding of their own countries.



© Underwood & Underwood

Louisville, Kentucky, has found a new way to reduce automobile accidents. Gravestones have been set up at several corners in the downtown district with the legend "A Fatal Accident Occurred Here Last Year." There is something about the plain statement of fact more severe than any sensational warning. In the first week after the "gravestones" were put up not one serious accident happened



# Letters to the Great and the Near Great

By John Citizen

Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt,  
Anteroom of Vice-Presidential  
Chamber

Dear Sir:

The shadow of a great name is sometimes an embarrassment, especially when the man who bore it once occupied the same position to which you now aspire. But I think you will bear up under the inevitable comparison as well as anyone. Theodore Roosevelt's career is written in history, yours lies before you, but you have begun it in the same progressive spirit and with the same ideals of diligent public service. Go forward and good luck attend you!

Yours sincerely,  
JOHN CITIZEN.

Governor Percival W. Clement,  
State House, Vermont

Dear Governor:

You have unquestionably a right to your own opinion on the question of equal suffrage and you have certainly

given a proof of your courage in refusing to change your opinion from motives of political expediency. But it is a pity that in all these months that the question has been pressed on your attention you have found no better ground for refusing to call the Vermont legislature into session than the fact that (to quote your own words) "the provisions for changes in the Federal Constitution, to which we Vermonters are loyal subscribers, are in conflict with those laid down in the Constitution of Vermont." You declare that, "As it stands and is interpreted by the Supreme Court today, the Federal Constitution threatens the foundation of free popular government."

Such arguments one might have expected to hear in 1791 and even in 1860, but it is passing strange that the ghost of the old doctrine of state sovereignty still walks the country in the full daylight of the twentieth century. Whatever its defects the Federal Constitution has the right of way over any local laws or customs, however excel-

lent. If this were not so the United States would speedily become the United States. To refuse to permit the Vermont legislature to meet and ratify the nineteenth amendment in the manner laid down by the Constitution to which the amendment refers, on the ground that Vermont amends her state constitution in a different fashion, is hardly better than legalistic pedantry.

A stronger argument which you use is that no constitutional change should be made until the people of Vermont have been directly consulted.

But who are "the people"?

Mary Citizen says that she is one!

Disappointedly yours,  
JOHN CITIZEN.

General Ludendorff,  
Berlin, Germany.

Geliebter Herr:

You promise to rescue civilization from Bolshevism if given a free hand. Many thanks. But we remember that it took five years to rescue civilization from Ludendorffism. JOHN CITIZEN.

## If You Were an Immigrant

(Continued from page 201)

immigrants, with dishonest employers, who for greed of gain have instigated and materially aided and abetted the maneuvers of these speculators, with legislators who have failed to provide the necessary laws for a well-balanced distribution of immigrants thruout the country, with the labor unions, who, failing to realize that the immigrants of today are the labor army of tomorrow, preferred to remain egoistically closed against newcomers instead of attracting and protecting the immigrant mass which, owing to the large demands on the labor market, was infallibly destined to flow here until the demand had ceased.

When the causes which had permitted the exploitation of the new arrivals disappeared, wages followed an ascending scale and the country reached a state of prosperity and well-being which had never been reached before. Then, because of the war, an abnormal situation was created in which America was called upon to supply all the markets and to make up for the cessation of importations from the belligerent countries, and as a result the demand for labor again exceeded the available supply and therefore the increase in wages, especially in certain trades, assumed the proportions responsible for the existing situation which we all view with alarm and the remedy for which lies only in a rapid numerous influx of new workers: to reestablish a normal equilibrium between labor and capital, to maintain and increase the industrial and agricultural output of the nation, it is necessary that we have new immigration.

This remedy may be regarded with hostility by those labor organizations which, having lost all sense of proportion, would substitute for the so-called tyrannical usages of the capitalist class, their own tyrannical laws. It may alarm those whose vast accumulated wealth offends all those who have any rational sense of justice. It may seem unfair to those who have become accustomed to the comfortable and profitable humdrum of methodically cheating their equals and who are fearful of honest competition. It may spoil the plans of those who do not see that freedom of thought and conscience has traveled a long way during the last three centuries. But the importance and necessity of this new immigration is clear to those who love this country for what it will become as well as for what it is; to those who consider it an eternal and intangible ideal, not a convenient and alterable contingency; to those who do not limit their efforts to securing benefits which they alone may enjoy, but who know that it is the duty of each one of us to sow for the harvest of future generations.

Today we are all, more or less, misplaced. As a result of the artificial situation created by the war we have become accustomed to an abnormal mode of living. We have cultivated everything except a common sense of sincerity. We are like so many invalids, who, having become accustomed to remain for long periods in bed and be nursed and petted, are content with the bad air of the sick room heavy with the odor of disinfectants, and refuse to step out thru the wide open doors

into the great sunshine and the fresh air which is life and regeneration.

Instead of seeking Utopian solutions which range from insensate internationalistic schemes to a restoration of jingoism, upon which the experience of half a century has passed adverse judgment, we should accept with calm serenity this new influx of energies onto our shores; we should try to avoid an increase in the urban trend of our populations, which is the major cause of most of our present troubles, and above all direct these new immigrants from southern Europe, especially the Italians, toward the virgin fields and abandoned farms which abound in this vast country, where they may become producers of the necessities of life and at the same time consumers of the output of our industries. But—and this is most essential—let us do this with that spirit of sincerity and brotherly love championed by Commissioner Wallis.

Let us help these pilgrims to our shores fulfil the hopes which instigated them to emigrate; let us so treat them that they will feel themselves surrounded by a bond of sympathy; let the instinctive love for the soil they will have cultivated, develop; then, the desire to become citizens of their adopted country, to take an active part in the life of the nation, to feel that they are brothers among brothers, equals among equals, will arise spontaneously in their hearts, and in this spontaneity lies the soundest guaranty of loyalty to the traditions which inspire us and the institutions which govern us.

New York



# Simple When You Know It

(Continued from page 206)

infinite patience. And the operators chosen for the task have had to qualify with 100 per cent hearing ability and knowledge of radio telegraphy.

For the beginner, under-water sounds are difficult to locate definitely. He cannot tell whether he hears a sound in the right or the left ear. Gradually, however, he is able to distinguish the ear in which he hears loudest the expected sound. In operation the sound may be heard, say, on the operator's right ear. He then immediately revolves the steering or direction wheel of his instrument until he hears the sound equally in both ears. That is to say, he learns to "place" it in the center of his forehead just above the root of his nose. When this has been done, he reads the dial of the compass scale on the shaft of the hydrophone and knows that he has located the submarine's direction. By carefully judging the strength of the sound heard, the operator estimates the distance it is from the ship. The cultivation of accurate distance-hearing has shown marvelous results in the work of the American sailors. Often oper-

ators have estimated the distance between a sub-chaser and a submarine to within 100 feet. When the operator has located the direction of the submarine sending signals or thrashing thru the under-currents of the sea, he immediately communicates with the captain thru the speaking tube. Then the death-like silence of the listening period is broken by feverish activity as the sub-chaser gets under way in the direction indicated by the operator. After a run of approximately the required distance, the engines are stopped and everybody returns to his barefooted silence, while the operator once more places the stethoscope to his ears. If his first estimate has been sufficiently accurate, the "fire" signal is given, the sub-chaser gets up full speed ahead, and the "ash cans," set to explode at different depths, are released. The concussion caused by their explosion often lifts the sub-chaser partly out of the water; and unless full speed ahead were maintained the chaser itself would be in danger.

After several enemy submarines had been destroyed the captains of the re-

maining enemy vessels decided to fool those "stupid Americans" by bluffing them. Their plan was to play "possum." When they knew they were discovered—and here it is well to remark that the Germans had listening devices on their submarines—they would dash off their course, run for a few miles, and then play "dead." But the chasers soon discovered this trick. Upon hearing a submarine propeller, or the hammer-tapping, they dashed in its direction; but instead of making the full estimated distance, ran only a short distance, stopped, and listened again. Then the operator heard that a new course had been taken by the submarine, and the chaser started off in the new direction. Because of the surface vessel's superior speed it was able to overtake the other. However, individual cases have been known of sub-chasers which hovered directly over a submarine, when the latter, thinking herself free, foolishly set off on a new course after playing "dead" for some time. It isn't necessary to dwell on what happened to those submarines.

New York

## Our Senator Harding

(Continued from page 200)

cess after his withdrawal from active participation. When The Harding Publishing Company was incorporated a portion of the stock was offered for sale to the employees, so that those who wished to do so could share in its profits. His methods of enlisting the coöperation of his employees, of drawing upon the initiative of each to the limit of his capacity, and, finally of rewarding effort, could hardly be improved upon. The flexible organic adjustment among labor, management and capital, which is urged by the economist, Harding has quietly put into effect in his own business plant.

In 1899 when Harding's name was presented in convention for his first public office the following statement was made: "Astronomers tell us that every star is a sun. In its genial, sunny way, the *Marion Star* has striven for years to throw the cloak of Democracy from the voter's back. It is read in hundreds of Democratic homes, and by its sound arguments, its appeals to justice and its witty exposure of sham and fraud, it has exerted an influence which no bitter party organ could have exercised." Today the *Star* is a newspaper of from sixteen to thirty full-sized pages as enterprising and trustworthy in news service, as well printed, as carefully edited as any daily in Ohio, and enjoys a circulation so extensive that the returns from advertising are highly gratifying.

If Mr. Talcott Williams is right in asserting that Harding never achieved enemies, then they must have been born or thrust upon him. No man in Ohio ever defeated and outlived a more persistent personal enmity than faced this



Underwood & Underwood

Senator and Mrs. Harding have always enjoyed all their work and play together. It was Mrs. Harding's business insight that first helped the *Marion Star* get its financial start

editor in his early struggles. His foes not only rolled stumbling blocks in his road to professional success, to social development, to political advancement, but they also poisoned the mind of his father-in-law (a man of wide influ-

ence in the community) to such an extent that for fifteen years after their marriage the father never entered his only daughter's home or spoke to her husband. And when reconciliation finally came it was Mr. Kling who broke the bitter silence of two decades. In all these years Harding never retaliated; not even when Mr. Kling was nominated for Congress and thus became a fair object for newspaper comment. It just seems as tho early in his career he had run the editorial blue pencil thru the word hate, and adopted as his motto Lincoln's "malice toward none."

Not without reason has Warren Harding often been likened to McKinley, whom James Boyle, his private secretary, stamped as "the kindest man I ever knew." This disposition, coupled with great generosity in the disposal of time as well as money, makes him an ideal companion, not only in hours of ease, but in calamity and under the petty irritations of wearying journeyings. In parenthesis it may be remarked that both Senator and Mrs. Harding have visited nearly every corner of the United States and Canada; also the Bermudas, Cuba, Jamaica and the Hawaiian Islands; and have made two tours of western Europe. Their home was truly a social center, the scene of frequent informal gatherings.

His affection for his mother (who returned it all) was truly wonderful. As long as she lived every Sunday morning saw him making her a call, bearing a gift of flowers. During a long critical illness when neither physician nor surgeon held out any hope for



his wife's recovery. Harding showed his devotion and Scotch tenacity, saying she must get well. And she did.

For the best of reasons he is the most popular man in his home town. He has shown not only a desire to assist every worthy enterprise, whether industrial, social or religious, with a liberality which often outran his means; but also in all activities consideration for the welfare and happiness of others. In a vain endeavor to save a factory from bankruptcy and its numerous stockholders from consequent loss he subscribed \$10,000 at a time when that sum spelled a fortune for him, and lost every cent with the smile of a true sport.

One consistent practice has always marked Harding's life, that of seeking and cultivating the acquaintance of all the worth-while people he could meet without intrusion, in apparent obedience to Darwin's principle of natural selection. He makes and holds friends for the simple reason that he values them as the best that life can give. In this respect he is endowed with the instinct, facility and fascination so marked in the character of Mark Twain. Men, women and children love him not for what he has done for them, still less for what he promises to do; but rather for what he is. Long before he attained eminence, neighbors began calling their boys Warren, so that now it is hard to count the list of his namesakes. Some are grown men, imitating his example and doing him credit.

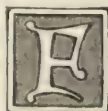
Those who class the Republican candidate for President as conservative, or even reactionary; meaning thereby reverent of antiquity, satisfied with the existing order, content to pad along the path beaten by other men's feet, have another guess coming. He starts things. To illustrate, far in advance of the times he introduced the type-setting machine and the special news operator into his office and the game of bridge into his social circle. And he is decidedly a man of action. Nearly twenty years ago Governor Nash, in confidential talk, paid this tribute: "There seem to be other men in the Senate as able as Harding; but when I want something accomplished I always go to him. Somehow he gets things done." The writer has watched him in many directors' meetings, in political conventions, in assemblies of all sorts. When the tumult and the shouting died Harding was the one to offer the solution, or to reconcile antagonisms. He has always proved himself to be a leader; because he guides rather than drives, and possesses a mind patient, amiable, intent upon right doing, and capable of decision when the time comes to decide. He is progressive, not aggressive. Of all senators he was the last to be classed in the "group of wilful men." Firm in fundamental convictions, such as faith in constitutional government, in protection of domestic industries, and in the efficient power of justice, he is never stubborn. He is conservative only in the sense of being a conservator of what is worth saving.

Marion, Ohio



## An alarming condition among American children

*School authorities say one child in every three—rich and poor alike—is undernourished*



FROM no less an authority than Dr. Thomas Wood comes the alarming statement that no fewer than 5,000,000 of America's school children are suffering from malnutrition. Dr. Wm. R. P. Emerson says the number *undernourished* is greater than that—one child in every three!

Fathers and mothers who live in cities may think it's a condition of the poor; but statistics show it equally prevalent among the children of the moderately well-to-do and the children of the rich.

### In country and city

Parents who send their children to country schools may lay the blame on city life; but, says Louise Stevens Bryant, "rural school children on the whole show a higher percentage of malnutrition than do city children."

Wherever you live, whatever your circumstances, the chances are about one in three that *your* child is among these millions handicapped.

Lack of sufficient food is not necessarily the cause of this condition. Most often it comes from lack of food of the right kind, from an insufficient supply of certain food elements.

### The 16 vital elements

Sixteen natural food elements are needed to keep the normal human being strong and well and filled with that abundant vitality which provides for growth and the warding off of disease.

In the wheat grain Nature provides these sixteen vital elements in more nearly the proper proportion than in any other food, save possibly milk.

But many of the most important of these are lost in modern methods of wheat preparation, through removal of the six

outer layers of the wheat grain, commonly called the bran.

### We lose too many

We get a considerable part of the protein, the starch and the fat; but we lose practically all of the mineral elements which our bodies indisputably need—the iron, for instance, which makes red blood to carry the oxygen upon which all of the energy-yielding processes of nutrition depend—the calcium and phosphorus which build the bones and the teeth.

Only in the whole wheat grain can *all* the needed elements be secured.

### How Nature tempts us

Nature tempts us to take these elements of energy and health—tempts with delightful tastes and flavors.

As in Pettijohn's a whole wheat breakfast food, rich and gratifying to the palate.

Its steaming fragrance awakens sluggish appetites in old and young alike.

For its nut-like sweetness children love it; for its abundant nourishment grown-ups prefer it.

With cream and a bit of sugar, if you wish, it makes a vital energy ration of luscious flavor.

If you have a child who shows any of the signs of malnutrition (see panel)—try Pettijohn's.

If you yourself have been feeling below your normal in vigor and vim—try Pettijohn's. Perhaps with you it's simply a matter of relieving congestion of the intestinal tract. Pettijohn's with its natural bran laxative will soon set you right.

Your grocer has Pettijohn's—or will gladly get it for you. Make tomorrow's breakfast of this sixteen-vital-elements food.

Made by the Quaker Oats Co., 1625 H Railway Exchange Building, Chicago, U. S. A.

An official in Chicago's public schools has said: "It is noticeable that the children of special rooms for backward children give evidence of malnutrition. The backward child is usually a case of malnutrition."

### Is your child

Run down  
Frail  
Delicate  
Under-developed  
Pale  
Always tired  
Easily upset  
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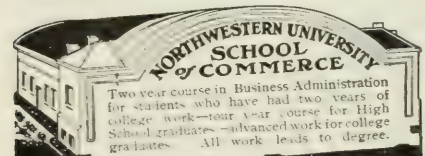
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## Let's Give 'Em All a Fair Start

(Continued from page 203)

necessity of protecting children, not grudgingly or cheaply, but as an imperative national requirement.

What of Central Europe? It is grateful, touchingly grateful to the United States for the food and help which have kept uncounted numbers of children alive and which have aided in tiding over a terrible emergency not yet ended. Every country of Central Europe has child welfare problems of the greatest urgency and of such extent that they include practically all the children of each country. The United States has children carelessly fed, both rich and poor, but it has no hungry children, as Europe knows the word.

Feeding is still, as it has been for six years, the primary question over there, and it will be necessary to defend against the consequences of "hunger, the cruellest weapon," for an uncertain period in the future. The children who survive early childhood clearly require an abundance of nourishing food as they enter adolescence. Thus in Vienna, while the infant death rate has been until recently fairly stationary, the ten to fifteen year old children who have lived from one-half to one-third of their lives under war privation show a doubled death rate with a high tuberculosis mortality.

In last December and January the American Feeding Society examined in the schools 186,617 children, 96,789 were classed as "very badly underfed," 63,402 "badly underfed," 19,694 "underfed," the remainder, 6,732—less than three per cent of all—"good condition."

The European Children's Fund has this year fed 2,600,000 children in Central Europe—one-half of them in Poland—but it could only take the children who showed on examination the greatest need. It has given ordinarily one supplementary meal daily. In one small area two meals daily were given and the vigorous appearance of these children was appallingly superior to any other groups seen.

We are all familiar with the reports from Belgium, from Lille, from Treves and from all the areas where the war bore hardest. They all emphasize the physical dwarfing, the mental retardation from underfeeding during the growing years.

As the children are seated at a feeding station, cheerful and busy with their very palatable food, their appearance seems unexpectedly good, but a more careful observation of these children on the streets or in the schools discovers that the majority has a strange look of dullness as to hair and eyes, while the skin, also dull, too often shows eruptions.

In Budapest in two schools visited, one quite humble class, one professional, it was not possible to observe any improved appearance among the children of the professional class, and one is again reminded of the reality of the new classification Les Nouveaux

Pauvres—those who are too proud to ask charity and whose savings are exhausted. How infinitely rich and unspoiled is the stream of young life in our country as compared with any of the war countries.

Our population has not been reduced by lowered birth rates, and notwithstanding the loss of immigration from abroad, we are richer by about 5,000,000 children, all native born.

Every country in Central Europe has undoubtedly lost heavily in numbers by lessened births, and by deaths of children over nursing age. (It is noteworthy that owing to the nursing by mothers and extraordinary public provisions, the infant mortality rates were little increased by the war. In England it was reduced.) But the greatest losses persist, chief among them, the reduction of physical vigor, the dwarfing of body and retardation of mind, all by underfeeding; the deprivation of schools, the delinquency which has followed the breaking of family life and the social disorder.

For example, Serbia was compelled to close her schools when she entered the Balkan war in 1912, and eight years without schools have made an illiteracy problem which would be staggering if there were no other problems, and there are many.

The juvenile court in Vienna has many boy smugglers of food.

In Poland it is estimated that 26,000 teachers will be needed for the new schools. Polish will be their language; but for one hundred and fifty years the schools have been taught in the language of the conquerors, so new school books must be printed.

I have ignored the misunderstandings, the hostilities, the wars and the preparations for war which hinder all the arts of civilized progress in this great area. As this is written there seems a hope that a time is now arriving when peace may permit a sane life for each country. One great problem these countries have in common. It is the one whose difficulties I have tried to suggest—the protection of child life.

Nothing impresses the traveler more than the courage with which in all the tumult of this time certain great-minded men and women in every country keep aglow the ideals of just social democracy. Beyond all words of admiration are the courage and wisdom with which men and women carry on almost impossible tasks of keeping children fed and clothed and sheltered and in schools and at the same time constructing systems of free universal education and health protection. They are competent for any possible undertaking. Given peace and returning wealth, and out of their experience will come results of the highest importance in developing standards of child life worthy of democratic peoples. We have helped them. They may soon teach us. They are leveling up. Shall we do less?

Washington, D. C.



## Gunpowder for Peace

(Continued from page 205)

tional supremacy. They are needed in building railways, blasting tunnels, digging roadbeds, operating mines, clearing farms, running subways, planting orchards, excavating ditches, reclaiming swamps, doing many other kinds of agricultural and engineering work. In six months the du Pont Company lately received inquiries from 30,000 farmers about the use of dynamite. The company plant, occupying 400 separate buildings on 1640 acres of land, produces 50,000,000 pounds of dynamite a year.

The ramifications of industrial chemistry are almost unbelievable. Hardware stores, leather stores, drug stores, stationery stores, carry hundreds of articles for everyday use made in a chemical factory.

The world shortage of leather stimulated the du Ponts to engage in the manufacture of leather substitutes, of which Fabrikoid is the most popular. Millions of yards a year go into furniture, baggage, books, automobiles, house equipment, clothing, wall coverings, traveling goods, and scores of other daily necessities and comforts of life.

A real human being hates anything artificial. The very word "substitute" is odious to him, and equally the store clerk who tries to sell him such a thing. But when, for example, a substance is produced that more than rivals ordinary leather in appearance, cost, variety and durability, the fabric should not be termed a "substitute." Rather, it is an equivalent. A man can use it and not feel cheap—as he does feel, or should, when he buys a substitute.

Our space is nearly gone. A description of the organization and operation of the du Pont establishment would take another article as long as this. We cite merely a few of the notable features that are most striking.

The company's directors are men who do things for and in the company—not the proverbial high-hat dignitaries paid for a bland smile and the loan of a proud name. Of the twenty-eight directors, twenty-five are vice-presidents of the parent company or subsidiary companies, and each is the head of his own. The directors' meetings are as practical, purposeful and resultful as a shop talk of real executives. No banality, no false dignity, here. A vice-president should not be a cipher, as usual, but a fractional president, as in the du Pont Company. When the United States Government decides to make the national vice-presidency a job instead of a joke—if that time ever comes—the layout of the job might well be formed by the vice-president of an organization like this.

One of the great national problems has been to surpass "German efficiency" and be able to guarantee that chemicals, dyes in particular, can be just as good, even better, if "made in America." Not until the du Ponts perfected standardization of dye colors was it possible to match a tint or shade of any but German dyes. When you wanted a

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certain blue, for example, you could not order by a catalog number with any likelihood of getting the hue desired—unless the maker of the dye was a German. The du Ponts now have such control of the pigment processes that the outcome is identical, for shade and wear, strength and delicacy, evenness and beauty, with the highest class German products. A staff of 100 expert chemists to watch the daily control of dye blending, a store of \$9,000,000 worth of chemicals on hand for instant use, and a miniature paper machine, woolen mill, other apparatus for testing colors during manufacture on a hundred kinds of fabrics for which the dyes are made; these examples of modern method show something of the care taken to keep the colors "fast" in our clothing and house furnishings.

THE salesmen of the company are as efficient, as reliable, as the chemists. More than 500 salesmen, actual or potential, are now taking regular instruction in the particular branch of their specialty—paints, explosives, chemicals, Pyralin or Fabrikoid; each course having started with a lecture and pamphlet on the history of the company, and extending over subjects like traffic, storage and delivery, advertising, sales, policies, orders, complaints, competition, associated companies. The student salesman, after passing both written and oral examinations under a department head, goes through a system of trade call tests; he calls on a member of the sales department, who assumes the role of a prospective customer, listens to the argument of the student, watches the method of presentation, regards the student's personal appearance, notes the general impression he creates, and marks him accordingly. The student visits the company plants to learn all about the materials, methods, manufacturing processes. The final grade of the student is the average percentage from all these tests.

The popularity of the salesman's course brought requests from graduates for new educational material prepared from time to time, and aroused so much interest in other departments that non-resident workers asked for instruction. The correspondence plan was therefore adopted, with headquarters and supervisors at Wilmington, so that employees anywhere in the world could have personal training and personal touch with the head officials of the corporation. This type of mail course feature, self-originated and self-contained, is not offered as preparation for advancement by any other business house in the world, so far as known.

The company takes delight in rendering unusual services to the public as well as to employees. For example, there was no good hotel in the city of Wilmington, and no comfortable theater, when the du Ponts began the erection of their home office building. So they just incorporated a first-class hotel and theater in the office building. The ownership of the hotel by the corporation grants the possibility of extending a royal welcome to the distinguished

guests coming from all parts of the world on business or pleasure.

And the departing worker is treated as cordially as the approaching visitor. When the sudden close of the war put thousands of munitions workers out of a job, the company called in the nation's great employers to redistribute labor in the quickest, easiest and best manner possible. Hundreds of du Pont workers, finding new positions elsewhere, could not afford the expenses of moving their family and creating a new home on short notice. The company solved the problems by advancing the money. Where the employee had rented a house near the plant or bought new furniture, the company took the house and furniture off his hands. Old employees naturally keep their friendship for the du Ponts. It is recorded that an ex-employee in a far city, hearing a stranger malign the du Pont organization tho densely ignorant of its character, was with difficulty restrained from doing the critic bodily harm! A man who wants to fight for his employer—not against him—is a refreshing sight in these days of loafers, agitators and strikers.

Forty-four per cent. of the stockholders are employees. The men's lives are protected by a group insurance plan. Good work is rewarded by a system of "merit pay," depending on length of period of employment, irrespective of other increases gained meanwhile. A community store, established by the company to supply the needs of the men and their families, grew out of conferences between officials and workers on improvement of living conditions; the store offers different grades of standard quality goods at prices lower than available anywhere else.

A man with a grievance always gets a hearing and a guarantee of fair play. The Employees' Conference Plan was instituted to provide consideration and discussion of all matters affecting relations of employer and employee, with the viewpoint of the latter in the foreground. The natural desire, and occasional request, of the men for more pay is met by a full presentation of the facts on both sides, analysis of current living costs, comparison of increase of costs and of wages, study of conditions at other plants and in the surrounding country, final conclusions based on elements of abstract justice, of sound business policy, and of the joint interests of employer and employee. Decisions thus rendered have always been approved by the men. It is even recorded that they have denied their own request for higher pay, when they found the request wasn't fair!

Here is suggested the solution of all labor troubles. If every employer and every employee were absolutely honest and thoroly informed, there would be no labor troubles. Mutual interests are always identical. Mutual benefits are always ideal. The world is waiting for the industrial evangelist who can prove, instead of merely preaching, that a man should earn what he gets, and get only what he earns.

Wilmington, Delaware



# The Independent

FOUNDED 1848

## If You Send Us Poetry—

Remember that with paper at its present price every extra line deducts from your chances.

Remember that poetry which contains prosy or unmetrical lines is not poetry. A single flat phrase or limpy line affects a short lyric as a single drop of ink would affect a glass of water.

A poem should have something to say. There is too much "mystical" magazine verse of this type:

Arctrob in the silky twilight  
The low moon moans and flits  
Like a battered bat on a skylight  
Asearch for my weary wits.

A poem should have something to say; but that does not mean that it should have something to prove. We are suspicious of such verse as:

The cost of living is higher every day  
Because transportation costs too much to pay;

And we must save the nation  
By getting rid of inflation

Invent your own imagery, metaphors and epithets. Do not remind us of Bartlett's Quotations. Do not write such conventional spring verse as:

And now I tune my rustic reed  
To pipe beside the babbling brook.  
My shepherd's crook on flowery mead  
I lay, and sigh with pensive look.

But, on the other hand, mere eccentricity does not win a place. Don't do this:

I embrace the scarlet Revolution . . .  
It is more dear to me than apple pie,  
Or the lush murmurs of the sea lions at the park,  
Or a rainbow on East Grand Street,  
Or the lithe odor of burning rubber in the factory.

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MRS. WARREN G. HARDING—I am taking care of my husband.

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H. W. GOSSARD—The foundation of good dress is an understanding of proportion and grace of line.

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walked down Fifth Avenue on Christmas morning.

ED. HOWE—The moving picture men have not the slightest trace of literary judgment, not the slightest trace of dramatic judgment, not the slightest trace of honorable theatrical judgment.

ALVIN JOHNSON—There will be several thousand votes cast for the Democratic candidates in the belief that Franklin Roosevelt is none other than the T. R. who so lately filled the world with his name and fame.

QUEEN MARIE OF RUMANIA—I felt rather mortified when in Paris just after the armistice I had to attend receptions frequented by all the beauties of the world and was not able to wear some of my splendid jewels.

## New Plays

*Ladies Night* at a Turkish bath. Bare farce. (Eltinge Theater.)

*Tickle Me*—A melange of girls, jazz, novelties and Frank Tinney. Louise Allen is refreshing as Mary Fairbanks. (Selwyn Theater.)

*Come Seven*, by Octavus Roy Cohen. Absurd and untruthful but amusing burlesque of negro life. All the parts taken by white players. (Broadhurst Theater.)

The difficulties of a young man who inherits a flapper boarding school provide amusement in *The Charm School*, a comedy by Alice Duer Miller and Robert Milton. (Bijou Theater.)

Luna Park, Coney Island, the acme of all shore pleasure cities, is better than ever this year and this is saying something. No summer visitor to New York should fail to take in Luna Park.

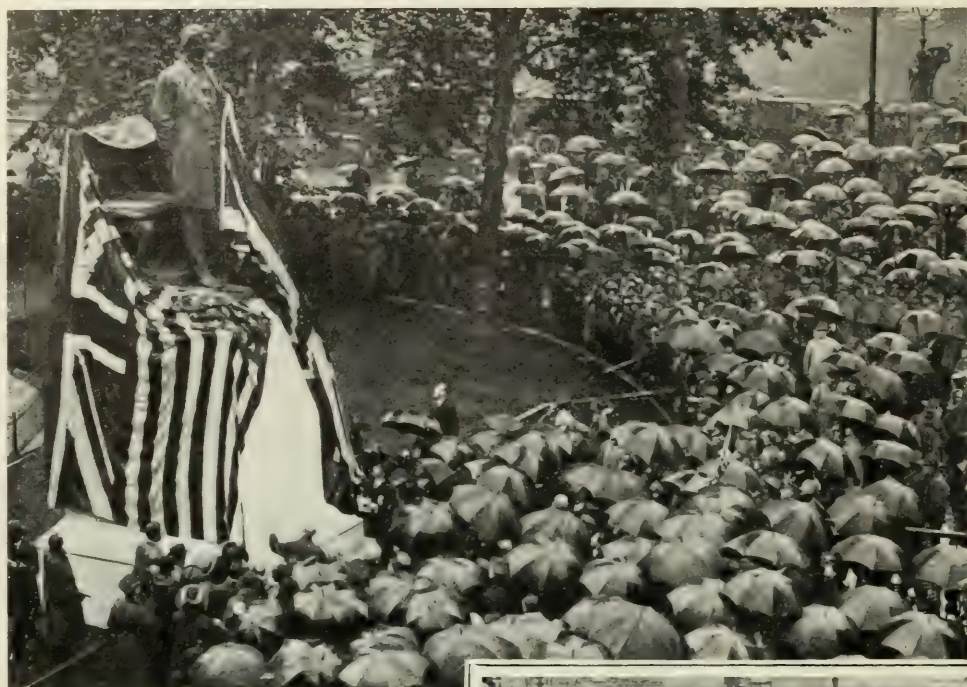
*Good Times*—The Hippodrome is one of the unmissable sights of New York. Everybody goes there and everybody finds there something he likes. The diving is the striking feature of this year's production. (Hippodrome.)

*The Americans in France*. Eugene Brieux dramatizes the conflict of the American spirit of innovation with French traditionalism. Explains why the two great sister republics sometimes "get on each other's nerves." A serious play, with the parts well taken. (Comedy Theater.)

*Enter Madame*—One of the six best plays that has blessed Broadway for several seasons. Gilda Varesi is a lightning artist in emotional acting and she plays the irresponsible, lovable, stormy prima donna with subtlety and power. Norman Trevor is excellently cast as her stay-at-home husband. (Garrick Theater.)

*Opportunity*—A rather crude but thrilling melodrama in which the hero makes a fortune, wins a wife, takes to drinking, sows plentiful wild oats, loses his fortune, loses his memory, almost loses his wife, regains his memory, regains his fortune; and as the curtain falls everybody is left confident of living happy ever after. (Forty-eighth Street Theater.)





# Lincoln in London

The statue just unveiled near Westminster Abbey is America's gift to Great Britain

Keystone View

Abraham Lincoln is more than a national hero. In Great Britain he is held in greater honor, if possible, than that accorded him by his own countrymen. Thousands of Londoners stood in the pouring rain to witness the unveiling of this Lincoln statue

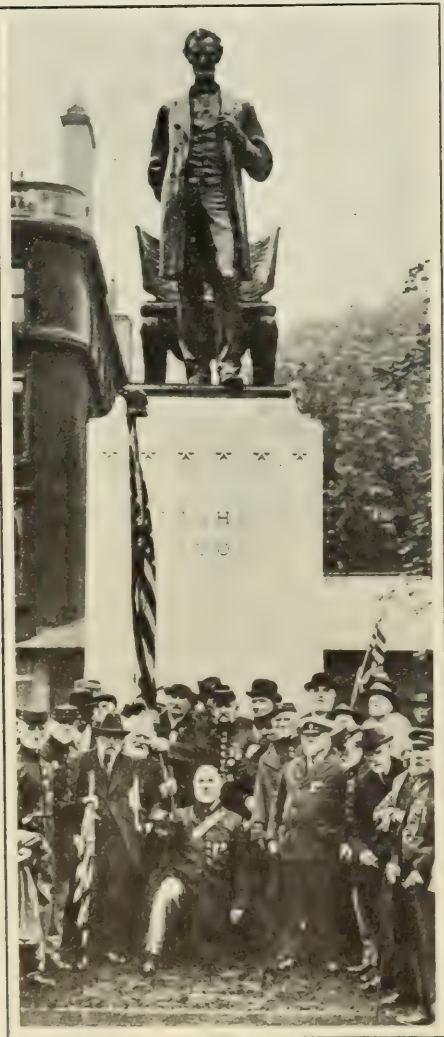


Keystone View

It hasn't been often in history that you could catch the British premier singing "The Star Spangled Banner." But during the last few years London has had a chance to get used to "Oh, say can you see—" The English sang it often when our troops went marching thru the streets. They are singing it here to celebrate America's gift to Great Britain of the St. Gaudens statue of Lincoln



Much controversy was aroused in this country over the choice of a Lincoln statue to send to England. The Barnard statue, irreverently termed "the stomach-ache Lincoln," was recommended to be erected in Manchester, and the discussion of its faults and merits was prolonged and bitter. At that time we asked The Independent readers to vote on the various Lincoln statues: this one by St. Gaudens proved by far the favorite. Grouped near the statue in the photograph at the left are Civil War veterans who took part in the presentation ceremonies.



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# The Independent

August 28, 1920

## As Man to Man

"Running a small town newspaper is a post-graduate course in the college of hard knocks." Harding and Cox both started this course at the bottom, and reached the top. The why and how of it shows up the men more clearly than any campaign can. If you would know your president read his newspaper, and find out why it grew.

By Chester T. Crowell

AT the close of a great war, with all its stupendous tasks in France and behind the lines, it is, to say the least, interesting that the Democratic and Republican parties should each have nominated for the presidency a newspaperman. At the request of The Independent I went to Dayton, Ohio, the home of James M. Cox; and to Marion, Ohio, the home of Warren G. Harding, to get acquainted with them—not as Governor and Senator—but as newspaper publishers, to find what sort of editors they are and have been, to discover what might be of interest about their newspapers.

Having been immune from partizan enthusiasm all my life, I took with me only one prejudice of which I am aware. As a newspaperman I have often been appealed to by politicians who owned newspapers and who called themselves newspapermen. I have a prejudice against them. My idea of a newspaperman is one who works in the editorial department. I do not consider an owner or an advertising man or a printer or a circulation department employee a newspaperman any more than the banker who carries the company's notes.

It was therefore a pleasant surprise to find that both Cox and Harding are really newspapermen. In fact they are the truest type of newspaperman because they have come thru the most difficult training school journalism has to offer. They are "country newspapermen." When Harding bought the *Star* and became an editor Marion was barely a cross-roads town. The Dayton of today is decidedly different from the Dayton in which Cox launched his career. Then it was a much smaller place and rather sleepy. Both of these Ohio newspapermen have known every end of the complicated business of publishing a daily paper. They have pursued the pestiferous personal

about William Snodgrass, who made a trip to Columbus on business, they have written editorials, covered big events, solicited advertising, boosted the town, and worried over the ubiquitous note that must be renewed. Running a small town newspaper is a post-graduate course in the college of hard knocks. The man who wins honors in its merciless final examinations has qualities that would have won him success wherever fate might have placed him. Cox and Harding succeeded in more than ordinary degree. Looking back over the files of their newspapers and gaining what knowledge I could of the histories of the communities they served I cannot discover where luck aided either of them. On the contrary I found numerous instances where luck ran true to form for the newspaper game and gave them a kick in the face about the time they might have been expecting the path ahead to be a little less perpendicular.

The fact that the two leading candidates for the presidency of the United States are editors and publishers offers a basis of comparison that is of unique value. The Independent, therefore, sent Mr. Crowell, himself a newspaper man who has owned and edited a small town paper, out to Ohio to interview Governor Cox and Senator Harding and to size them up thru their papers. Mr. Crowell was entertained informally by both the candidates and talked with them at length, and he also read their minds thru the back files of the *Dayton News* and the *Marion Star*, visited both newspaper plants and studied the relationship of the papers to the progress of the towns in which they are published. You'll know Cox and Harding pretty well when you've read this article

expecting the path ahead to be a little less perpendicular. Newspaper publishing in small communities is a precarious business. Usually these institutions move along from failure to failure, dropping disillusioned owners by the wayside at intervals of six months to three years and gathering in new idealists with savings to squander. Harding and Cox started at the bottom with approximately nothing, in unpromising fields. Today Cox has a prosperous newspaper in Dayton, which owns its own building, and another prosperous newspaper in Springfield. The *Marion Star* owns its own building and has a lot across the street on which a new building is to be constructed. The new building would long ere this have been occupied had the war not interfered. Both newspapers are published in the afternoon. Each has the largest afternoon circulation in its community in spite of spirited and able competition. Each has made a place for the local newspaper which did not previously exist. Before



# THE MARION DAILY STAR.

VOL. XLIV, NO. 207.

ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER  
AT POSTOFFICE AT MARION, OHIO

MARION, OHIO, THURSDAY, JULY 29, 1920.

FOURTEEN PAGES

PHILIP LEO LESTER, MANAGING  
EDITOR, THURSDAY, THIRTEEN

## MAKE APPEAL TO WHITE HOUSE

Operators Ask President To Aid  
in Crisis.COAL MINING IS  
AT A STANDSTILLMines in Illinois Are Nearly All  
Closed.Operators Suggest a Conference  
with Government Representa-  
tives To Discuss Means for  
a Strike Settlement.

DENMARK CELEBRATES RETURN TO HER OF UPPER SLESVIG



## POLISH FRONT IS SHATTERED

Russians Smash Through on the  
Nieman River.FIGHTING REGARDLESS  
OF THE NEGOTIATIONSAnd Acceptance of Polish Plea  
for Armistice.Polish Aviators Report Russian  
High Command Massing 10-  
000 Cavalrymen Between  
Vilna and Grodno.

## ANTITOXINS ARE GIFT OF THE STATE

Columbus, July 28.—Pres-  
criptions for free use of anti-  
toxins for all patients suffering  
from diphtheria may be issued  
by physicians upon their local  
health officers, according to a  
ruling given today, by Attor-  
ney General Price to the state  
health board. Price held that  
the new state health code, by  
implication, has repealed the  
statute which limited such  
prescriptions to indigent pa-  
tients.CARRIES INVITATIONS  
TO FRUIT FIESTA

## A DEADLOCK THREATENED

When Poles and Russians Open  
Their Parley.NEGOTIATIONS MAY  
LAST SEVERAL DAYSLatest Developments Give Air  
of Uncertainty.British Government Likely To  
Refuse To Continue Nego-  
tiations with Soviet Russia  
on Trade Relations.

## UNDER SECRETARY FOR IRELAND JOHN ANDERSON



## BUSINESS MEN FROM CHICAGO

Delegation of More Than Forty  
Calls on Nominees.DINE WITH SENATOR  
AT MARION CLUB-HOUSEVolunteer Organization for Popu-  
lar Campaign Fund.George C. Clark, Ohio Chairman  
of Advisory Committee, Pre-  
dicts Harding Will Carry  
State by Heavy Majority.

Cox launched his enterprize in Dayton the Cincinnati papers covered that town as tho it were a suburb. Marion was covered by Toledo and Cleveland papers as well as by Cincinnati publications.

Jimmy Cox began as a reporter in his teens, working on a little newspaper in Middletown, Ohio, that was owned by his brother-in-law. The editor was also local correspondent for the Cincinnati *Inquirer*. There came the fateful day when Jimmy was in charge while the owner was absent. Just as the romance writer would record it there was a railroad wreck that day. An excursion train went in the ditch with more than an ordinary number of casualties. Jimmy made arrangements to hold the only wire available indefinitely. Then he ran out to the wreck and came back with the story. The following morning the Cincinnati *Inquirer* scooped the world. Again, just as the fiction writer would order it, Jimmy received a telegram from the *Inquirer* asking him to accept a regular job as reporter. He did so and remained there several years.

While he was a reporter Paul Sorg, who had been a member of the school board while Cox



© Edmonston, from International

Senator Harding likes to take off his coat and help make up the paper himself. This photograph was taken in the composing room of the *Star*



© Underwood &amp; Underwood

In quantity production the Marion *Star* is far below the Dayton *News*, so its plant is accordingly modest. But in quality the *Star* has some points of superiority

was a school teacher, was elected to Congress and asked Cox to go to Washington with him as secretary. Cox went. I know of nothing more characteristic of the story of Cox than that he was teaching both a day class and a night class at the time he attracted Sorg's attention. It would be like Cox to be teaching two classes. He has two newspapers, he is a Governor and running for President. He is that sort of man. Boundless, restless energy is one of the

first impressions he gives. I cannot imagine him as a school teacher unless he had two classes. In fact I am astounded to learn that he did not have three.

It is recorded of Cox that he was one of the most active of all the secretaries in Washington. On his return he went to Dayton and launched the Dayton *News*. He was then twenty-eight years of age. I took it for granted that this showed the political bee had stung him and he intended to go into politics via the press, but it seems not. On the contrary the evidence tends to indicate that he was running away from politics and getting back to the life he really liked best. Dayton looked to him like a very promising field. Boiler plate made up the larger part of the local newspapers; they did not take



Senator Harding's home, with its famous front porch. Multiply this comfortable, unpretentious frame house by several thousand and you can get a very good idea of Marion, Ohio, a town where people are good neighbors, and where there is no magnificence, and no slums. A good part of Marion's community standing is due to the efforts of the Marion *Star*





ONLY AFTERNOON PAPER IN DAYTON RECEIVING ASSOCIATED PRESS SERVICE

## DAYTON DAILY NEWS

VOL. XXIX No. 293

DAYTON, OHIO, WEDNESDAY, JULY 28, 1920

PRICE TWO CENTS

STATE EDITION

Local Edition—Dayton, Ohio and  
Thursday, Friday, Saturday

## UNITED STATES URGES RELEASE OF VILLA'S YANK PRISONER

TO BURY TRUNK  
GIRL VICTIM IN  
POTTER'S FIELDSearch for Eugene Le  
Roy Is ContinuedSIX NOKIA JUNE 28—Le  
Roy, a Detroit business man,  
has wife, who has today to make  
the final identification ofTurks "Run Like Chickens"  
When Greeks Show SpeedATHENS, July 28.—Greek military operations have been re-  
sulting in a series of successes, because of the timidity of the  
Turks. The Greeks have captured a number of Turkish guns and  
ammunition, and are now advancing on the city of Smyrna. The  
Turks are fleeing in all directions, and the Greeks are pursuing  
them. The Greeks are now in a position to capture the city of  
Smyrna, and are expected to do so in the near future.FRENCH-ENGLISH Play Big Part in Arranging  
RED PLANS NOT  
LIKED IN LONDONParis Press, However,  
Is Gratiified.LONDON, July 28.—The decision  
reached by French and English  
conferences yesterday, to stand by  
the original plan for a conferenceUNCLE SAM TAKES  
STEPS TO FREE  
CARL HAEGLINOfficials Inclined to Doubt Theory He Is Held  
for RansomWASHINGTON, July 28.—Representing that it is only a matter of  
time before the government will obtain information from outside  
sources that will lead to the release of Carl Haegelein, the  
German spy, is the theory of some officials here.

The Dayton News owns a large, attractive building in the business part of Dayton. Right: Governor Cox giving an editorial "once-over" to an early edition of his paper



sides in local issues. The town was sleepy and dull. It was in the hands of political bosses who were none too ethical and whose hold was greatly strengthened by the lack of publicity. The Cincinnati Inquirer had more circulation in Dayton than the local newspapers combined.

Cox threw the boiler plate out the window, took the Associated Press and began a vigorous editorial policy. He wrote nearly all of the editorials and he brought in nearly all of the big stories. As a writer there is nothing notable about him except vigor. But he had a nose for news. He knew what was going on in Dayton better than anyone else not on the inside. Naturally he became involved in all sorts of fights.

On one occasion he was opposing the granting of a franchise. The syndicate seeking the franchise sued him for \$500,000, alleging libel, and took advantage of a law which required Cox as the defendant in the suit to give bond in the sum of twice the amount

sued for or close his plant. Probably the real purpose of the suit was to kill his newspaper. The sheriff came and closed the front door. As soon as the sheriff departed Cox opened the door and issued an extra telling all about the suit. There is something about that stunt which appeals to me tremendously. A different sort of man would have been hurrying to the office of a lawyer. But the real newspaperman has an inborn faith that publicity will cure almost anything—that no one can be unfair if the public knows the story. Cox issued his extra. Also he was able to give the million dollar bond and save his newspaper.

The story of Cox as a publisher has been a story of turbulence and bitter fights, but they have not embittered the man. He has an uncanny way of going back over his trail and binding up the wounds of those who have had the misfortune to connect with one of his wallops. There are many men in Dayton who have felt the weight of his wrath who are today his friends. Some of the men he pursued until they were out of public life returned to good jobs which he helped to obtain for them. Cox is the type of man who is always [Continued on page 253]

© Underwood &amp; Underwood

This photograph of Dayton, taken from an airplane, shows the business section, but fails to present the residential charm of the city





# The Law and the Profits

By Senator Arthur Capper

Former Governor of Kansas

SOME sort of regulation, direct or indirect, of profits will end profiteering, if anything will, but no other measure has been proposed that will do so. Such regulation may be of a very indirect kind, as in the Kansas Industrial Court Act, but come it will at some time.

There are those who are so constituted that to them every great forward step taken in history, when it comes, is a surprise and a shock. They unconsciously believe that during their lifetime at least what has been will be. They deny the logic of events that transpire before their eyes. To such Bourbon minds the suppression of human thought and action is always adequate to keep society on an even keel. When suppression at last results in inevitable explosion they are astounded by so illogical a conclusion of the matter.

Profiteering has not been in the slightest degree affected by the condemnation visited upon it. It continues serene and undisturbed. It believes nothing will happen and popular anger will "blow over."

Yet what happens is that the public is thinking, turning things over in its mind, getting ready to accept any rational plan proposed to put an end to the arrogance of profit-takers.

Twenty years ago when a similar condition of public anger and thinking existed with regard to the stock watering, manipulation, and plunder of railroads, the principle was finally asserted that there should not be unrestricted profit in this business. The slogan became "the cost of the service," with a reasonable return or profit. It was answered by the Bourbon mind with the slogan, "the value of the service." Which meant that at any cost the value was so great that the public could and would pay it, and this meant any charge that was made. Precisely the same situation exists today regarding sugar. It is so valuable a product, so necessary, the public so accustomed to have it, that it will be purchased, no matter what the price.

But this year the Republican national platform expressly declares for the principle, as to railroads, of "the cost of the service." It condemns excessive profits in transportation.

The world moves therefore.

Today the state of Kansas has moved out far beyond the frontiers of twenty years ago as to controlling industrial profiteering. In its Industrial Court Act it applies the rule of control and regulation not only to public utilities, but to what it calls "basic industries," not public utilities at all, but declared (more or less arbitrarily) to be "affected with a public interest." Food industries and clothing and fuel are thus added to public utilities.

This means an extension of the public thought of public interest and public right in private industry. It

signifies a slowly but irresistibly growing and spreading idea that the primary right is the public right, not only in public utilities, but in private industries, as heretofore considered. It means that steadily the idea of human right and human welfare is overcoming the heretofore supreme idea of the right of property.

Property rights are being slowly worn down by the claims and demands of the rights of humanity, or of the public. The time is approaching when private industry will not be permitted to be the sole judge of its own conduct, and private property, ownership, will not have the supreme position it has always had heretofore.

The man who hopes to understand what is going on in the thought of the world will try to discover what the key to this process may be, what the principle is that is working, in order that he may have some conception of what the end will be. With a little analytical study of what has already occurred and what is being considered he cannot miss the fact that it all centers on the question of what is the fundamental and primary motive and purpose of industry.

Twenty years ago it was "all right" that the primary purpose of railroad investment was the profit. It no longer is "all right." The Republican platform of this year declares against "speculative profits in transportation."

Under the Kansas Industrial Court Act it is no longer all right in "basic industries" that private property shall have a free hand. It is no longer all right, under this law, that coal operators shall throw men out of work in the summer. They must keep producing.

There is a steady trend of thought, in other words, against the claims of private property where human interests are affected. The public steps in and shears private property of age-long rights and asserts as superior to them other rights.

What is going on is a slow development of the thought that the motive of industry is not private, after all, but public; that consequently the primary purpose is not to make a profit, but to render a service; that production is not incidental to profits, but that profits are incidental to production.

The public sense of public interest, once fairly it becomes conscious of the significance of this principle, cannot go backward, but will go logically forward to its goal.

This goal is maximum production, given the capital and labor available. The public will not consent to a coal industry shutting down for seasons of the year, in order to curtail production and increase profit. It will not consent to unnecessary, neglected unemployment, to indifference on the part of private property to idleness of hundreds of thousands [Continued on page 258]



Sommers in Sydney Bulletin

BUT REMEMBER THE LAST STRAW!

The Expert: "That's the way to load the animal. A little today and a little tomorrow, and the poor beast doesn't notice it enough to kick your eye out while you're putting it on"

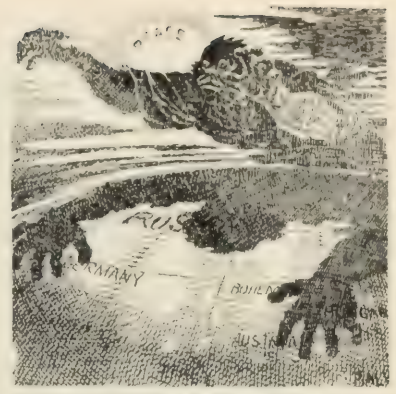




Kirby in New York World

The guardian angel

# The League or Bolshevism? We Must Choose



© John T. McCutcheon in Chicago Tribune

The red peril

## A Message from the United States Government to the American People

By Senator Gilbert M. Hitchcock

Former Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations

**T**HE question of whether the United States shall enter the League of Nations has been appealed from the Senate, the representatives of the people, who after more than a year of controversy found themselves unable to make the decision, to the people themselves. The real issue is daily becoming clearer. It does not relate to the terms upon which we shall enter the League. The issue is whether there shall be a League, with the United States in its membership, competent to fulfil the desire of the world for permanent peace.

Let us strip aside the quibbles, behind which the enemies of the League of Nations have attempted to hide their real purpose. Let us get back to the essentials of the matter. Thru all the ages down to the present the world has been afflicted with the curse of war. The greater part of the money spent by governments, here and elsewhere, has been for the burdens of war. This has continued thru all the centuries. Do the people of the United States realize that 92 per cent of our appropriations for the fiscal year of 1920—the enormous total of \$5,279,621,262—were for obligations arising from war and for current military and naval needs?

Every generation has sent its men out to slaughter. Fifty wars have raged in the old world during the last hundred years. In the United States we have not been free from war's curse. In addition to the Revolution, the Civil war and the Indian wars, we have had the war with Mexico, the war with Spain and the war with Germany. We have been a peace-loving people. We have bent our efforts to keep out of war, yet we have not escaped its awful effects.

We came out of the world war with the conviction that we are a part of the world; that whenever the world is again convulsed with conflict we are going to suffer and probably be drawn into the whirlpool. We cannot stand aloof. We must, therefore, consider and give our solemn answer to the question: Shall it be war and preparations for war or a League of Nations to preserve international peace?

A League of Nations already exists. Twenty-nine powers are in its membership, but it needs no resort to speculation to assert that without the adherence of the United States the League will lack sufficient strength to carry out the purposes for which it was conceived. And so by their votes the American people are to decide not merely whether the United States shall take membership in it, but the fate of the whole enterprise.

Before the war the United States and the four great

nations associated with us in the formation of this League for peace, were spending some twelve hundred million dollars a year upon preparations for war. If the league fails, the world will sag back into the despair and desperation of a constant prospect of renewed war. Every nation will become an armed camp. Military and naval preparations will go forward upon an unheard of scale. The burdens of the people will be enormously increased. These are merely the preparations for war. What of war itself?

First there is the money cost. The nations that bore the principal burdens of the European war expended for the purposes of destruction more than one hundred and forty thousand million dollars. Their peoples will stagger under this burden for generations to come, if no relief is afforded in the cost of war preparations.

The war cost 6,000,000 lives and millions more of cripples. Hundreds of towns were destroyed and millions of wives were widowed. Pestilence and famine have come after. Law and order have been overthrown in various parts of the world. Bolshevism and anarchy have been propagated. The confidence of men in their governments has been shaken. It will never be restored until the governments of earth join together in a solemn compact that will guard against the recurrence of such a disaster. These, and not the quibbles of politicians, are the things we should have in mind as we cast our votes in November.

Narrow-visioned men attack the League of Nations as a form of internationalism. They object to internationalism. They are too late. Internationalism is here. We have not to choose between nationalism and internationalism, but the form of internationalism we will take. Our choice lies between the internationalism of justice, honor and peace, and mutual support between the civilized nations of the world, and the internationalism of Bolshevism.

Men will not forever tolerate recurring wars over controversies capable of quick adjustment by peaceful means. They will not for long submit to demands that they lay down their lives in unnecessary and useless slaughter. Taxpayers will not indefinitely comply with laws that take their savings for the purposes of destruction.

Have the opponents of the League been blind to the rising tide of protest against war among the peoples of all the civilized world? If we refuse to give support to the internationalism of governments, uniting to end wars, we soon will be face to [Continued on page 259]





# Getting on to Berlin

The First Complete Story of Our Combat Operations

By Captain Joseph Mills Hanson

ON the 4th of October, 1918, the whole western front from the Meuse to the English Channel was blazing with the fires of battle. In the north the Belgian army and General Plumer's Second British army were closely threatening Lille. St. Quentin had been taken, Cambrai was on the verge of falling, the French had recaptured the western part of the Chemin des Dames and cleared the country between the Vesle and the Aisne, and General Gouraud's army was pressing closely upon the last German fortified line in the Champagne. Fighting grimly at the hinge of the far flung battle front, the First American army on the morning of that day delivered its second general attack, whose most important immediate object was to bring the left, in the Argonne and the Aire Valley, up parallel with the right, along the Meuse.

The strong German positions around Exermont, backed by the wooded peak of Montrefagne (Hill 240), and enfiladed from all the commanding heights of the Argonne, in this section centering about the village of Chatel-Chehery, had thus far defied capture. It was for the reduction of these positions that two veteran divisions were put in, the First, on the right of the First Corps, against Exermont; the Thirty-second, on the left of the Fifth Corps, against the enemy strongholds east of that village, around Gesnes. If these divisions could force their way northward for four or five kilometers over the comparatively open uplands east of the Aire, the Twenty-eighth Division of General Muir, which had been stopped at Apremont in the narrow valley of the Aire, would be enabled to

elbow outmaneuvering room so as to pivot on its left facing westward and to make a frontal attack on the heights at Chatel-Chehery. Once these heights were taken, the Germans holding the lower part of the Argonne Forest against the Seventy-seventh Division would be outflanked and compelled to retire, thus forfeiting the great western bastion of their Meuse-Argonne front.

The heroic efforts of General Summerall's and General Hahn's troops were crowned with success, tho at very bloody cost. Going to the attack at 5.30 a. m. on the 4th, the First Division swept thru the Bois de Montrebeau, hurling from it the greater part of four German divisions, and at 7.30 a. m. had stormed Exermont and was holding across the lower slopes of Montrefagne. Thenceforward the progress of the indomitable regulars, made always against the most desperate resistance, was slower but constant. On the 5th Montrefagne was completely conquered, and by the 10th, having advanced about three kilometers by slow daily stages, the division gained Sommerance, the left flank, meantime, having for some days held the right bank of the Aire at Fleville. General Hahn's men, making equal headway thru the difficult woodlands and over the abrupt ridges in the sector next on the east, was on the same date up to the wire of the Kriemhilde Stellung in front of Romagnesous-Montfaucon.

These successes had enabled General Muir's division to make its difficult tactical dispositions in the river valley, where, after taking possession of several kilometers of the eastern bank in prolongation of the gains of the First Division, it prepared to assault Chatel-Chehery and

This is the sixth of a series of articles in which Captain Hanson tells the complete story of what the American troops did on the battle line in France—a series written from a thoro study of the official records and with the background of actual experience overseas. "Up the Line from Cantigny" was published in The Independent of March 27, "Those Desperate Days at Chateau-Thierry" in the April 24 number, "Zero Hour Along the Marne" May 29, "One Day's Work at St. Mihiel" June 19-26, and "Covered with Mud and Glory" July 24-31. The others will follow in the fourth issue of every month.



the crests immediately north and south of it by crossing the bridge at La Forge. The complicated arrangements for this attack by Gen. Dennis E. Nolan's Fifty-fifth Infantry Brigade, involved also the capture of the ridge of Le Chene Tendu, about two and a half kilometers south of Chatel-Chehery, by Col. A. L. Conger's Fifty-sixth Brigade, and of Hills 223 and 180 and the village of Cornay, north of Chatel-Chehery, by Gen. J. R. Lindsey's 164th Brigade of Gen. George B. Duncan's Eighty-second Division, which had been introduced into the American order of battle in the Aire valley between the left flank of the First Division and the right of the Twenty-eighth. These arrangements were not completed until just before daylight of October 7th, and the attack went off at 5 o'clock a. m. After a very stubborn struggle, which lasted all day and consisted in great part of close fighting with the German machine gunners whose nests infested the dense thickets and precipitous ridges along the edge of the plateau, the Americans at nightfall were everywhere firmly established on the higher ground. The enemy in the lower forest, in order to escape capture, immediately began withdrawing before the troops of the Seventy-seventh Division, and by the 10th of the month, the Twenty-eighth Division having meantime withdrawn, General Alexander's men, with those of General Duncan on their right, had finally cleared the entire southern Argonne and were looking across the Aire River at the point where, turning westward, it flows thru the pass of Grandpré before joining the Aisne. The western bastion of the German Meuse-Argonne front was thus finally conquered; tho they might continue to hold for a while in the Grandpré pass, the great advantages of their situation on that flank had been overcome and they were left, at best, in inferior positions.

The general attack of October 4 netted far less ground on the American right, toward Brioules, and in the center, toward Madeleine Farm, Cunel and Romagne, than it did on the left and left center, but it resulted in equally desperate fighting. In this section, deeply fortified and stubbornly held by the enemy, who still enjoyed the defensive advantages resulting from complete possession of the artillery positions and observatories on the Heights of the Meuse, the Fourth, Eightieth and Third Divisions went thru a long and grueling struggle. The Germans in their front occupied a succession of small woodlands in hilly country, among them the Bois des Ogons, Bois de Fays, Bois de Cunel and Bois Malaumont, lying about Madeleine Farm and south of the Brioules-Cunel-Romagne road. These woodlands were knit together by the complex trenches and wire forming the Kriemhilde Stellung, and here the Germans offered to the soldiers of General Hines, General Cronkhite and General Buck a resistance which the latter were able to overcome but very slowly.

On October 4 parts of the Bois de Fays were occupied by the Fourth Division, and on the 5th a foothold was

gained in the Bois des Ogons by the Eightieth Division. But it was not until after October 8, when the attack of the Seventeenth French Corps under General Claudel east of the Meuse had forced the enemy in that quarter to fight in his own defense, thus gradually eliminating the enfilade artillery fire on the Americans west of the river, that anything like marked progress could be achieved. General Cronkhite's men forced their way across the Brioules-Cunel road on the 9th and held the position until relieved by Gen. John E. McMahon's Fifth Division two days later. In the meanwhile, General Hines's troops succeeded in entering the Bois de Foret, northwest of Brioules, while General Buck's Third Division on the 11th captured the Bois de Cunel and Madeleine Farm, thus breaking down one of the enemy's most formidable centers of resistance in this sector. The 12th and 13th saw a continuation of violent local fighting all along the front, but it was somewhat disjointed, and conditions indicated that the time had arrived for another united effort.

During the period between October 4 and 14 the Germans had often resorted to furious counterattacks in their efforts to check the relentless American progress. Reports of prisoners clearly indicated that many German regiments were being fought literally to extinction, while scarcely a German division, once involved in the struggle, was able to extricate itself again, for by this time the enemy, staggering under the combined blows of Americans, French and British, was being driven from his defenses all along the western front and forced into open country, so that he was obliged to put forth his utmost efforts to hold the pivot of his general retreat, between Verdun and the

Argonne, until his northern armies could retire beyond the lower courses of the Meuse, in Belgium. It was of this period that General Ludendorff, writing in his memoirs and consistently endeavoring, even after the close of the war, to put a good face on the overwhelming German defeat and to belittle both the skill and the valor of the American armies, said that "in spite of their enormous numerical superiority, the attacks of the youthful American troops broke down with the heaviest losses. Their success on September 26 was merely due to the failure of a German reserve division and to the fact that at another point their attack was met only by a division which, tho a brave one, was very battleworn and had an extended front to hold."

The assertion of the German Quartermaster General that "the attacks of the youthful American troops broke down with the heaviest losses" would be more convincing if the maps of the daily position of the American front line in the Meuse-Argonne did not show advances on some parts of the front during every day of the battle and progress on every part of the front during most days; and this despite the fact that during the operations more than one-quarter of the total German army on the western front [Continued on page 252]



Photograph by U. S. Signal Corps.

A view of Grandpré and the Aire River from a captured German gun emplacement on the edge of the Bois de Bourgogne. The troops of the 78th Division made three unsuccessful attempts, with heavy losses, before this line of resistance was overcome.



# Don't Keep Your Eye on the Ball

An article in which the author of "New Golf" gives some common-sense advice that may revolutionize your game

By P. A. Vaile

**W**ITHOUT the slightest doubt more nonsense and downright untruth has been written about golf than about any other game.

There almost seems to be, as James Sherlock, the famous English golfer, puts it, a gigantic conspiracy on the part of writers to pretend that there is a vast mystery about golf, whereas it really is an extremely simple game.

It is not in the mystery or the complexity of golf that its difficulty lies. It is in the supreme demand for mechanical exactness. The reasons for this inexorable demand, although interesting, are not generally recognized, and are well worth stating.

Three things tend to make golf a really difficult game to play accurately and well.

First, is the important fact that the ball is the smallest ball used in field sports.

Second, is the almost equally important consideration that the striking face of the club is the smallest thing used in field sports for striking a ball.

Third, the ball in this game is *farther from the line of sight* than in any other field game, except, perhaps polo, where the ball and stick are much larger, and the circumstances altogether different.

In aiming at anything, our desire is to get the line of flight as near to the eye as possible. We cannot possibly do this in golf, and, as the ball lies on or very close to the earth, it is not feasible to have a large striking surface on the club. It follows naturally that, to be successful, we must cultivate a high degree of mechanical accuracy.

This cannot be done without attending carefully to the main essentials of the golf stroke. The style is quite another thing. One need not, generally speaking, bother about style. It is well that each player's individuality should express itself, but it must do so *subject to certain fundamental requisites* which are really very simple and natural.

In the first place, it is necessary to *get a good grip with one's feet*. It is of just as much importance to have a good grip with one's feet as it is to have a good grip with one's hands; in fact, one cannot possibly use the best of hand grips unless the grip with the feet is right.

There is no straining after effect in the words grip with the feet. You must learn to put your mind into your toes. If you think this is in any way an exaggeration, ask a boxer or a fencer or a practised gymnast how he *holds the floor*. So it must be at golf. One must establish a firm and natural connection with the earth, or one cannot possibly get the best results from the stroke.



Needless to say, footwear is an important consideration in this matter. On a hard, dry course you may want rubber soles, while on a soft ground nails will serve you better. But one must not rely on such extraneous aids alone. One must definitely use the feet to hold to the earth, as tho one were playing barefooted; that is to say, one must put the intention into one's feet. Nothing less will do.

Next, probably, in importance to a good grip with the feet is a good grip with the hands. It is remarkable that Americans, generally very quick to follow the lead of success, have not adopted the grip that is almost universal among the greatest players, professional and amateur, of the world—the over-lapping or Vardon grip. Tho it was not introduced by Vardon he was undoubtedly responsible for making it popular.

As some seventeen or eighteen open championships and scores of minor events have been won with this grip, and as it numbers among its adherents such men as Braid Taylor, Vardon, and Ted Ray, now open golf champion of the United States, we must treat it with all respect; yet it is by no means certain that it is the best grip for everybody. Most certainly it is not so, as Sherlock says, for those with weak hands and wrists. Needless to say this includes most women players. Notwithstanding the wonderful success of those who have used, and are using, this grip, one of the grips that does not interfere with the power of the right hand, as the Vardon grip admittedly does, will probably obtain the ascendancy.

There is an interesting point in the old two-handed or double V grip, as used by the famous player, John Ball, which has never been mentioned. In his drive his hand is so far around his club, that the force of the blow falls across his wrist joint in the way in which it cannot give to the strain, that is to say sideways or in the direction in which it does not bend. Curiously, too, this grip lends itself to a slight slice or cut across the ball, which makes for better control.

We have dealt with the grip of the earth, and the grip of the club. There is a third and all-important grip that is never mentioned in the golf books. It is *the grip of the ball*.

The essence of grip and control is length of contact between the club and the ball. This is technically termed adhesion. It is easy to get too much, which means the vice of slicing. It is [Continued on page 260

This strip from a movie film shows ex-president William Howard Taft making one golf stroke. Follow it thru and you will see illustrations for and against some of the points that Mr. Vaile makes



# The Republican Candidate

A Debate by Norman Hapgood and Talcott Williams

## The Harding Nightmare

By Norman Hapgood

THE gloom into which I was plunged by Senator Harding's formal speech of acceptance cannot have exceeded the discouragement of such Republicans as Mr. Taft, Mr. Hoover, President Lowell, Mr. Murray Crane, and Mr. Oscar Strauss. We are facing the most momentous and urgent political issue of our day. If our politics were as free and active as those of England we should find men rising above their party habits in such an emergency. We should not find Mr. Hoover silenced, humiliated, and lowered in public standing by being shackled in a party that is now committed openly and definitely to keeping us out of the League of Twenty-eight Nations. If we were trained in a freer political atmosphere we should find him today calling for the election of Cox and of Senators committed to the League. He it is who praises Lodge's "apt phrase," repeating it and calling it the truth: "It would brand us with everlasting dishonor and bring ruin to us also if we undertook to make a separate peace." It is Hoover who says: "The Treaty is now in effect and cannot be scrapped." It is he who points out, with a knowledge second to none, the manifold things that even now the League is doing to keep European civilization from lapsing into anarchy: who points out that it is the charter of independence of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Finland. Who better than Hoover knows the meaning of his words when he says: "Those American statesmen who conceive that Europe will meet our dissensions by abandoning the Treaty and summoning a new world peace conference are entirely ignorant of the European situation." In short words he says: "All talk of a new treaty is bunk." I say that Herbert Hoover owes it to humanity, to his country, to his own wonderful record, and to his high sense of responsibility and good will to throw off the petty partizan cords that bad advice has tangled him in and step forward in this moment of unspeakable danger as a leader in making the world-situation understood.

Of Mr. Taft I cannot speak in exactly the same tone, for he has often compromised too much; and now he is doing it again. Murray Crane's newspaper has already spoken sternly of Mr. Harding's lamentable speech, rigidly Republican as that paper is. Genuinely independent newspapers, like the *Springfield Republican* and the *New York Evening Post*, have their spirits bent in gloom and shame. No wonder, indeed. Harding's acceptance was in print at almost the same time that Marshal Foch said: "It is most likely that the United States is partly responsible for the present uneasiness of the world. It should have ratified the peace treaty with us. By keeping apart from us America has helped to promote disorders in central Europe and prevented the establishment of the economic equilibrium."

With civilization staggering we cannot pay much attention to other issues in judging Senator Harding. Out far beyond his other inadequacies stands this abject surrender on the League to Johnson, to Borah, to the extremists among the Germans, to Sinn Fein, to the Lodge whose acts now admit that his reservations were only tricks to beat Wilson and who stands out in his true colors against ratification on any terms. That is the Harding on whom

we must fix our attention. We may leave in the background the paltry talk about never having a policy in the Presidency until two-thirds of the Senate have sent him a written direction about what his policy should be. Shades of Roosevelt, Cleveland, and Wilson! Shades of the Lincoln who was one of just two men in the Illinois legislature to defy his party and the public of his state on the greatest issue of his day, and who later defied the country when he kept us out of a needless war with England. Shades of George Washington, standing firmly for his opinions and his responsibilities, whatever the opposition of Congress and whatever the public clamor. I pass this jelly-fish business by, and scarcely refer even to Harding's identification, during his whole career, with the reactionary bosses of his party, Foraker outstanding. Perhaps it will be enough, along this line, to recall the eulogy to the dead Republican Boss Cox of unhallowed memory: "I want to name a great, big, manly, modest but mighty grand marshal of an invincible division of the grand Republican army of Ohio, a man who is a division commander, has been unconquerable, and by sheer force of merit and ability has forged his way to the very forefront in the party councils. He has elevated his head high above the storm of calumny and abuse and won his way to a trusted place in the party, and we yield deference and devotion to George B. Cox of Hamilton County." How would you, independent readers of *The Independent*, like to see that man in the seat of Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Lincoln, Cleveland, Roosevelt, and Wilson? It is the same man who has been a rubber stamp as Senator, and would be proud of being a rubber stamp as President. Was Wilson wrong when he defied the storm by putting Mr. Brandeis on the Supreme Court? Or was Senator Harding wrong when he grovelled before illicit money and its political henchmen and tried to prevent Mr. Brandeis from taking his seat?

But these other pettinesses are by the way. The big, the over-shadowing fact is now that Harding has definitely, emphatically read the United States out of any intention of joining the League. She is to sit back in smug littleness and enjoy the advantages of hard work done by the other twenty-eight nations of Europe, Asia, and South America in reconstruction and in the working out of disarmament, new ideals, and new methods. We are to sit back and boast and sulk and complain about what our share might be if again trouble should arise. That Johnson has forced Harding into the open on this issue is at least one thing to thank heaven for, since it gives a chance, perhaps a slight chance, that even before these lines are in print some of the big patriots in the Republican party may have arisen to the need and spoken with the voices of free men.

It is curious to watch the struggles of earnest men who are bound to support their ticket at any cost and yet are wretched at being on the wrong side of the world's greatest question. Take Mr. Taft. One day he says this:

When Mr. Wilson brought to this country the league covenant as reported to the Paris conference I urged on the same platform with him that we join the League. I thereafter recommended amendments, some of which were adopted into its final form.

Had I been in the Senate I would have voted for the League and treaty as submitted, and I advocated its ratification accord-



ingly. I did not think, and do not now think, that anything in the League covenant as sent to the Senate would violate the constitution of the United States or would involve us in wars which it would not be to the highest interest of the world and this country to suppress by universal boycott and, if need be, by military force.

I consider that the moral effect of Article 10 on predatory nations would restrain them from war as the declaration of the Monroe Doctrine has done, and that the requirement of the unanimous consent by the representatives of the great powers in council before league action would safeguard the United States from any perversion of the high purpose of the League.

Moreover, I believe that the issue of the League transcends in its importance any domestic issue and would justify and require one who believes so to ignore party ties and secure this great boon for the world and this country.

Admirable, but he is a regular and must find a reason for not supporting Cox or he would be an outlaw and the Senate oligarchy, headed by Penrose, Smoot, and Lodge, would never forgive him. So he figures that the best thing to do is to scold Wilson, and a few days later to add a pious hope that something may happen. He says:

I believe that it will be found that when President Harding approaches the twenty-nine members who have already formed a league they will be reluctant to adopt some new form, especially if by any time the League shall have demonstrated its usefulness and practicability.

Hope! Mr. Taft hopes that Mr. Harding may change back again once more and defy Johnson and his own record. What a position for a grown-up man! To such extremes are we forced when our conclusion is made for us not by our minds and our consciences but by loyalty to a political organization. Sometimes I think I would rather be a dog, and bay at the moon, than be a party member in good and regular standing.

## Harding and the League

By Talcott Williams

THE Harding nightmare! Better talk with a few Democrats about the Cox cataclysm. So far as the League is concerned every fairminded man knows today and admits that the only League that has any chance of ratification is one that carries limitations similar to those imposed by the Lodge amendments. Regret this one can; accept it one must. New League or old, these limitations have behind them the solid center of both parties. Try the men and women you meet; read the newspapers; watch the general drift, we all know that this is the present posture of public opinion. Half the Democratic senators voted for these amendments. Every man whom Mr. Hapgood names, to my personal knowledge, has supported, as judicious, limitations of this general character in any plan thru which the United States enters into any permanent relation with other nations to keep the peace of the world. Many men would take the Wilson League unchanged rather than no League and see no need for change. Mr. Hapgood's small jury would. So would I. But every one believes some limitations are wise; second, that no limitations mean no League now or hereafter, the general opinion of the American public, our Constitution and the Senate being what each is and will be.

The broad current of opinion among plain men, the general average, runs that way. Why have both candidates turned aside from this path? Senator Harding, first because every one sees and knows that the country is chilling to any League and, second, because California is indispensable to a Republican majority in the Electoral College and Senator Hiram Johnson can turn the State over to Cox as he did to Wilson in 1916. Why does not Governor Cox propose the League with limitations, as his party and platform permits and thereby draw off the large Republican vote for a League, with amendments, and opposed to no League? Because his nomination at San Francisco and his election next November is impossible without the Federal

Administration's aid. He is secure at the South because he will be a beneficiary of the wholesale denial of the vote to American citizens. In the North, his nomination and canvass needs Administration backing. By temperament and past record Governor Cox leans towards an active policy abroad and Senator Harding to keeping within our boundaries. This difference has weight for each. So do the reasons I give. Men are but men and are swayed by a preference for success in any enterprise.

These things bring it about that each candidate turns from the main current which wants limitations on any League; seeking to win a definite, dissident, belligerent faction turns Cox to the League unchanged, dominated by the Administration, and leaves Harding swayed by the dread of a bolt. The difference is that the Democratic candidate follows the policy which has defeated Wilson and left him a discredited leader, in spite of great achievement, and the Republican candidate leaves the door open to change and a new League. Each has brought a challenge in his own party. The astute national chairman who directs the Republican campaign, Mr. Hays, sees that Mr. Harding has gone too far and wants to sidetrack the League issue because protest has poured in upon him. The Democratic Convention in New York, aware of the position taken by Cox before this had been formally announced, did what no Convention in the state has ever done before, given no approval to the national platform and barely mentioned the two candidates, tho one, Roosevelt, is a New Yorker.

Look at the newspapers and you will see how much more "news" there is about Harding than about Cox. You, who read these lines, as I say this, be you Democrat or Republican, can see that the mass interest gravitates to Harding and not to Cox. Look at the Ohio primaries. In a Presidential year, the vote of Ohio is evenly divided. In 1916, Cox polled for Governor, 566,201 and Willis, R., 561,002, majority 5,190 for Cox in a round 1,171,458 votes. Wilson did better, majority 89,503. He had the German vote, because he "kept us out of war," as witness the counties where his majority was gained. Mr. Cox will not, I fear, get this vote this time. So the state oscillates. In the primary this year about one Republican voter in four voted for the Republican candidates and about one Democrat in ten for Democratic seekers for the party nomination. What does this mean? Simply that the Republicans expect to win in Ohio and poll a heavy vote and the Democrats do not expect to win and are not worrying over who goes on the Democratic ticket. If the like comes in New York at the primaries, it will be for the same reason.

For Cox, no change is possible. He has tied himself to the Wilson League and the Wilson policy. In Harding's case, changes may come as it grows clear that a large Republican vote wants a League, with limitations in the line of the Lodge amendments. Mr. Hapgood is right in saying there is a strong Republican disaffection. Now is the time to make it known. Every Republican who wants a League who will let his city, county, state national committeemen know this will see a prompt response. August is not the time to make up your mind how you will vote. Wait until the canvass by October has settled the true issue of the hour and the actual position of both parties on the League. Why, by this time, four years ago, Mr. Vance McCormick hadn't yet discovered that Wilson was to keep us out of war for all time and that any preparation for war was high treason to Peace. It was not until September that those happy "unbroken family" pictures were on every fence in the Republic.

It is possible of course for Mr. Hapgood, even in August, to get into, shall I say?—seasonal heat over Harding and cast the Republican candidate for the villain of the world's tragedy. He knows and I know that when the returns are in, whichever man wins, both of us will know that the Republic has a good President and that only one thing is



# The Red Peril in All Its Shades



© 1920, New York  
Frisman

That awful face at  
the window



Harding in Brooklyn Daily Eagle

Moral: Don't use oil to put out a fire!



Zurich Nebelgatter

OUT OF THE FRYING PAN INTO THE FIRE

The Russian Dancing Bear dances again—just  
as he did for "Nicky" in the old imperialistic  
days before the people were "set free"

London Bystander  
And some-  
body sug-  
gests we  
should  
shake it



London Evening News

THAT MYSTERIOUS ATTACHMENT

Lenin and Trotsky: "What we say  
is, if he doesn't love it, why does  
he stick to it like that?"



Low in London Star

Left: IVAN SPEAKS

The Freak of Nations: "Desist!  
Let us have peace!"  
Russia: "Why? Because he didn't  
kill me with the gun you gave  
him?"



certain, the Senate chosen will make it impossible, if Cox is elected, for him to carry out his promise of the Wilson League. If Harding is elected the way is open to him for whatever course seems best. We all know what events did to Wilson's pre-election policy in 1916 and events are still being born every hour and events not particularly favorable to the League. I regret this. I believe in the League. I look at it as alike wise in policy and in principle a duty. But my confidence in a Democratic President putting thru the League negotiated at Paris, independent of the Senate, without change or compromise, is not by any means as strong as it was when I went down the Bay of New York, July 8, 1919, to greet Wilson Triumphant.

But my dear friend Norman Hapgood is still just as sure as ever. Cox and the League are the two perfect creations of the Western World and all the evils of our politics in Ohio and elsewhere darken the Washington-like face of Harding. It seems he praised Cox, the Ohio Republican boss. He ought not to have done it. Neither ought Roosevelt to have written that letter about being a "practical" man himself to that most "practical" of men, E. H. Harriman. I too have made speeches at complimentary dinners. If everybody is to be hung (politically speaking) for every complimentary speech he has made at a complimentary dinner, who shall escape? Of course, this speech is good for a campaign and it is a good point for Mr. Hapgood to make, but it is a "point" and not an argument. What I really want to hear about are the cases in which Cox and his paper have bolted a Democratic ticket. He was 21 years old in 1896. Did he bolt Bryan and Free Silver? The Democratic party in Ohio has had its bosses and its political criminals. Cox is a good party man, just as Mr. Harding has been. In this, as in so much else, the two candidates are of a kind. Even Grover Cleveland had never bolted a Democratic ticket and the Buffalo Democracy is not a glorious company of political angels.

For myself, I cannot go into these contortions of the sibyl because I know that all we can ask or expect is that both these candidates are good men, who have doubtless sometimes bowed in the House of Rimmon. I did not accept the privilege of presenting the case for the Republican party in *The Independent* so as to see all white in my party and all black in the other. This is the campaign habit. I shared it once. I have outgrown it. As I look over forty-four years back to the Tilden-Hayes campaign in which I shared, I realize that the two great parties which divide American citizenship have put up pretty good men. Wrong-headed sometimes, and often lacking equipment, but good. I propose to see things as they are and I am following the advice I have given. Mr. Harding has gone farther than he should in leaving the platform. He may make it impossible for tens of thousands of his party, like myself, to vote for him, and the election is close. Every Republican vote is needed. Let no Republican who reads *The Independent* and wants a League fail to act as I have proposed.

But the real difficulty about the League is not in Mr. Harding or the wicked reactionaries over here and all the terrible perils to the honor of the Republic, Mr. Hapgood has discovered. The League has suffered from what has come in Europe, not what has been done here. We were all saying—I did for one, Mr. Cox is still saying it—that the League would work just like the Monroe Doctrine. Now it hasn't. Suppose we were in it now. Could we have prevented the folly of Poland in attacking Russia? Why is the League powerless? Because we are out of it? Not at all. Because the world has suddenly changed. We thought we could count on Russia, once. With Germany once defeated, we all believed England, France and Italy could control Europe. Have they? A strange revolution has come. Armies no longer count. Not a premier in these three countries has dared war so far. The Europe which has so changed is like the poor quaking Hindoo station-master,

alone in a depot in the solitary jungle, who wired to his superior: "Tiger jumping around platform. Please telegraph instructions."

It is all very well for Lloyd George to close his splendid speech for justice and the protection of the weak nations by saying that if Russia does not pause, "We will meet at Philippi." But it was at Philippi that Roman liberty ended and a new predatory world of the iron hand began! Can Lloyd George be certain that the English and French army will go with him to Philippi? Hoover is as certain as ever about the League, but does Hoover know it all? Hoover was big in Belgium. When you come to spread his opinion over the whole world of politics here and affairs abroad, I am not as certain about Hoover as I was before he left his regular job and became a universal provider of opinion and policy on all subjects.

Let me repeat. I am for the League. I think Harding has made a mistake big with peril to all the world, to us and to himself by not standing for the League with limitations. I think there is more safety there than in any other course. But I try to learn from events. Rhetoric cannot alter events. I cannot see, looking back on the result of the Wilson League and his insisting on it without change or limitation, that it is going to be a remedy for all the world's ills to have another Democratic President pledged to repeat Wilson's course. Mr. Hapgood may think that course was a stupendous success. I cannot see it that way. Nor do I find any one who is ready to believe that we can save the world. If Secretary Colby is right in proposing that we let Russia hold in bondage all the small peoples that are now free and if this is the Democratic world policy to which Governor Cox is pledged, then I am not ready for that kind of a League or that policy and no "Friend of Russia" can persuade me that a candidate favoring this hideous injustice ought to be elected President.

The world seems delightfully simple to Mr. Hapgood: Believe in the League and you will be saved. Perhaps. I prefer to wait and see what comes before I accept that creed and meanwhile I am making up my mind to vote in November for the best man, the best policy and the best party, all issues, the League included, being considered.

Moreover, every President Mr. Hapgood mentions yielded, compromised and got things done. Unless Cox does, he too will wreck the League. Those Presidents were all charged with truckling and time-serving. Cleveland made Daniel Manning his Secretary of the Treasury—a good secretary, too, he was—but Manning was the local Albany boss and his paper stood by Tweed for years and was at last a reformer. Brandeis has turned out good decisions, but was it not true that leaders of our American bar protested at his selection, men we all trust? As this was true, is it quite straight talk to the reader to call a Senator a "rubber-stamp" for voting against Brandeis, without at least saying that the opinion of good men was divided.

## Brass Tacks

By Norman Hapgood

I certainly do like Talcott Williams. He is earnest, honest, and open-minded. In stating that he will postpone his decision, and be guided in his vote in part by the League issue, he does himself credit and sets an example to his fellow Republicans. When he says of Senator Harding's course that it is "big with peril to all the world, to us, and to himself," I take off my hat to a man who puts citizenship first. Naturally I do not agree with everything Mr. Williams writes. I still think Mr. Hoover's energetic statements about the necessity of the League have value. I am interested in the fact that Mr. Taft sees no danger even in article ten. I think Mr.



Colby's Russian note a disastrous, muddle-headed departure from the principles of free political development, and if Senator Harding had nerve he could take up that issue and so drive it in that Cox would either have to repudiate Colby or be surely beaten in November. But there is no chance of Harding's doing anything so intelligent. He has side-stepped the Russian issue, on which he had a great chance to take away thousands of liberal votes, as he side-steps everything except the necessity of pleasing Hiram Johnson at one end and Judge Gary at the other, even if he breaks the hearts of men like Taft, Hoover, and Williams. His voting against allowing Mr. Brandeis to sit on the bench seems to me unsatisfactorily treated by my gallant opponent. The facts were investigated by a senate committee with a fullness never surpassed. If Senator Harding voted to reject and belittle the profoundest of living American jurists because the dress-suit brigade was opposed to him he should in liberal eyes pay the penalty of that vote. Dr. Williams says the Senator is "a good man." No doubt, no doubt. My point is that he would make a perilous and reactionary president.

There are too many points for me to answer in a brief rejoinder. I don't care whether Tammany approved the administration or not. Indeed I am rather glad it did not approve. If Mr. Williams wishes to argue that Democratic Senators will help a Republican President to make peace but that Republican Senators will die in the last ditch rather than allow a Democrat to make peace,—I have in the course of this debate already answered. Let me repeat, however, that Cox's very simple reservations were printed long before he was nominated for the Presidency. And as for Harding's having a "Washington-like face," I cannot see it. But God knows I wish I could.

### Long Distance Fares

SCIENTISTS used to talk of a trip to the moon. But that was before the Interstate Commerce Commission raised the rates.

### The High Cost of Being Good.

And the cost of getting to heaven is, of course, quite prohibitive.

### The Wish Is Father to the Thought

FRANCE has recognized the government of General Wrangel (appropriate name for a warrior!). The French definition of a Russian government seems to be "any Russian, whether he enjoys power or not, who will offer to pay the national debts."

### Thinking Around the Corner

By Preston Slosson

HOW strange it is that people are urged to do the most obvious things for the most far-fetched reasons! This thought was suggested to us by a letter to a metropolitan newspaper urging the building of more homes "to prevent the spread of Bolshevism." Well, a nation of home owners will certainly enjoy a degree of social security denied to a nation of uprooted migrant laborers. True enough. But the home is an older and a much more important institution than the government. A really logical thinker would say not "We must have homes or the commonwealth will be in danger," but "We must save the commonwealth from Bolshevism in order to give security to the home." All our political machinery is but scaffolding about the private life of the citizen and exists not for its own sake but to foster "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

In the same vein the life insurance companies and the

journalist-physicians urge people to take care of their health or to contribute to the stamping out of contagious disease because of the huge economic loss to the community from sickness and premature death. We find it difficult to enter into the frame of mind of the individual who doesn't object to dying at forty but is appalled by the thought that the community will lose \$15,000 worth of his labor if he dies so soon. "Keep your health in order to be efficient at your business" is a strange appeal; no less strange because of its frequency. Efficiency in business is, at best, only a means to an end; a healthy, happy life is the end for which all business exists.

Again, at every election we hear the appeal: "Stress the issues which will help the party." As if parties had any excuse for existence except as the embodiment of some policy! Parties hunt around for issues, and sometimes take opposite sides of the same issue in different campaigns, as if the existence of a political party were an end in itself and the contents of a bottle made no difference so long as the label remained unchanged. We even hear of "treason" to a party, which is like talking of treason to a telephone or a motor car or any other tool of human purposes.

We think that in a saner civilization people will have large families because they love children and not because the birth rate of the nation is falling below that of some rival Power; that they will be healthy because they enjoy abundance of life and not because sickness brings incidental financial worries; that they will vote for what they believe instead of trying to believe in the ticket which they habitually vote; that they will play for the sake of fun and not because an occasional vacation refreshes them for business; that they will read and go to concerts because literature and music are glorious pleasures and not because they cultivate the mind or the social standing; that they will fight for their country because of the liberties it embodies instead of sacrificing those liberties, as Germany did, merely to enlarge the boundaries of national dominion; that they will be religious because they believe in God and not because religion is a bulwark of the social order. Common sense stresses the simplest and strongest motives instead of the most distant and indirect; but common sense is anything but common in our day.

### Senates

In the Latin tongue the Senate meant "the old men"; in the American tongue it means "the Old Guard."

### Think It Over

IN November you will elect a President, a Vice-President, a House of Representatives and a third of a Senate. The result will be known beyond a shadow of a doubt before the end of the month. Yet for four months thereafter you will be governed not by the men you have chosen but by the men who have lost office as a result of your vote. Don't you think the American constitution is sometimes a little slow in getting action?

### The Parable of the Covenant

A CERTAIN man went down the road from Jerusalem to Jericho, fell among thieves and was robbed. A benevolent Samaritan named Uncle Sam helped some good citizens of the neighborhood beat off the thieves and contributed something to the care of the wounded man. But when he was asked to lend his support to a permanent organization for lighting and policing the Jericho road he refused. He said: "It is none of my business to prevent robberies from taking place. Let them go on happening, and in each case I will make up my mind whether or not to do anything about it."

Was he a good Samaritan?



# The Story of the Week

## The Alcohol Issue

**A**LTHO both presidential candidates avoid the prohibition question on the ground that their business will be merely to enforce the law, it is yet an active factor in the campaign, since the liquor interests still have hopes that the law may be repealed or at least alleviated. Tammany's vote for Cox was secured in the Democratic Convention by the understanding that he secretly favored a wet policy, but since this reputation was hurting him in the prohibition states the Democratic leaders have been trying to obliterate that impression from the public mind. Chairman White, of the Democratic National Committee, made official announcement that:

The Democratic party as a party is not going to base its campaign on beer and light wines. It will stand squarely on the national platform for law enforcement. The wets are at liberty to interpret the platform in any way they choose.

Altho this statement is ambiguous and leaves any Democratic candidate free to advocate alcohol, it was received by the wets with dismay. Tammany men, regarding it as a repudiation of the private pledges made to them in behalf of Cox, threaten to trade off Cox votes to get votes for Governor Smith, who favors beer and light wines and a lax enforcement of the Volstead law. In the Republican primaries of New York, Tax Commissioner G. H. Payne is to contest the nomination for the United States Senate against Senator Wadsworth, who is opposed to prohibition and woman suffrage.

The Anti-Saloon League of America has analyzed the records of Governor Cox and Senator Harding and has come to the conclusion that both will favor enforcement of the law. The League will, therefore, not oppose either presidential candidate, but will concentrate its fight upon congressional candidates whom it may suspect of disloyalty to the Eighteenth Amendment.

William Jennings Bryan, who was nominated for Presi-

dent by the Prohibition party, refused that honor and has declared his satisfaction with the attitude of Cox on this question. In his stead the Prohibition party nominated the Rev. Aaron G. Watkins for President, with D. Leigh Colvin for Vice-President. In his speech of acceptance at Germantown, Ohio, August 11, Mr. Watkins asserted that "the supreme question of the hour is the entire extinction of the liquor traffic," but he also expressed himself on some of the "minor questions." He held that "the treaty of peace ought never to have been included in the Covenant of the League of Nations," but since it was included he favors its adoption with "whatever reservations and amendments are possible and absolutely essential." He condemned the weak Mexican policy of the Wilson administration and urged all possible measures of conciliation and then, if necessary, intervention to "compel the restoration of a decent state of affairs" in Mexico.

## Harding on Lemons

**I**N response to a telegram from Senator Flint, of California, stating that 150,000 fruit growers were facing ruin because Sicilian lemons were selling far below the American cost of production, Senator Warren G. Harding pointed out the need for a Republican protective tariff:

I feel an especial concern for the California fruit industries because they have given the country a splendid illustration of the beneficial results of highly organized, well managed co-operation. California's fruits could not have gained the great market and repute they have but for the workings of the big coöperative marketing associations, in which production, distribution, transportation and financial organization have all been coördinated to give service to both producers and consumers at the least possible cost. Therefore it is especially necessary that the great industry should not be permitted to suffer because of a maladjustment of tariff rates.

This is a complete illustration of the impossibility of sacrificing our own American people for the benefit of other countries. Sicilian lemons, owing to demoralized after-war conditions, distorted rates of exchange, and extraordinary pressure to get business, can compete in American markets with the home product and gain the business. But American markets cannot be systematically surrendered to foreign producers, however kindly we may feel toward our Allies; and the conditions that your industry faces are precisely those that many others do now or will later confront unless proper protection is given in view of the extraordinary conditions in the commercial world. The Republican policy of giving first attention to American interests, rather than to those of other continents, will insure against disaster to industries situated as is this one. To such a policy I gladly subscribe.

## Cox on the League of Nations

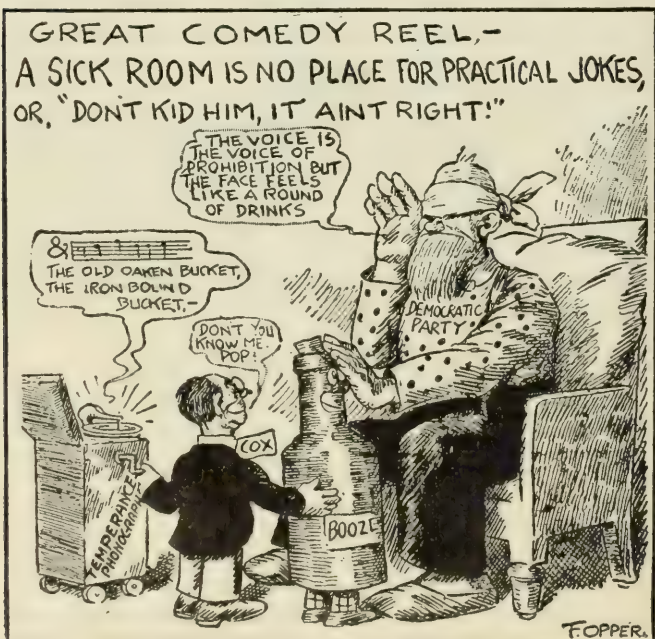
**I**N his address before the Democratic State Convention at Wheeling, West Virginia, Governor Cox made plain his stand on the Covenant and directed his attack on "the senatorial ring" who were determined to scrap the League and rule the country. He said in part:

The Republican party has passed into reactionary control. The fight which Roosevelt made to reform it availed for the time, but its effect was not lasting. Domination by political figures once violently repudiated by the American electorate is unblushing and undenied.

The men who control the United States Senate are determined to annex the Presidency to their domination, and in what they believe to be a certain Republican year they have done things that they would not have dared to think of doing in the past.

The campaign this year is not a contest for the triumph of a political party. It is purely a matter of concluding a duty to civilization, and doing it as quickly as prudent consideration of our country's interest suggests.

Leadership in a great moral question has been given to the-



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DONT YOU KNOW ME, POP?

A Hearst view of how the alcohol issue is being handled in the Democratic campaign



democracy for the simple reason that the Senatorial oligarchy, which for the time being has assumed control of the Republican party, has abandoned the idealism of other days. It is unnecessary to recall the issues of the war. We resisted a worldwide menace and we intend now to establish permanent protection against another menace. We know how easily wars came in the past. We want to make their coming difficult in the future. We have a definite plan. The American people understand it and after March 4, 1921, it is our purpose to put it into practical operation without continuing months of useful discussion.

The platform of our party gives us the opportunity to render moral coöperation in the greatest movement of righteousness in the history of the world, and at the same time to hold our own interests free from peril. Our position is plain. The circumstances of the last eighteen months convict the Republican leadership of attempted trickery with the American people. Under one pretext after another they prevented readjustment of national conditions. They proposed certain reservations to the League of Nations, and then they were abandoned, to be followed by nothing more definite than the announcement of a "hope" that an entirely new arrangement might be made in world affairs. What method they have in mind, if it is concretely in any one's mind, the people do not know. No unprejudiced person can deny that the consequence of abandoning the League and attempting an entirely new project will be prolonged delay.

If the voters of the Republic, without regard to party, desire action, and prompt action, along lines that are now clearly understood, they will render a verdict so overwhelmingly expressive of public indignation that scheming politicians for years to come will not forget.

By supporting the Democratic party you get the absolute pledge of action. The League of Nations will be ratified very soon after March 4, 1921. You need have no worry. Instead of America's interests being imperiled they will be conserved.

## Woman Suffrage Ratified

THE Tennessee Senate passed the resolution ratifying the woman suffrage amendment to the Federal Constitution on August 13 by a vote of 25 to 4 and the House of Representatives passed the same on August 18 by a vote of 49 to 47. Tennessee is the thirty-sixth state to ratify, so this means the amendment of the Constitution and the enfranchisement of 27,000,000 women in time for the next election. In sixteen states women already had the full ballot. The Nineteenth Amendment now adopted reads:

Article—Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

Section 2. Congress shall have power by appropriate legislation to enforce the provisions of this article.

Eight state legislatures, all southern, voted against rati-



Alley in Memphis Commercial Appeal

That last button

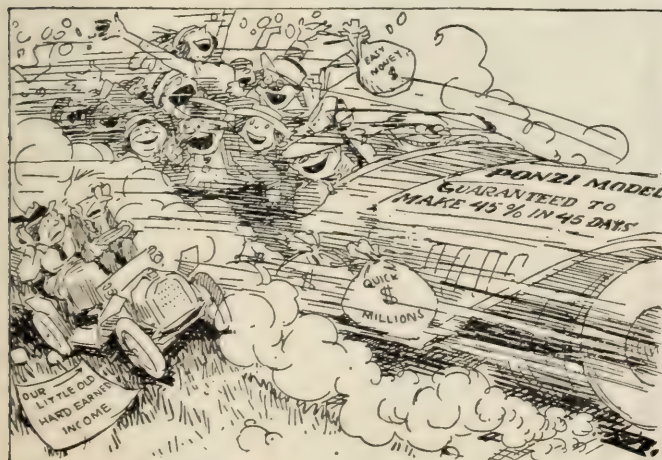
Do not let us forget the moral force of the United States in such an undertaking. It would not have been necessary for a single American soldier to cross the seas. It would not have been necessary for America to become entangled in any way in European politics. Ours would have been the quieting and steadying hand in a League which without America is incomplete.

History will lay a great share of the responsibility for the plight of the splendid people of Poland upon those little narrow men who today control the machinery of the Republican party. But for their desire to satisfy a personal spite, the Bolsheviks would not be knocking at the gates of Warsaw.

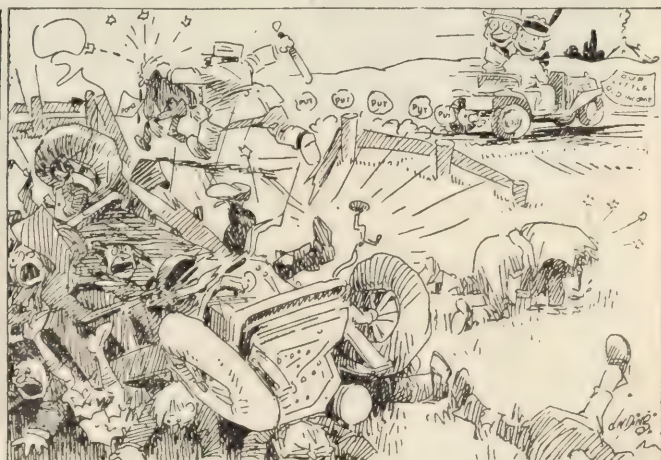
## Aid to Poland

SECRETARY Colby says that the United States will aid Poland with "all available means." Premier Lloyd George says "that England will grant her such assistance as is in our power." Premier Millerand says that France "will aid Poland with all their strength and in every way." All of the powers in the League of Nations are pledged to stand together in support of the new Poland that was created by the Paris Peace Conference. Altho these governments may express disapproval of the ambitions of the Polish expansionists they are agreed in their determination not to desert Poland in her extremity. The only question then is of ways and means.

Of all the powers the United States is most intimately



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THE HARE AND THE TORTOISE

We get kinda tired taking all the dust in our little two cylinder bus—But it's a pretty good wagon after all!



concerned in the Polish question because some four million of our people have come from Poland. Americans who are not of Polish descent have from the beginning of our national history taken a deep interest in the reestablishment of Polish independence. Mass meetings were held on Sunday, August 15, all over the United States at which resolutions were passed thanking President Wilson for his timely message and asking him to "extend to Poland further moral and such material aid as will strengthen the position of the Polish Government and make possible the conclusion of an honorable and just peace." Large sums of money are being raised in America for Poland and thousands of young men are eager to volunteer. But it will be a difficult matter to get reinforcements into Poland in time. The swift Bolshevik advance along the northern frontier may cut off the Danzig corridor which is Poland's only access to the sea. To ship troops across German territory from the Baltic or the Rhine would be a technical violation of German neutrality similar in form to the march of the German troops across Belgium into France.

The French scheme for the rescue of Poland is to back up Baron Wrangel in the hope that he will overthrow the Bolsheviks. For that reason the South Russia Government that Wrangel has set up at Sevastopol has been recognized by France and the French hope that the United States will follow their example. But it seems doubtful if Wrangel can make any greater headway than did Denikin, Kolchak and Yudenitch unless he has foreign troops and to employ them would violate one of the principles laid down in the Colby note.

England is hampered by the determined opposition of the Labor party. She could renew the blockade of the Baltic ports but that would bring increased misery upon the Russian people, especially the opponents of Bolshevism without weakening the Soviet armies, for they are well fed regardless of how many may starve behind the lines. It

is no wonder that the British tax-payer is becoming tired of supporting military expeditions against Soviet Russia. "Peace" is proving almost as burdensome as war. From the date of the armistice, November 11, 1918, to the end of March, 1920, the British Government has, according to official figures, expended \$440,000,000 on naval and military operations in Russia.

About half of this sum was spent for the support of the British forces on land and sea and the other half represents the cash and stores furnished to the Russian armies fighting the Bolsheviks. These stores are counted at their nominal value or cost, but since many of the munitions are non-marketable their actual value is only about a tenth of this. If so discounted the total amounts to \$280,000,000 instead of \$440,000,000. But however figured it seems a great waste since all of the expeditions failed and their net result has been to rally to the support of the Soviet, the patriotic Russians by making the Bolsheviks appear as defenders of the Fatherland.



Wide World

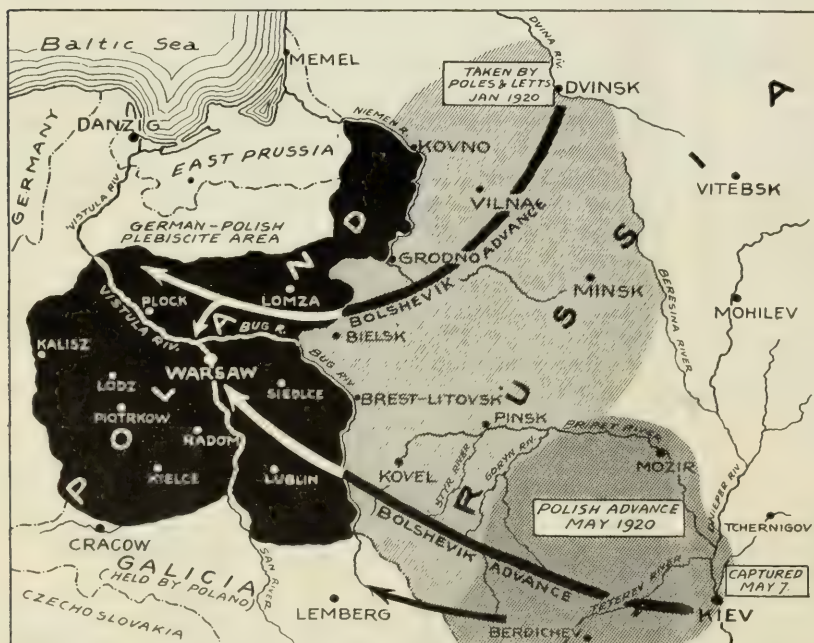
#### DEFEAT OF POLISH TROOPS

The shoes of the Polish soldier show why he was not able to make a stand against the onrushing Russian. But were the Bolshevik boots any better?

## Consequences of the Colby Note

THE Colby note, according to London correspondents, burst like a bombshell in Great Britain. It knocked the ground out from under Lloyd George just at the moment when his counsel seemed about to prevail with the Poles, and it encouraged the French to renew their opposition to the British policy in Poland. The British Premier had come to an agreement with the Soviet Government as to peace and resumption of commercial relations, and he had at last persuaded the Polish Government to send a delegation to the Russian front to ask the Bolsheviks for their peace terms. He had recognized the independent governments of Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Georgia and Azerbaijan. He had declared that no military assistance had been given to General Wrangel since last February, and that the British Government disapproved of his present advance from the Crimea against the Bolsheviks.

But the note signed by Bainbridge Colby cuts athwart all these plans. In this note the United States emphatically disapproves of any kind of negotiations with or recognition of the Bolshevik Government on the ground that it is unrepresentative and unreliable. Further, the American Government calls upon the allied and associated nations to declare their intention to respect and protect the territorial integrity of Russia within the boundaries of the old empire "with the exception of Finland proper, ethnic Poland and such territory as may by agreement form part of the Armenian state." This would mean that the Letts, Lithuanians and other allogenic peo-



A QUICK REVERSAL OF FORTUNE

Last spring the Poles took the offensive and carried their armies into Russia as far as Dvinsk on the north and Kiev on the south. But they fell back before the counter-attack and the Soviet forces regained the lost territory and then invaded Poland. Warsaw was attacked from the north, east and south, while another Soviet army pushed forward along the Polish-German border as far as the Vistula. Poland as delimited by the Paris Peace Conference is shown on the map in black and in addition to this Poland was given Galicia including Lemberg and a corridor along the Vistula extending to the free city of Danzig as a seaport. The treaty also gave Poland such parts of Prussia as should vote for union with Poland in a plebiscite still to be taken. The shaded area represents territory which the Poles took in their spring drive but which has since been recovered by the Soviet



ples who have seized the occasion to break away from Russia, must surrender their new freedom.

After the receipt of the Colby note saying that the United States Government would employ "all available means" to maintain "Poland's political independence and territorial integrity," the French Government took three important actions in opposition to the British policy. First, it ordered its representatives in London not to participate even as observers in the conversations going on there between the British Cabinet and the Soviet representatives. Second, it sent word to Warsaw advising the Poles not to accept the Soviet peace terms which Lloyd George had urged them to accept and approved as fair. Third, it made the following startling announcement:

The French Government, taking into consideration the military success and strengthening of the Government of General Wrangel, as well as assurances received as to the democratic form of his administration and his respect for engagements of the former Russian State, has decided to recognize as a Government of fact the Government of South Russia. A French diplomatic agent will be sent to Sebastopol with the title of High Commissioner.

When the news of the action of Premier Millerand was called to the attention of Lloyd George in the House of Commons he declined to credit it because only forty-eight hours before he had been in consultation with the French Premier at Hythe and they had apparently been in agreement. No notification of a change in the French policy had been received by the British Foreign Office.

When the news was confirmed it aroused considerable resentment in the British press, for this was the second time that the French Government had taken decisive action in international affairs without the approval or knowledge of England. A few months ago the French troops were sent over the Rhine to occupy Frankfurt without consultation with the Allies of France.

The publication of the Colby note caused great rejoicing in France, all the more because the French Foreign Office had given out a few hours before a communication of quite the opposite tenor. This statement, which had been received from the French Embassy at Washington and purported to present the views of the American Government, said that: "Better than any other people the Americans understand the sentiments which animate Russia today. The attitude of Russia is that of the United States in 1776, that of legitimate defense." This was found later to have been a newspaper story which thru some accident had been sent over as an official message.

Premier Millerand responded to the Colby note in a most grateful and cordial note, in which he states that the French and American policies are entirely in accord and that France "never varied in its determination to support the principles so clearly formulated by the Government of the United States." The French press, which has been expressing suspicions that England intended to grab the Crimea as well as the Baltic States, rejoices in this check to British aspi-

rations. The Colby note will not, however, be so welcome to the Italian Government to which it is addressed, for Italy has stood with England rather than France on Russian policy, and there is an official Italian commission in Moscow even now.

## The Collapse of Poland

"ALL is lost save Poland," says Grabski, the Polish Premier. It depends upon the negotiations now going on at Minsk how much of Poland is to be saved.

Thus ends an enterprise comparable only in rashness to Napoleon's invasion of Russia a hundred years before. The Poles, not content with the liberal limits assigned them by the Paris Conference and believing that they were in imminent danger of

an invasion by the Bolsheviks, took the offensive early in the spring and by May had captured Kiev, the Ukrainian capital, 250 miles beyond the frontier. The Russian territory thus conquered was larger than the whole of Poland, and besides this the Poles demanded an outlet to the Black Sea at Odessa and a share in the government of the Ukraine. The Polish Government in the peace terms which it sent to

the Soviet and made public on March 26, required Russia to renounce sovereignty to all territories west of the old frontier of 1772, when the first partitioning of Poland took place, these territories "to fall under a Polish protectorate to assure such peoples of the right of free decision as to their future fate and national connections by general vote." Poland further demanded indemnification for all the destruction of land, industries and railroads destroyed since the beginning of the war in 1914, altho Russia was supposed to be defending Poland against the Germans when this damage was incurred. Russia was further required to restore all works of art and libraries taken from Poland since 1772. Poland also asked for a share of the gold in the Russian treasury, as it was before the war, corresponding to her area. This treaty was to be ratified by a duly elected Russian Diet, and, as security until its complete fulfilment, the Polish army was to hold the Government of Smolensk, which would have brought the Polish frontier up to within 65 miles of Moscow. The territory thus demanded by Poland in the peace terms delivered to the Soviet in the spring included an area equal to Germany, in which the Poles do not constitute more than 5 or 6 per cent. This is very far from the Poland "in-



© Underwood & Underwood

This small son of General Wrangel, leader of the Russian anti-Bolshevist forces, is under the protection of the American Red Cross in Constantinople, with his mother and brothers. During the Great War Mrs. Wrangel was a Red Cross nurse



Underwood & Underwood

### THE NEW ANTAGONIST OF BOLSHIEVISM

Baron Wrangel, who is conducting a campaign from the Crimea against the Bolsheviks, has received official recognition by the French Government as head of the "South Russian Government." He was one of Denikin's generals in last summer's advance against Moscow but on the failure of this enterprise he accused Denikin of incompetency and took command of the remnant of his army. This was protected and refitted in the Crimea by aid of the British, but they refuse to support him in taking the offensive against the Soviet. He is said to have 150,000 troops



habited by indisputably Polish populations" that President Wilson stipulated in his famous Fourteen Points and insisted upon at the Paris Conference.

When the extensive scope of Polish demands were known in Russia they roused such a reaction that the Soviet Government received the support of many who had hitherto opposed it. General Brusiloff, one of the ablest of the Czar's officers, volunteered his services and was placed in charge of the campaign. He published a letter frankly confessing that the Imperial Government did wrong in imposing Russian rule upon the Poles in the old days, but appealing to his brother officers of the Czar's army to prevent a similar wrong being done to the Russians by Poland.

The Polish troops set out with the belief that they would soon reach Moscow. They had been equipped with American uniforms and munitions, partly obtained thru the French, partly sold directly by act of Congress to be paid for in six years. The army was trained and reinforced by 800 French officers and men. The Kosciuszko squadron of American volunteers did gallant service. On April 17 the question was raised in the House of Commons whether the supplying of arms and munitions to Poland by the United States Government had received the approval of the Supreme Council, but Bonar Law replied that any action which the United States may have seen fit to take in this matter could not suitably form the subject of question and answer in the House.

Prince Sapieha, the Polish Foreign Minister, stated in 1919 that "We have already 300,000 men in the field," and by 1920 this was said to have been raised to more than half a million. It was commonly reported in our papers at the time that the Bolshevik troops were much inferior to the Polish in number, equipment and spirit, and that the Soviet régime was on the verge of collapse from inefficiency, starvation and internal dissension. But now that the tide has turned we learn from the American military authorities at Washington that the Polish forces numbered only 140,000, while the Soviet placed 350,000 men on the Polish front.

There is now also observable a general disposition to disclaim responsibility for the Polish offensive. It has been universally supposed that the Poles were encouraged by France, but the French Foreign Office asserts that it opposed any movement beyond Poland's ethnographical frontiers. Premier Lloyd George told the House of Commons on July 21: "I saw that the action of the Polish Government earlier in the year was reckless and foolish, and I protested against it. I ventured to point out what might be the consequences, and I regret that my fears have been realized." For once the opposition agreed with the Government. Ex-Premier Asquith said: "The adventure has failed as it deserved to fail. Poland has been driven back within her frontier and she is now threatened by the way of reprisal with the very disaster that she thought to impose upon others." Lord Robert Cecil said: "Every military man whom I consulted at the time assured me that the conflict must end with the defeat of Poland." The Pope declares that he urged the Poles to moderation. Paderewski asserts that he opposed the forward movement, and the fact that it was not undertaken until he was out of the way tends to support his disclaimer. The primary responsibility for the adventure that has ended so disastrously rests upon Pilsudski, who is virtually dictator of Poland, but what outside encouragement he received cannot now be determined.

## Warsaw Holds Out

**A**FTER the Polish army was defeated at the front, 400 miles east of Warsaw, it fell back in such confusion that the Bolsheviks swept forward with little resistance and within two months their guns were bombarding the Polish capital. This swift advance was due to an efficient



Wide World

The American Red Cross is bearing a large part of the relief work for the increasing number of Polish refugees fleeing from the Bolshevik advance

corps of cavalry, an arm of the service in which the Poles have a historic reputation but of which the Bolsheviks have hitherto been able to make little use. The contempt of the Soviet generals for their opponents is shown by the fact that before they had taken Warsaw or even invested it they threw a column clear across Poland along the German frontier as far as Thorn on the Vistula River, altho by so doing they exposed an unprotected flank of over 100 miles to attack from the Warsaw side.

But altho the Poles were unable to take advantage of such an opportunity they rallied gallantly to the defense of their capital and held up the Russians on the Bug River. Old men, boys and women volunteered for active service. Troops were rushed from Warsaw to the front in motor buses, as they were from Paris to the Marne when the Germans threatened Paris. The French general Weygand was sent to Poland to organize the resistance.

The simultaneous declaration of Premier Millerand and Secretary Colby that France and America would aid Poland encouraged the Poles to hold out against the Bolsheviks both on the battlefield before Warsaw and in the peace conference at Minsk. The action of Secretary Daniels in sending the cruiser "Pittsburgh" with two destroyers to Danzig and the cruiser "St. Louis" with six destroyers to the Mediterranean gave the Poles hope that the United States intended to intervene actively in their behalf.

## British Labor Threatens Revolt

**T**HE British Labor Conference called to consider the Polish situation took on August 13 most unprecedented measures to meet the impending renewal of the European war. All the power of organized labor was placed in the hands of a Council of Action which was instructed to

remain in existence until they have secured an absolute guarantee that (1) the armed forces of Great Britain shall not be used in support of Poland, Baron Wrangel, or any other military or naval effort against the Soviet Government; (2) withdrawal of all British or naval forces operating directly or indirectly as a blockading influence against Russia; (3) recognition of the Soviet Government and establishment of unrestricted trading and commercial relationships between Britain and Russia.

The Council of Action is authorized to call for "any and every form of withdrawal of labor which the circumstances may require to give effect to the foregoing policy." The 1044 delegates stood in silence for a full minute to emphasize their realization of the meaning of this unprecedented measure. It was, as J. H. Thomas admitted, "a desperate and dangerous method," but he argued that

we believe that the situation is so desperate and dangerous that action thru the ballot box would be futile in this case, and that



only desperate and dangerous methods can provide a remedy. These solutions do not mean a mere strike. Do not make any mistake. They mean a challenge to the whole Constitution of the country.

This action on the part of the combined British labor bodies is the more significant because they have hitherto refused to resort to "direct action" in the place of parliamentary methods, even in defense of their own interests. Twice recently the efforts of the Left Wing to induce the conference to approve of direct action have been defeated by a vote of the majority.

It was frankly acknowledged that the establishment of a Council of Action with power to paralyze the industries and railroads and shipping of Great Britain was revolutionary and meant the substitution of a class dictatorship for political government, but Robert Williams said:

I tell you solemnly and seriously that you are infinitely more representative than the House of Commons, and you may be summoned to sit permanently as "a committee of national safety." I would rather act in an unconstitutional manner than go to war and go to hell under the forms of the British Constitution.

Nominally this action is directed against the Government. Actually, however, it is in support of the Government, or at least of the Premier, for Lloyd George has been trying to reestablish commercial relations with Russia and has advised the Poles to accept the Soviet peace terms. On both these points he has been opposed by France, which is actively supporting the campaigns against Soviet Russia led by General Pilsudski from Poland and General Wrangel from the Crimea. But the peace policy of the British Premier received a double blow in the almost simultaneous announcements from Premier Millerand that France would recognize Wrangel and from President Wilson that the United States would never recognize Soviet Russia. The chairman of the Parliamentary Labor Party, W. Adamson, who presided over the Conference, interpreted the Colby note as indicating that "the dollar-making instincts of the United States were coming to the support of the imperialistic impulses of France and that England would be drawn into the war in defense of Polish independence. The imminence of this danger induced the moderate and conservative factions of the labor unions to withdraw their opposition to "direct action" for political purposes. The first measure, if it became necessary to carry their threat into effect, would doubtless be to prevent the shipping of munitions to Poland and to cut off the coal supply to France by a strike of dockers and seamen. The Italian labor men took

this action some time ago. The International Seamen's Congress, now in session at Brussels, has passed a resolution refusing to transport troops and munitions.

## The Irish Crisis

ONCE again, as in 1914, Great Britain is on the verge of a foreign war, for the British Government is more definitely pledged to the defense of Poland against the Bolsheviks than it was to the defense of Belgium against the Germans. And once again, as in 1914, Ireland is on the verge of a civil war. But this time it is the south of Ireland that is in opposition to Parliament, not the north of Ireland, as it was in 1914. The modified Home Rule, setting up separate governments for Ulster and for the rest of the island, has been reluctantly accepted by the Ulsterites, but indignantly declined by the Sinn Feiners.

Premier Lloyd George stated his stand plainly to the House of Commons on August 16:

Subject to three clear and definite conditions, the Government is prepared to discuss with anybody who claims to speak for representative Irish opinion any proposals they put forward which in their judgment satisfy Irish opinion. These conditions are:

One, that six counties, representing the northern part of Ulster, must be accorded separate treatment. Two, under no conditions will the Government assent to any proposal which involves directly or indirectly secession of Ireland or any part of it from the United Kingdom. Three, nothing shall be agreed upon which involves any detraction from the safety of these islands in peace or war.

But, added the Premier, the Government had received no response to this invitation.

The British Government has not handled the Mannix case in a way to satisfy any party. Archbishop Mannix, of Melbourne, by his opposition to Australian conscription during the war and his advocacy of independence of Ireland since, has incurred the displeasure of the Australian Government. Premier Hughes in a speech at Bendigo on July 25 warned the American people against him in these words:

Mgr. Mannix says his one hope is that England and America will be enemies, and that Ireland will fight England, and that America will fight England. If that hope is realized we shall see a war the like of which the world has never seen. The hope of peace in this world lies not in the League of Nations, but in that firm alliance of understanding and coöperation which has existed for over 100 years between America and Great Britain and the British Empire. That man, therefore, who seeks to make bad blood between the British Empire and America is a criminal. If it were necessary to choose between the Kaiser and that man as to which was the greater criminal, I know which I would choose. The Kaiser was pushed into this, but Mgr. Mannix went into it of his own free will.

The British Government refused to permit Archbishop Mannix to visit Ireland, altho he explained that he had no political purpose, but merely desired to see his old mother. He was taken from the "Baltic" under technical arrest and landed from a destroyer at Penzance. Indignation meetings have been held in American, Irish and Australian cities over this interference with the freedom of the Catholic prelate.

The Lord Mayor of Cork and ten of his associates were arrested for holding a Sinn Fein Court in the City Hall. The Lord Mayor was tried by court-martial and found guilty of having made seditious speeches, upholding the authority of the Irish republic and repudiating British rule, and of having control of the secret police cipher.

Outbreaks of violence are frequent thruout the south and west of Ireland. Soldiers guarding a military airplane that had made a forced landing at Kantark, Cork, were attacked by Sinn Feiners. Two of the soldiers and four of the Irish were killed in the fight. At Limerick a conflict took place with the authorities in which several people were killed. Fires were started in many parts of the city by both factions as reprisals.



© Keystone View

Ted Ray, the British veteran of twenty years' golf fame, won the Open Golf Championship of the United States this year by a single stroke, the space of a fraction of an inch lying between the next best ball and the cup. Ray's score was 295 for four rounds, a score achieved by tremendous driving distance and putts of remarkable accuracy. A gallery of over 7000 spectators followed the tournament play, which was held at Toledo



# A Little of Everything

Ate a tomato, sweet potato, banana,  
turkey or ice cream soda.

Had gas, electric light, steam heating, refrigerator, open plumbing, vacuum cleaner, or any other household comfort, convenience or labor-saving device of a mechanical nature.

Saw the moving pictures, heard a phonograph record, had a photograph taken, visited a really well-equipped museum or a reasonably adequate library, played basket-ball or danced the tango.

HAPPY—

## WHY CAN'T YOU BE ?

The border line fence between the United States and Canada is being repaired this summer on one of its hardest and roughest fronts. Something less than one hundred miles of the international boundary along the lower edge of Alaska will be resurveyed by two engineering parties working from either end. Both governments are sharing in the cost.

New silver strikes of considerable promise have been made in the Portland Canal country, and miners have been going in from everywhere, much after the manner of the old Klondike days. They have not always known which side of the line they have been prospecting on, and it is to make this point clear and certain, and so to avoid complications with the mining offices, that the two governments have undertaken a survey.

it is at that same point, where the fencing began in 1905, that the silver hunters are now at work and in doubt.

Even in its doing-over stages, this fence-line survey is one of the hardest pieces of wilderness work that will be done this year, and in its original proportions it made a record. The southern end of Alaska—the part known as the “Panhandle”—has as twisted and crooked a shore line as perhaps the world can show. The boundary line is almost equally crooked, for by treaty terms it runs at about thirty miles from the shore for the full length of the strip, and to get it accurately located the fencers of 1905 were obliged to make very irregular tracks. In the main, however, this section of the international boundary, from Portland Canal to Mount St. Elias, was determined by a number of conspicuous peaks which were taken as ready-made landmarks, a mile or two here and there not counting seriously on one side or the other.

The line, located by careful heliotrope calculations, was marked in three ways: by monuments, by cutting out the vista, and by ascertaining the exact position of turning points or angles. The monuments were placed along the line at conspicuous points, such as the banks of rivers, the crossing of trails, and the summits of ridges or mountain spurs that happened to be on the line. They were of aluminum, bronze or concrete, three or five feet high, and solidly set into concrete beds, the materials for which were transported under difficulties into the wilderness.

Wherever the line passed thru timber a twenty-foot skyline was cut, ten feet on each side, making it literally an international right-of-way thru the woods. It is this blazed trail of the Alaska-Yukon border that is now being re-cut. Additional monuments are also being placed for the surer guidance of the prospectors.

Much climbing of mountains and scaling of glaciers is involved in this boundary fencing, for the line has to be carried over the hills and the rough places, regardless of what the country or the weather is like. Instruments and supplies must be lugged along for miles on miles, with only human backs to bear them.



© Kadel & Herbert

NO, THIS AIN'T A KITE!

What I have here is a surf board made of "baka" wood, lighter than cork, so I can swim just the way they do in Hawaii

From time to time there is talk of projected electric railways to be distinguished by speeds of one hundred miles an hour or more. The success of such plans depend wholly on their financial backing. The possibility of such speeds was amply proved some years ago by the Berlin-Zossen experiments, and as soon as such a road will pay we shall doubtless have it. That we shall be able to ride at this speed very soon is the opinion of more than one expert. In this relation, it should be borne in mind that the attention of railway men has been distracted from the high-speed proportion by the consideration of electric terminal facilities made necessary in large cities.

"Fence posts" such as this are the only boundary protection that is needed between the United States and Canada



trains. The electric motor furnishes the means by which any speed which the roadbed or the car itself will stand can be maintained indefinitely.

Aside from the design of the roadbed, the method of controlling the trains therefore becomes the next in importance. As has been said, it is obvious that some extension of the block system must be employed in which the blocks are longer and the safety devices much more complete than anything in use today. One plan would be to divide the road into long blocks, each block ending at a stopping point, and to allow no train to start from one station until the preceding train had left the one ahead. Another plan proposed contemplates dividing the road into shorter blocks with intermediate blocks each long enough to enable a train to be brought to a stop on it. The power supplied to these blocks is to be controlled by the train on the next block ahead, and is to be cut off automatically from these intermediate blocks until there is no train in the block ahead.

The interesting feature about these

plans is the fact that the very means which makes it possible for us to attain such high speeds is the means which will enable us to make use of them. The electric motor is the only driving mechanism considered for such high speeds, and the electric railway system is one which readily adapts itself to automatic control. On such a road, not only would the signals be operated more or less automatically by the trains themselves, but the safety devices which would be necessary for the road would also be controlled electrically. There would be no difficulty in having the power supplied to one whole block cut off automatically by the presence of a train on another part of the road, a feature difficult to obtain, if any other motive power be used.

The high-speed road is more than a probable development in railroading, and that it will be purely electrical there seems at present to be no doubt. It is because the power is supplied to the moving trains from a stationary power-house that such speeds may be maintained, and the movement of the trains may be controlled automatically.

movements make headway is limited by the conditions that exist. The great economic condition which gives rise to unrest in the Northwest is the problem of marketing. Lying back of this economic situation is the natural situation conditioned by the climatic and geological environment. If the struggle with nature is encouraging, the struggle between industrial groups presses less severely. Hence the causal relation between rainfall and politics.



## I Want to Know!

Two-thirds of the farmers in the United States own their own homes.

\*\*\*

Since the Great War began Greece has begun to import canned salmon.

\*\*\*

What goes needlessly into the waste pile—old paper, rags, rubber, metals, etc.—if all reclaimed would save the nation \$500,000,000 a year.

\*\*\*

The Republican party in Texas, like the Democratic party in Vermont, is so confident of success that his friends can hardly keep him quiet.

\*\*\*

During the last fiscal year the United States imported \$120,000,000 worth of diamonds; in the year before the Great War only \$34,000,000 worth. Somebody has got the war prosperity we hear about.

\*\*\*

The French Brain Workers' Union (Confédération des Travailleurs Intellectuels) has attained a membership of over 200,000 teachers, artists, journalists, clerks and scientific experts. Its chief object is to increase salaries.

\*\*\*

An Anti-Saloon League expert figures that since prohibition came into effect the people of the United States have drunk .006 pints of spirit per capita each day. This amount is so small that he defines it as "one smell per capita each day."

\*\*\*

Mango is now being introduced as a tree crop in southern Florida. Evidently not all people agree that "its taste resembles a ball of tow soaked in turpentine and molasses" and that "it is so sticky that you must eat it in a bathtub," to quote two travelers' descriptions. The editor's own opinion is that it tastes something like a peach and something like a bar of soft soap and he quite agrees with the remark about the bathtub.

## The Effect of Rain on Politics

By Alvin H. Hansen, Ph. D.,

Associate Professor of Economics, University of Minnesota

Normal precipitation and politics correlate in Minnesota. The complexion of county politics corresponds quite closely to the normal rain and snowfall in the various counties of the state. The heaviest precipitation is in the southern tier of counties, and in the east central, northeast and north central counties. In these counties the normal precipitation ranges from 25.5 to 32.3 inches per annum. In the central and western portions of the state the precipitation is moderate, ranging from 23.5 to 25.0 inches per annum. The northwestern part of the state has the lightest precipitation, the normal ranging from 20.0 to 21.5 inches.

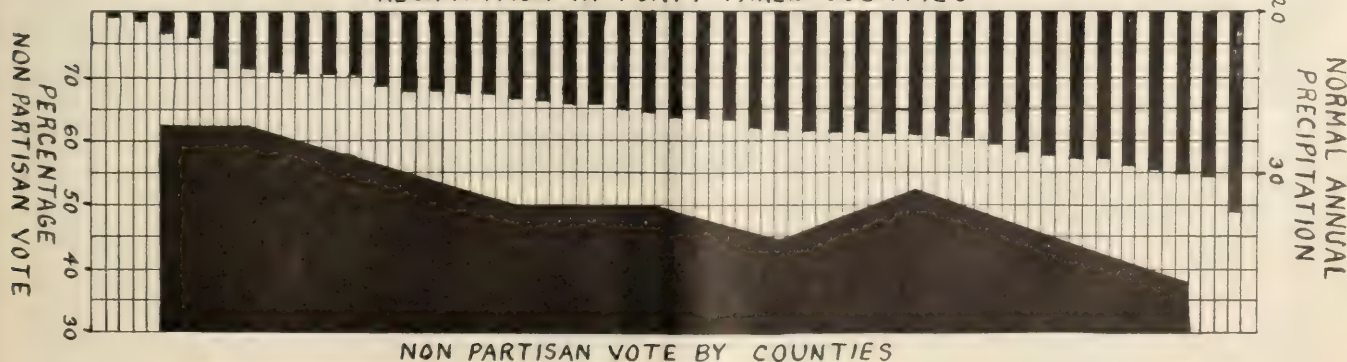
The vote in the recent primary election divided along the same lines. The regular Republicans carried the southern, eastern, northeastern and north central part of the state, while the non-partisans carried the central, western and northwestern part as the accompanying map shows.

The close correlation between rainfall and politics in Minnesota is clearly apparent in the chart following. All

the forty-three counties for which the normal precipitation is given by the U. S. Weather Bureau in its 1919 report are here arranged according to normal annual precipitation. Set over against the normal precipitation is shown the proportion of non-partisan votes as compared to the votes cast for the regular Republican candidate for Governor. The diagram shows the trend rather than the vote in each separate county. The first five counties were grouped together and the average non-partisan vote calculated for the group, the next five counties constitute the second group, and so on. The comparison is therefore between the average vote of the five counties with the largest normal precipitation and the average vote of the five counties with the next highest normal precipitation, and so on for the rest. It is apparent that the lower the precipitation the larger is the non-partisan vote.

Climatic and economic conditions give rise to social philosophies and movements, and the extent to which the various competing philosophies and

PRECIPITATION IN FORTY-THREE COUNTIES





# Getting on to Berlin

(Continued from page 237)

was thrown in against the Americans, and was utterly defeated.

The growth of the First American Army to a total of more than 1,000,000 men, divided into seven army corps and fighting on a front of 120 kilometers, determined General Pershing at this time to create two armies in the place of the one which had grown too unwieldy to be handled to advantage by one commander and staff. Accordingly, on October 12, the first army, with the First, Third and Fifth American corps and the Seventeenth and Thirty-third French corps, was placed under command of Lieutenant General Hunter Liggett and the right flank of its sector marked at Fresnes-en-Woevre, while from that point to Port-sur-Seille, east of the Moselle, the second army was created under command of Lieutenant General Robert Lee Bullard, with the Fourth American and Second French Colonial corps.

The terrific demands of the conflict, in which division after division fought in the inclement weather until its losses and physical exhaustion forbade further effort, produced rather rapid changes in the order of battle. On October 14, when another concerted attack was launched along the front from north of Verdun to St. Juvin, just east of Grandpre, the following divisions were in line from the Meuse westward: the Fourth, Third and Fifth divisions in the Third Corps, the Thirty-second and Forty-second divisions in the Fifth Corps, and the Eighty-second and Seventy-seventh divisions in the First Corps.

The attack of October 14 was met everywhere by a wall of machine gun fire, and it did not make extensive gains, although the gains made were highly important. General McMahon's division took Cunel and General Hahn's occupied Romagne and conquered the intricate wooded slopes of the Cote Dame Marie, thus decisively breaking the Kriemhilde Stellung, the last entrenched German defense zone.

Nowhere, however, was the fighting of the last half of October more continuous and sanguinary than it was on the front of General Dickman's corps along the Aire River, from a point east of St. Juvin to one west of Grandpre. General Duncan's Eighty-second Division troops, between the 11th and the 21st of October, took a considerable area near St. Juvin and approached Champigneulle, while General Alexander's men, on the 13th, took St. Juvin and three days later gained a foothold in Grandpre. On October 16 the Seventy-seventh Division, after three weeks in line, was relieved by Gen. James H. McRae's Seventy-eighth Division, which spent the remainder of the month in slowly gaining complete possession of Grandpre and the difficult hills north of it.

The lively fighting was thus in progress along most of the front during the latter half of October, it resulted rather in gaining advantageous ground

at various points from which another general attack might jump off than in achieving immediately decisive results. But the enemy's defense had worn so thin that Marshal Foch determined upon another tremendous effort, which would result in overwhelming the German armies. The date finally fixed for this effort was November 1.

So far as the First American Army was concerned, on October 31 it had achieved an average advance of 21 kilometers along its entire front since September 26; it had completely conquered the Argonne bastion of the enemy's Meuse-Argonne front and had very nearly completed the conquest of the Heights of the Meuse as well; it had taken 18,600 prisoners, 370 cannon and more than 1000 machine guns; was holding twenty-one German divisions at bay before it, and was closely threatening the enemy's arterial railway line between Montmedy and Sedan. Its mission in the renewed attack would be to make a clean break thru the enemy's line of battle and, still advancing on the axis Montfaucon-Romagne-Buzancy, to sweep over the heights of Barricourt, the left uniting with the Fourth French Army and then moving on Sedan, while the center and right swept down and across the Meuse toward Montmedy, the extreme right coming into liaison on the Heights of the Meuse with the Franco-American divisions north of Verdun.

While holding the enemy to an unrelaxing defense by means of front line activity, the Americans were, therefore, in large part recuperating their energies and making every preparation for another attack as powerful as the one of September 26. The divisions in line for the attack were the Fifth and Ninetieth in the Third Corps, the Eighty-ninth and Second in the Fifth Corps, and the Eightieth, Seventy-seventh and Seventy-eighth in the First Corps. Of these, Gen. John A. Lejeune's Second Division was to make a primary break thru, striking the remaining section of the Kriemhilde Stellung around Landres-et-St. Georges and thence driving northward toward Bayonville-et-Chennery and the Barricourt Heights.

The two-hour preliminary bombardment utterly disrupted the German defense, and from the first the American forces swept forward with almost un-

interrupted speed. By nightfall the Second Division had accomplished an extreme advance of more than nine kilometers, the divisions to its right making scarcely less progress. On the left, in front of Champigneulle and the Bois des Loges, the first day's advance of General Dickman's divisions was insignificant, but during the following night the enemy gave way, and on November 2 these first corps troops jumped forward thru Buzancy, General McRae's extreme left flank gaining contact with General Gouraud's patrols at Boulton-aux-Bois, north of the Bois de Bourgogne. On the other flank, swinging on its right toward the Meuse, General Hines' corps approached that river below Dun-sur-Meuse on the 3rd and the guns of the long range artillery, closely following the advance, were able by their fire to suppress circulation on the great German railway line at the junctions of Montmedy and Longuyon.

Advancing straight into the enemy's lines during the night of the 3rd, the Second Division by a remarkable march thru the rain-drenched woods to the Heights of Beaumont overlooking the Meuse at Letanne, forced the Germans to abandon an entire battle front which they had intended holding across the hills from Halles by Vaux-en-Dieulet and St. Pierremont to Chatillon-sur-Bar. The Fifth Division, facing east, crossed the Meuse at Briulles and Clerly on November 4 and, joining with the French and American divisions already on that side of the river, pressed on northwestward, while, to its left, General Allen's, General Wright's and General Lejeune's men came up to the stream on the following day. Still further to the left, General Dickman's corps reached the Meuse between Mouzon and a point opposite Sedan, the Forty-second Division and the First Division prolonging the left in the direction of that city until, on November 7, the ground occupied by them was taken over by General Gouraud's troops.

It was on November 6 that the Germans finally threw up their hands and begged Marshal Foch for terms on which the Allies would consent to an immediate cessation of hostilities. Terms were dictated to the German commissioners, who were granted seventy-two hours in which to submit the terms to their government and receive its acceptance, the pursuit of the German armies meantime continuing all along the front.

In the American sector, between November 7 and 10, the enemy was hurled from the heights southeast of Stenay into the plain of the Woevre, and on the 10th and 11th General Summerall's troops crossed the Meuse at Mouzon and Stenay, their advance being directed on the railroad at Montmedy. The enemy was retreating at every point along the western front when hostilities ceased under the armistice terms at 11 a. m. on November 11.

---

## The Little Boy

By Marion Clinch Calkins

His soul and body were so lean,  
And so loved wind and sunning,  
I have to think in fashioning him,  
God fashioned him for running.

His soul and body were so gay,  
And so loved games and leaping,  
I cannot think, in fashioning him,  
God fashioned him for sleeping.



## As Man to Man

(Continued from page 233)

looking ahead. The past is dead so far as he is concerned before the smoke clears from the field of battle. Taking such an important part in public affairs it was only natural that he should eventually become a power in politics. His enemies say that he became a boss—that it was merely a game of chasing away the other bosses so that he could take their places. They even hint that he was not a particularly good boss and assert that he had many of the faults of his predecessors. He is not without enemies in Dayton. He is the type of man who wins very loyal friends and equally enthusiastic enemies. But it is interesting to note that the loyal friends are vastly in the majority. It is also interesting to note that Cox did not wait until his newspaper was firmly established and financially independent before he launched his vigorous editorial policy. He was struggling to meet the payroll most of the time he was making enemies. It is said there are more than one hundred small payments recorded on the original note which was incident to his purchase of the *Dayton News*. It is also worthy of note that Cox has tried to keep his employees with him and there are quite a number of old timers in the plant.

One of these men told me about the time when Cox had his first private office. That was long before the *Dayton News* owned its own building. Cox was pleased with his private office and the lettering on the glass door. He had occupied it only a few minutes when he had a caller. Some seconds later there was a terrific crash of glass and the caller alighted on his eyebrow out in the corridor. The caller had come to participate in a fight with the editor and he had succeeded. But the new private office was a wreck. One of the old timers told me that "Cox is not much of a writer, but when it comes to digging up the facts he is a heller." He still has an office in the *News* building and is never happier than when at work there, tho he has not written much for his newspapers since he has been in public life. His editors do not praise his official acts, but I discovered that they follow the usual custom with newspapers owned by public men: they find occasion for reprinting a great deal of the favorable comment of other publications. The *Dayton News* is intensely partizan in its politics, but not bitterly so. I found editorials in its files praising nearly every prominent Democrat of recent years, and especially William Jennings Bryan, who seemed not to be especially delighted with the nomination of Cox. One editorial compared him with Gladstone, finding him equal to the British statesman and of the same type.

Speaking critically of the *Dayton News* it impressed me as being fully up to the standard that might reasonably be set for a city of that size—155,000 population. The *News* is not as aggressive now as it has been in local affairs.



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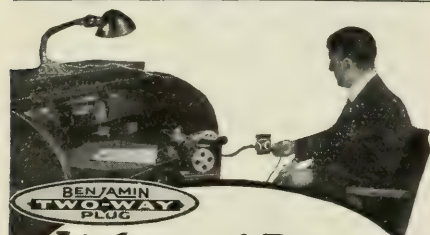
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One reason is that many of the battles have been won. The paper is well edited, it prints an excellent selection of world news, its features are good, and its makeup neat. Its staff gives one the impression of being adequate, competent, enthusiastic. The men like Cox as a publisher and they have the utmost confidence that they may differ with him in confidence and sometimes win the argument.

There has been a great change in Dayton during the time Cox has owned a newspaper there. Once it was closely allied to the surrounding farms. Now it is the center of specialty manufacturing which calls for skilled labor. It seemed to me as I walked the streets that there was a building and loan association office on every corner. Dayton is a city of home owners. It is a bustling, clean, beautiful city with very little labor trouble. In many ways it is an ideal industrial city. In ten years its growth has been 33 per cent, and this includes the period of the great floods in 1913. As soon as the water had receded the *News* was published on the street, and a few days later it announced in a front page editorial that "there has been enough of calamity" and that the *News* would publish "no more reminders of the harrowing days of the flood." That is again characteristic of Cox. His face is set always resolutely toward the future.

With all his energy and strong will he is a kindly man, there is a twinkle of humor in his eyes most of the time, and he loves a good story. Incidentally he is an excellent story teller. I was present at the daily conferences between Cox and the newspaper men. One of the correspondents asked a question and then added: "I don't wish to pry into the secret, but—" Cox laughed and said: "Don't worry. You won't." It was a very kindly laugh, in which all present joined. The faintest suggestion that he might not be able to take care of himself amused Cox. That is one of his most prominent characteristics. He is self-reliant, a dynamo of energy, gifted with common sense and saneness to a remarkable extent, conservative, not notable for vision or idealism, big enough to seek and take advice. During my interview with him his eyes kindled with the fire of the enthusiast only one time, and that was when he discussed the work a woman educator is doing to wipe out illiteracy. It was evident he has a passion for the common schools.

Cox is a comparatively wealthy man today. He has bought back the old family homestead which his father sold and added to it until it is now a well improved estate. The farm is in Butler County. I met Cox at his home, Trail's End. It is an ideal home, beautiful but above all else comfortable, and it has an impressive library. The automobile road winds around the hill under magnificent trees, behind which the house is completely hidden from view.

One takes the train in Dayton and arrives in Marion three hours later. The two presidential candidates are almost neighbors. Marion is a city of not

more than 30,000 population. It has some large manufacturing plants, but is still closely allied to the surrounding farming country and always has been. The city is well paved with brick and has beautiful trees along the sidewalks. It is an excellent example of a small Middle West community. There is almost no foreign element. Marion has an excellent park and a boulevard plan, part of the boulevards having been constructed. The name of Harding is associated with this and other enterprises which have tended to make Marion a pleasant place in which to live. His contribution toward such things has been ideas rather than money.

**H**ARDING, like Cox, began in the newspaper game while he was in his teens. He was a very young man when he purchased the *Marion Star*. He had much opposition to face and not a very good field for his enterprise. A prediction of failure at the time would certainly not have been unreasonable. Marion had more newspapers then than it has now, altho the town has grown tremendously. There was no particular political battle for the *Star* to fight. Evidently Harding's idea was that he could publish a more acceptable small town newspaper than Marion then boasted. He paid only \$300 for the *Star*. For a long time he slept on a cot in the newspaper office. He was reporter, advertising solicitor, printer, in other words, he was the typical small town editor of those times.

I looked over the files of the *Star* carefully. The impression I obtained was that of a kindly man desiring to serve his community. He gave the petty local happenings the appearance of importance they would naturally have to the community. The report of the death of a person had in it a real touch of human sympathy. One gathers an impression of deep love for the community and pride in its progress from the discussion of local problems incident to the growth of a town. The *Star* always was, as it still is, a good newspaper. Its telegraph service is excellent and its features well selected. Like Cox's *Dayton News*, the *Marion Star* is also intensely partisan, but not bitter. Its partisanship is shown more in its praise of Republicans than in its criticism of Democrats. A very large proportion of the editorials in the *Star* deal with strictly local matters. I found this also true of the *Dayton News* even during the most critical periods of the world war. Reading the files of those periods one cannot fail to be impressed with the thought that Ohio evidently did not expect the nation to be drawn into the world war. As between the two, however, the *Star* more frequently showed indications that its editor saw what was coming. The *News* followed President Wilson with the utmost loyalty in the long period of uncertainty before the war in the days before the President had begun to prepare the nation for the inevitable. In looking over the files of the *Star* I was especially impressed by an editorial in the issue of March 31, 1917, in which the growing



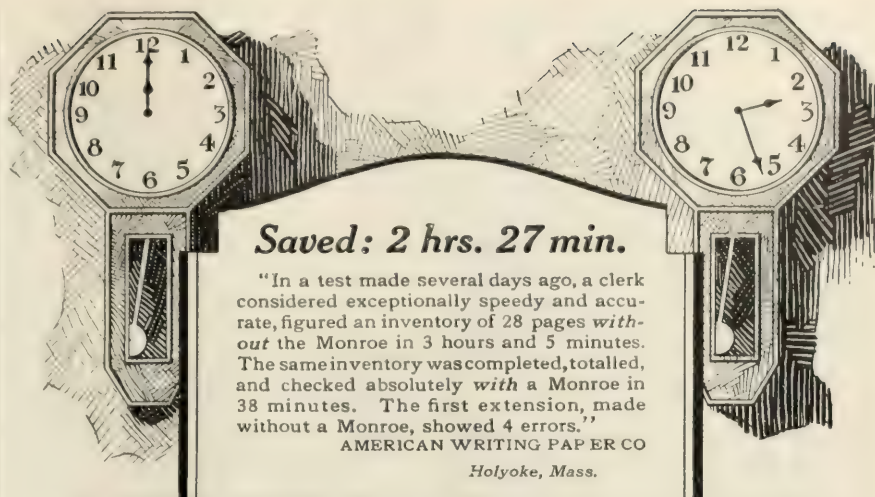
encroachment of the executive power was discussed. Evidently the idea which Harding has stressed in this campaign was very ripe in his mind then. Some of the sentences are almost the same as those he has recently used in criticizing President Wilson.

While Harding has been intensely loyal to the Republican party as an editor and otherwise, the editorials are not slavish in tone. There is a ring of sincerity to them. In this connection it is worth while to note that Harding's paper was not partizan in local matters, but seemed to make the burden of its message: 'Remember, gentlemen, that the issue, after all, is the welfare of the city of Marion. We may all have our opinions as to what is best to do and we may differ, but if we fight too bitterly we shall injure the thing we are fighting for.' The quotations are my own. I did not find any such sentiment in so many words, but such seems to have been the spirit of the policy of the *Star*.

There is a great deal of difference in the mission of a newspaper in a city the size of Marion and a city the size of Dayton. In the latter the press becomes a very effective weapon. In the smaller town Harding's policy is not only the wiser but it is the only policy which offers any hope of success, in my opinion. I do not think there can be any doubt about the fact that Harding has a deep love for Marion and for the Republican party. He is not of a belligerent turn of mind. He would be willing to engage in a factional fight if he thought it absolutely necessary, but his first instinct would be to act as peacemaker. I am told that he was busy trying to compose differences at the Republican convention when he was selected in conference as the man to be nominated. I cannot think of any role more natural for a man of his type than that of peacemaker, with a calm that could not be disturbed by the passions of the moment, with a serene faith that the difficulties really amounted to little compared to the purpose of the Republican party. Such also has been his attitude as an editor in Marion's local affairs.

It was a long time after Harding launched into his career as an editor before the *Star* was sound financially. Very patiently and very slowly Harding established a place for it in Marion before it even began to make much progress. Its very existence had to be justified before it could begin to grow. The situation in Dayton was decidedly different. Dayton really needed a newspaper and had needed one for a long time when Cox started there.

After Harding married, his wife helped him with his struggling newspaper. She was most active in the circulation department if it could be called a department of such a small business. Mrs. Harding is a woman of great energy and initiative. She is a "good business man." Mrs. Harding is slender, has a beautiful profile, and eyes that glow with intense interest during a conversation. The Senator and his wife are such inseparable com-



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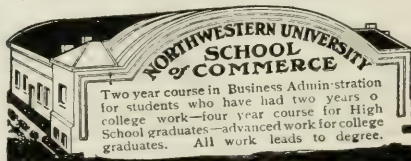
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panions that the people of Marion who have known them for many years usually speak of "the Hardings."

Quite aside from Marion's natural pride in having a presidential possibility within the corporate limits, the people there are very fond of the Hardings. Evidently this small town publisher has been a good neighbor and a model citizen. In walking about the streets of Marion I found Harding's picture in a window of nearly every building in the city, whether a business house or home. I saw only two Cox pictures. One was in the office of the opposition newspaper. One gets the impression that Marion is about 90 per cent for Harding. As he walks about the streets, usually in the company of some delegation, he waves his hand to people across the street or on their front porches in typical small town style. They wave back without paying any attention to the crowd accompanying their neighbor. They are used to it now. Harding is pre-eminently a good neighbor and a plain sort of man. Somehow I got the impression that the friendly greetings along the way meant more to him than the visiting delegations. He is a very modest, shy, somewhat diffident sort of man. I cannot avoid the feeling that he would be just as well pleased to go on with his newspaper business and not have to spend so much time away from home.

Harding has one of the most impressive countenances I have ever seen. The official campaign portraits of him are excellent likenesses. They do not—indeed, they could not—exaggerate the character so plainly written on that face. In repose, his expression is rather sad. He is a tall man, with a large head and large features. His is the face of a man who has worked hard, both with hands and brain, who has struggled every step of the way and has learned infinite patience, charity of judgment, mercy, and who has developed a magnificent character. There is a kindly twinkle in his eyes. He, like Cox, is an excellent story teller and loves a good story. When his face lights up with amusement it is really merry, but in repose he looks the part of statesman, thinker, the man who knows long years of incessant effort. He does not give the impression of even approximately the boundless energy of Cox, but rather of a man who would like to take things a little easier but for his inability to win the argument against a stern conscience. There is something Lincoln-esque about his expression; not that he resembles Lincoln, for he does not, but if some one were to tell me that he had walked five miles to take a customer his forgotten change, as Lincoln did, I would believe the story without the shadow of a doubt.

He, like Cox, has been able to keep his employees. There is a tradition around the office of the *Star* that when new men come to work in the editorial department they shall hear a brief lecture on the spirit of the institution. Harding has delivered that lecture a great many times, and now his managing editor carries on the tradition.



The lecture has been written, tho it was probably never delivered twice in exactly the same words. As it has been written it follows:

REMEMBER there are two sides to every question. Get them both.

BE truthful. Get the facts.

MISTAKES are inevitable, but strive for accuracy. I would rather have one story exactly right than a hundred half wrong.

BE decent, be fair, be generous.

BOOST—don't knock.

THERE's good in everybody. Bring out the good in everybody, and never needlessly hurt the feelings of anybody.

IN reporting a political gathering give the facts, tell the story as it is, not as you would like to have it. Treat all parties alike.

IF there's any politics to be played, we will play it in our editorial columns.

TREAT all religious matter reverently.

IF it can possibly be avoided never bring ignominy to an innocent woman or child in telling of the misdeeds or misfortunes of a relative. Don't wait to be asked, but do it without the asking. And, above all, be clean and never let a dirty word or suggestive story get into type.

I want this paper so conducted that it can go into any home without destroying the innocence of any child.

That creed and others closely similar to it are by no means uncommon in American newspaper offices. I have been familiar with such expressions as these since I was a cub reporter, but all newspapers do not live up to this creed very well. A close examination of the files of the *Star* reveals a very evident desire to live up to every word of that creed in the finest spirit.

One of the old timers in Marion told me an interesting story about "the Hardings." That was the term he used. He said that many years ago a plumber came to Marion when plumbers were more of a novelty than they are now and that Harding became acquainted with the plumber. He asked the plumber about his work and they struck up a friendship that lasted for some years. Eventually the plumber left Marion. Some years later the Hardings ran across him by accident in another city and learned that he was blind. They made sympathetic inquiry and discovered that his blindness could easily be cured by a simple operation. They immediately financed the operation, which resulted successfully. Nothing would ever have been known about it in Marion but for the fact that Mrs. Harding missed a reception which the townspeople had prepared for the Senator and herself. She thought courtesy required that she should be present when the operation was performed on the blind plumber. The old timer concluded his story by saying: "They've done lots of things like that." Perhaps this, in part, accounts for the fact that the business men of Marion bought pages and half pages by the dozen in Harding's newspaper to print Harding's picture, when he was nominated at Chicago. The *Star* very seldom makes any reference to Harding's political activities.

The fact that Mrs. Harding has played an important part in the suc-

cess of the *Star* seems to have given her husband the idea that there is room in a newspaper office for women. Three of the reporters on the *Star* are women. Two of the eight linotype operators are women. There are women in every office and every department of the newspaper. There are nearly as many women in the office of the *Star* as men.

**S**UMMING up my impressions of these two men I would say that each is in his own way a type of the more than ordinarily successful American newspaper man with both editorial and business ability—that each has been drawn into politics more because journalism and politics are such close neighbors in Ohio than because of any original intention to seek public office. Common sense and character are the most notable characteristics of each man. Leaving aside all questions of platform and party affiliation, and judging them simply as two editors, one of whom will soon be President of the United States, my personal feeling is that either one will make an excellent President. Neither has, so far as one can now judge, elements of greatness which show promise of linking them with the greatest American statesmen. But they both have those elements of sanity, common sense, appreciation of the ordinary life of the ordinary American, which all our greatest Presidents have had. They are of the people and close to the soil. There is nothing awe inspiring about either of them. I have not the slightest doubt that their equals exist by the thousands from Maine to California. I think they would be the first to assert vehemently that this statement is true and that they have been chosen by the turn of fortune's wheel in the great gamble of politics.

They are not the types of men I would expect to bring some great message to the American nation. It will astonish me if either of them makes a great issue in American public affairs by introducing some new thought. But each of them, none the less, has within him powers that will enable him to rise to greatness should the emergency present. They are plain men, conscious of their limitations, harboring no illusions of greatness. But such men have in times past made for themselves immortal fame when fortune willed them the crisis that made opportunity.

In looking over the files of the Marion *Star* I read an editorial in the issue of March 22, 1917, in which the assertion was made that "the cranks of the country" won the election of 1916, but that the nation would learn a lesson it would not soon forget, and that the nation would go back to plain old-fashioned Americans in 1920. We will omit the partizan reference to the present administration and pass comment only on the prediction: the sort of men the *Star* said in that editorial, published March 22, 1917, would be the choice of the people in 1920, Cox and Harding both are.

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"The Downward Drift of Christian Thought."

This will be supplemented by one from our Edinburgh correspondent, the Rev. W. Graham Scroggie, being a scholarly

"Review of Professor Peake's One-Volume Commentary."

showing its exceedingly dangerous character from a doctrinal point of view. Assuming it to have a wide reading, Mr. Scroggie says it will prove "a set-back to a true spiritual revival more than any other single volume of our time."

A New England pastor sends us a good working homily on

"Three Phrases Descriptive of the Christian Life."

The issue will also contain an unusual biographical study by Principal W. C. Stevens of Midland Bible School, Kansas City, on

"Noah, and What God Thought of Him."

We prefer to give our readers new and fresh matter each month, rather than reprints from old books and other publications, but occasionally such a reprint has a rare and present value, such as Professor Robert Dick Wilson's article on

What Does "The Sun Stood Still" Mean?

This appeared in the Princeton Theological Review about two years ago, and we have been awaiting a good opportunity to place it before our readers.

But the above is a small part of what we have in store, as manuscripts are already in our hands of articles and original reports of addresses by such Christian educators, Bible teachers, pastors and evangelists as the following: Principal T. R. O'Meara, Dean R. A. Torrey, Rev. W. H. Griffith Thomas, Rev. A. B. Winchester, Rev. Lewis Sperry Chafer, Rev. George E. Guille, Rev. Leon W. Tucker, Rev. A. E. Thompson, Rev. John Timothy Stone, Evangelist L. W. Munhall, Evangelist W. E. Biederwolf, Evangelist Charles Inglis and others.

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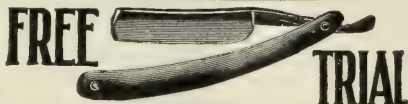
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THE INDEPENDENT, 311 Sixth Avenue, New York

**The Law and the Profits**

(Continued from page 234)

of persons willing to work and seeking work, but deprived of work because of the consideration of profits. In a word, profits will not continue to be the primary consideration in industry, whether private or "affected with a public interest," for all industry will be held to be charged with a public interest, as all industry necessarily is.

At Chicago a powerful group of big business magnates, assembled at the Blackstone Hotel to keep a hand on the Republican national convention, decided unanimously against the Kansas Industrial Court Act. At Montreal the American Federation of Labor also unanimously decided against it. I do not believe the Industrial Court Act is the solution of industrial unrest, but it has broken thru traditional industrial ideas in a revolutionary way, and it has extended the principle, beyond the line of public utilities, of the public interest or "cost of the service," as opposed to "value of the service," and in these respects it is in line with social evolution and ominous to industrial autocracy. It is another step taken in the slow progress of man in his human right to live and pursue his happiness, against the rights of private property.

Is the trend then toward state socialism? Is it if it is not properly directed. But the goal is not necessarily state socialism, and ought not to be.

During the war the state did assume a direct overlordship of industry, in order to shape it to certain desired ends. These, however, are not the ends of peace-time industry. The purpose of wartime direction is concentration of industry with a view to production of war supplies. The methods of war are not those of peace. We employ different methods, but we do not accept different principles in war than in peace. Principles remain the same, and the principle underlying the shifting to war methods of control of industrialism is the principle I have mentioned, that industry is a servant of the public and exists to produce and serve and not primarily for a profit, but profit is incidental, as in the case of railroads, to well conducted industry.

That such regulation of industry by law or by acceptance of the rule of rendering public service is not socialism is evident from the railroad status. When transportation was under Government operation the criticism directed upon it was that Government management was the negation of good management because of the absence of an incentive to initiative. But when the railroads were turned back to private operation, under Government control, there was a sigh of relief on the part of industrial leaders, because they recognized that the incentive to initiative and efficiency was not destroyed under the provisions of the Esch-Cummins Act. This incentive, of course, is profit. But in this case only a "reasonable" profit.

If in railroads a "reasonable" profit is a sufficient incentive to efficiency



and gives scope for full initiative, then so are "reasonable" profits in what are now regarded as clearly private industry a sufficient incentive, tho these profits may vary in different industries with the variable risk in them.

Roger Babson describes going into a great metropolitan bank, marching up and down before which were soldiers with rifles. "Everything was guarded as if this were the most sacred spot in America." It was not a home. On his way he happened to see a mother, a grandmother and several children being evicted from a home. "As I sat in my office later," he writes, "a vision came to my mind of the Bolshevik. For the first time I momentarily caught his point of view—that this Government is organized to protect property rather than people."

The remedy for profiteering is to convince industry, by force of law if necessary, that industry is not conducted first of all for profit, but as a public service, that employment and production are primary obligations that it must assume, and that it is a servant—not in any sense a master.

*Washington, D. C.*

## The League or Bolshevism? We Must Choose

*(Continued from page 235)*

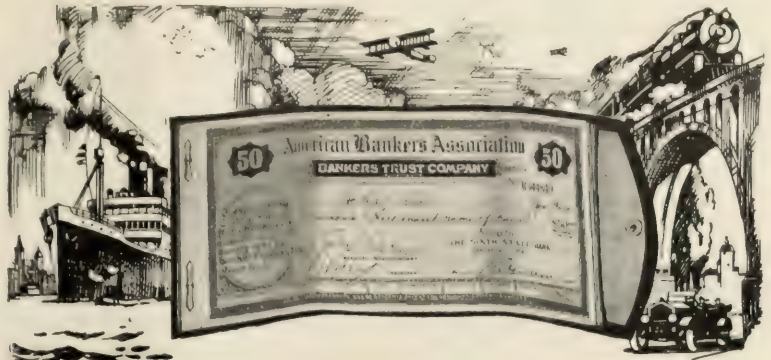
face with the internationalism of men who have taken things into their own hands.

In the United States we have, as yet, seen no marked tendency in this direction, but there is a lesson for us in the things that have come to pass in Europe. We can no longer ignore the fact that Russia's millions are thoroly committed to the communistic theory. France and Italy are coming increasingly under the control of socialistic ideas and socialistic leaders. No other leaders can long hold control in the existing state of public opinion in those countries. Germany has been reorganized into a socialistic nation of 75,000,000 souls. We are impressed with the growth of socialism in Great Britain and the adoption of socialistic ideas by British statesmen.

For this development in the nations of Europe, war and preparations for war, the burdens and the horrors of war are largely responsible. It spreads across frontiers as readily as trade and commerce and much more irresistibly. If war and war preparations are to continue to be the principal business and the chief expense of national government, we will not be immune from the development of socialism and Bolshevism on an impressive scale in the United States. It will not be confined as in the past to soap box oratory. It will seize the political power.

I repeat, therefore, that we are called upon to choose between the internationalism of a League of Nations, a society of states whose standards are mutual protection, with honor, justice, liberty and self-government, and the internationalism of the Bolshevik.

*Washington, D. C.*



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**THE INDEPENDENT**

311 Sixth Avenue

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**Don't Keep Your Eye on the Ball**

(Continued from page 238)

not difficult with a little practice to regulate it. Then one has, practically, the stroke that is Hary Vardon's staple shot. It has the merit, too, of being a most reliable stroke when one has acquired the knack.

There is still another matter of the greatest importance, wherein, by the way, all the greatest players of the world, including Braid Taylor and Vardon, mislead their readers. That is the management of one's weight during the swing.

The triumvirate are agreed that in addressing the ball one should have one's weight distributed equally between the two feet. They say that, "thereafter, during the upward swing, one must not move one's head nor hips; yet, they tell us that, by some inscrutable means, at the top of the swing the *weight goes on to the right leg*."

This is, of course, simply an impossibility. They do not even attempt to carry out in their own play what they say in their books. As a matter of fact, the weight in the swing *never goes on to the right leg*. It cannot do so if one follows the directions for the swing, but it is needless to encumber one's mind, in play, with countless things to remember. The secret of managing one's weight in the golf-stroke is to give half of it to each foot. It is impossible to improve on that idea; maintaining that idea, which connotes keeping one's head quite still during the drive, means that at the top of the swing there will be, if anything, a little more weight on the left foot than on the right.

Included in this question of weight is the old, old admonition about keeping one's eye on the ball, that has been done to death. Keeping one's eye on the ball would be useless unless one kept one's head steady. One might gaze steadfastly at the ball, but if one ducked one's head or lifted it, the stroke would be ruined, as many are. It is keeping one's head still that is important. As a matter of fact, the eye has fulfilled its function so long before it gets to the ball that *therein lies the great danger*. The eye desires to anticipate the flight of the ball, and one must fight against that tendency.

The young professional, Hayes of Newport, can drive a fine ball with his eyes shut and his face turned up to the sky. I have seen him do it repeatedly.

Vardon says, quite rightly, that, as one hits the ball, the head should come up and turn naturally. Unless it does so, one is apt to check the follow thru.

In the upward swing it is important to let the hands lead the body. In other words, do not let the body "get in front." The importance of this is seen in the downward swing which is the converse of the upward. James Sherlock says, and it has never been better expressed, that the club should be "picked up" and carried back a long way before the forearms begin to turn. After all, one of the most important

things in golf is to be perfectly natural. The more natural we are, the less we have to think of at the time we are making the stroke. There is really no time to think of anything except *hitting the ball*.

The downward swing starts before the upward swing is finished. This is a paradox, but it is very sound golf. The fact is that the body starts to return toward the ball before the club head has reached its lowest point in the upward swing. Look at the motion pictures of the famous players and you will see that, in nearly every case, at the top of the swing the driver sinks a little below the horizontal. Then look at their bodies and you will be surprised to see how much they have started to unwind before the club has started to return.

This statement is sure to be much debated, but it is true beyond doubt. As the hands lead the body back and away from the ball, so, conversely, does the body lead the hands back to the ball. So it will be seen that the body has started the downward stroke before the arms have finished the upward stroke. That is one of the secrets of the beautiful rhythm of the perfect golf stroke. There is no stopping, no jerking at the top of the swing; the upward stroke is insensibly merged in the downward stroke, so that the closest observer, even a camera at fifteen-hundredths of a second, cannot find anything disjointed in the movement.

Another bit of advice which is most woefully neglected by many teachers is that at the top of the swing one's wrists should be underneath the shaft. One must remember that, in the downward swing, altho the player wants to hit the ball, the throw or force of the club is *backward* (away from the hole) and *downward*, so one must be *underneath the shaft*. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of this much neglected principle.

There are many other important considerations, but these are the prime essentials in the drive, the stroke wherein all men—and women—most desire to excel. They are fundamental, and yet so simple that, once grasped, they are used subconsciously.

Take a concrete case to illustrate the point. We ought to give up the old and foolish idea that the left is the master-hand in golf. That has ruined more potential golfers than any other fetish of the games of fetishes. The truth is that the right is the master hand in golf. When one has got that into his head, one does not need to think of it any longer, for it is natural. One just does it, without any thought of allocating so much power to each hand, and the result is good, while it is fatal voluntarily to make the left hand interfere where it is not useful.

The secret of teaching golf is to impress upon the golfer that there are an amazing number of things which it is expedient, after one has addressed the ball, to *forget*.



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structure that will protect life and health from undue exposure to the elements.

WILLIS C. COOK, Republican National Committeeman from South Dakota—The Democrats nominated the wettest kind because he was the wettest kind and because all the wets wanted him and they made a wet platform in wet territory and a dry platform in dry territory.

## New Plays

*The Girl with the Carmine Lips.* Lipstick and slapstick farce; largely liquor and lingerie. (Punch and Judy Theater.)

*The Checkerboard.* A queer mixture of melodrama, farce and Russian dancers. Prettily staged. (Thirty-ninth Street Theater.)

*The Cave Girl.* by George Middleton. Clean and clever comedy; well written, well acted and well mounted. As sure a success as the author's "Adam and Eva" and "Polly with a Past." (Longacre Theater.)

*The Bat.* by Mary Roberts Rinehart and Avery Hopwood. A perfect play for the detective story habitué. It keeps the audience on edge with one exciting episode after another and leads skilfully to an altogether unexpected dénouement. May Vokes as "Lizzie" breaks the tension with some really funny comedy. (Morosco Theater.)

## Daisy to Her Father

DEAREST FATHER—I just never expect to get thru acknowledging all the wonderful and thoughtful things you do for me.

When the first issue of *The Independent* to which you subscribed came to me here at college, I thanked you, but entirely in the spirit of your thoughtfulness in seeing to it that I had plenty of reading matter at hand. It has only just this evening come to me, Daddy, that all the opinions I have "spouted" in the last two months that have gained me such a deliciously gratifying reputation as a young lady who is up on things, are the result of my reading *The Independent*.

But, Daddy, I'm afraid you have come a cropper in one respect; you're going to find me a most terrific debater on the questions of the day when I get back!

It used to embarrass me so when the boys talked of the situation in Russia, American political developments, communists and the other big topics of the day, but now, thanks to *The Independent*, I am the proud possessor of opinions on these and many other of the live topics of the day.

Think of it, Daddy, when Billy came down for the week end in his sizzling Stutz, I was able, while riding with him, to discourse quite authoritatively on the impetus that Uncle Sam has given the good roads movement by coöperating with our state governments in highway improvement!

Don't you tell Billy that I read *The Independent* every week, and whatever you do, Daddy, don't mail him a subscription. He thinks my knowledge of highway development is just wonderful.

With heaps of love,

DAISY

## Remarkable Remarks

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW—I am a Classic.

CONSTANCE BINNEY—I simply love raw eggs.

MADAME NAZIMOVA—No part of me is dead.

GOVERNOR COX—I am not tied to my front porch.

QUEEN MARIE OF RUMANIA—Smile when your head is aching.

LADY DUFF-GORDON—Immodesty in dress is ruinous to woman's charm.

DAVID W. GRIFFITH—A man's heart has much to do with his business deals.

REV. GEORGE CHALMERS RICHMOND—This world is not in love with Thee, Oh God.

ROY K. MOULTON—I never get tired of the beauties of Coney Island. I never go there.

COMMISSIONER WALLIS—The people who come here are neither beggars nor prisoners.

NEAL R. O'HARA—Now a question whether Lipton or Ponzi is the world's best loser.

H. G. WELLS—Women's vote has temporarily added to the forces of reaction in England.

KING ALFONSO—I am a Spaniard, which does not preclude me from loving you all equally.

W. L. GEORGE—The world belongs to men because to men love is not so important as to women.

CALVIN COOLIDGE—We must eternally smite the rock of public conscience if the waters of patriotism are to pour forth.

MICHAEL MONAHAN—To have nothing to say and to say it at all hazards, passes for much that is called achievement in literature.

DANIEL WILLARD—The recent increase in rates allowed to the railroads will have a tendency to reduce prices rather than increase them.

LADY ASTOR—Women's equality of moral courage is essential in public life to help the growth of better social and international relations.

GUGLIELMO FERRERO—Why has man no longer time to sleep when he can today produce in an hour what his fathers could not produce in a month?

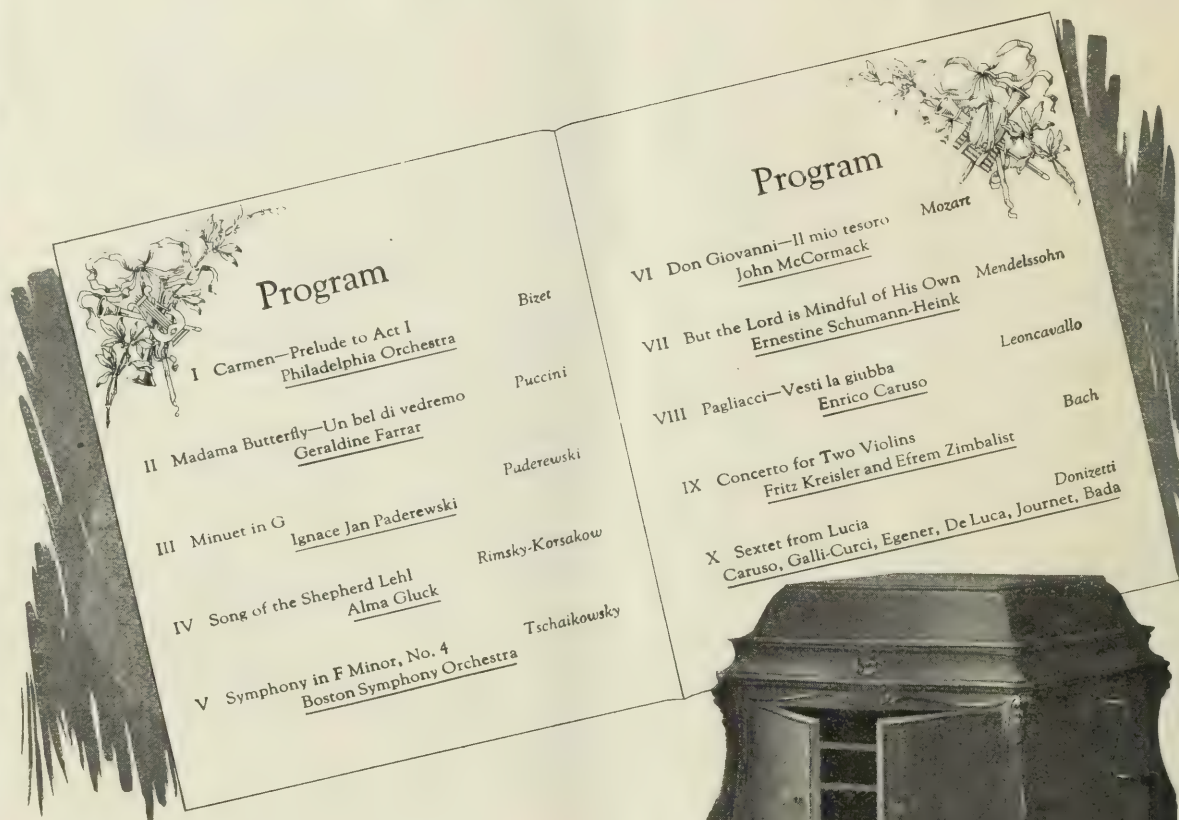
CHOLLY KNICKERBOCKER—I never could quite understand why the socially ambitious ones always select Southampton as a summer camping ground.

MISS FANNIE WOLFSON—There is no reason why romance stamped with the official O. K. of the U. S. A. should not be as attractive as any other kind.

F. L. MULFORD—The essentials of a good home are a man and woman resolved by their mutual efforts to make this world a better place in which to live, and a



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Camden, N. J.



# The Independent

September 4, 1920

## The Little Dots That Make the Mighty Map

By Chester T. Crowell

WHILE the villages of New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Massachusetts do not resemble those of Texas, they have an astonishing number of qualities in common. The points of dissimilarity are more in appearance than in the characteristics of the people. Villages in New England and New York are old. One sees at a glance that these substantial old structures have the charm of age. Usually the trees are beautiful, the streets are well paved and there is an indication of wealth. These villages give me the impression that they are populated by persons who are moderately wealthy and not very energetic but who are enjoying wholesome, healthy lives.

What might be fittingly termed a typical Texas village ought not to be more than twenty years old. Nearly all the structures would be of pine boards. Some of them lack paint altogether, while very few of them show new paint. One gets an impression of drab colors, weather dimmed circus posters on barns and billboards, very little paving, fences that lean drunkenly, ditches overgrown with rank weeds, impossible sidewalks, and a ridiculously large number of pitiful little pine box churches. A village of five thousand inhabitants may have as many as ten or twelve churches, all in debt, in need of paint or repairs, some of them lacking preachers. Texas villages generally are built around a central square which has some sort of public building, courthouse, postoffice, city hall or perhaps only a band stand. There are scores of sad-looking band stands in the central squares of Texas villages, and it is very rarely that one hears a band concert. About the only time the band stand is used is when someone makes a political address.

A characteristic of Eastern villages that impresses and pleases me is the uneven topography. In Texas we have an impression that a city lot should be as flat as a pancake. And the lots must all have perfect right angles. It had never occurred to me before I came East that a piece of ground of irregular shape had any value at all. Here I see half-moons and triangles beautified, and I observe quite a bit of more or less perpendicular scenery where the baby might fall out of the front yard and splatter on the sidewalk twenty feet below. In Texas most of us would regard such a piece of ground as valueless.

We also have a bias in favor of straight streets. I suppose that is because all our villages expect to be great cities. Not being certain just where Broadway

and Forty-second street may blossom, ample provision is made from the beginning. Small Texas villages will readily appropriate money to straighten a street.

On the whole Texas villages give more appearance of life than the villages I have seen in the Eastern states. There is an uncertain element about a Texas village that stirs the imagination. None is so securely anchored that it may not disappear. Scores of them have done so during the past twenty years. Usually the reason is difficult to find. You ask and someone naively explains: "Everyone just moved away." And that is all there is to it. On the other hand, a Texas village may take a notion to grow into a wonderful little city or even a big city. Temple, Texas, when I first knew it was merely a wide place in the road. Fifteen years have passed and now it is one of the best constructed small cities in the Southwest. Waco, Texas, was a village for many years, now it is a city and making wonderful strides. Farther down in Southwest Texas many small cities have grown up where some enterprising real estate agent turned a pasture into city lots, sold them, and opened a bank, a cotton gin and a country store. Other ventures of the same sort disappeared within a few years. Texas villages are a good gamble. You cannot lose much and you may strike it rich. If the people who have so generously bought Texas oil stock had bought Texas city lots, I venture to say that not one per cent. of them would show a loss. Of the others, nearly all would double their money within three years.

That aspect of the village does not seem to exist in the East. I get the impression that most Eastern villages have been about the same size for a quarter of a century. Kingston, New York, is one of the most beautiful communities on this continent. In Massachusetts I have seen many beautiful villages.

I know that people in the East think Texas villages are "wild and woolly" places, infested by romantic cowboys, but it is not true. Out in the cattle country of Western Texas most of the villages have never had a saloon. Such cities as Abilene, Amarillo and El Paso were wild and woolly villages thirty years ago. Since that time the West has gone dry under local option laws and most of the prosperous villages of the cattle country have been established since prohibition. In the old days out there, village life was very picturesque and very happy. Without moving picture shows the people invented their own entertainment. They had dances, horse races, foot races, all sorts of athletic contests including "stunts" in horseback riding too intricate to describe



in the limits of such an article as this. They had a distinctive and characteristic life which had developed quite naturally because they were a bright, active and isolated people. Today they are entertained by aged films that are blurred and flicker. The ministers howl about dancing so that about fifty per cent. of the population bitterly opposes it, making those who participate feel like criminals. Little groups that gather for cards and dominoes in the parlor in the evening quite often pull down the shades. What, then, is the life of a Texas village today? There isn't any. That is the plain truth of the matter. There simply isn't any. Those people are starved for decent entertainment. I have seen them gather by the thousands on the occasion of a political speech simply because they yearned for a reunion. When I went thru rural Texas in 1918 with a train carrying captured German war implements and selling Liberty bonds, people came fifty miles to be in the crowd and buy pink lemonade and swap yarns and eat ham sandwiches and try to talk above the howls of the sunburned infants.

I hope Eastern villages are not so devoid of life. I am inclined to think they do not suffer quite such utter boredom, but I was not able to find just what their life consists of.

Some of the most delightful villages in the world are in New Jersey, but they are really suburbs of Greater New York. They are not in the truest sense villages and ought not to be compared with Texas villages. Still I feel like saying in passing that New Jersey probably has the loveliest villages there are. One reason is that the people in them are not all small town people.

IT is difficult to understand just why small town people think they are so virtuous and honest as compared to the people of the larger cities. In any small town one meets the shrewd skinflint whose piety is part of his stock in trade. He uses his church affiliation to sell things to trusting women of the congregation or to equally trusting men. One finds the fellow who assures you that what he offers is absolutely all right because he knew your father and mother when they were children and he would rather God would strike him dead than to permit him to cheat you. He puts the whole deal on a sort of family friendship or religious basis, placing you at a severe disadvantage in making the necessary inquiry from a business point of view. But the type of small town man I am talking about would cheat you out of the filling in your teeth if he can "put it over." Somehow it has always seemed to me that the typical city scoundrel who flashes a roll of bills and diamonds and orders extravagant meals is much more honest. His game is to excite your cupidity. He tries to make you start after his money and then he gets yours. Unless you have a certain elasticity of scruple or absolutely lack honesty, you are entirely safe from the big, red faced, fat man who tells you "there's millions in it." The small town fellow either sells you the balky horse or the sick cow or the homestead with the uncertain title or he makes you feel that somehow you have done grave injury to a loving old soul who spent a large part of his life caring for your father and mother and helping to pay the mortgage on the church where they were married.

When I get to hell I am going to get so much pleasure out of meeting all those fellows that the sulphur fire will scarcely annoy me. I may not even notice it. Those fellows will come from villages everywhere.

Then there is the village cross-examiner who wants to know what you are doing in town and where you come from and how much you earn and where you are stopping and what you pay for your room and are you married and why didn't you bring your wife along. These pests are in every village in Texas. But I met one in Newburgh, New York, and another in Amenia, New York, and another in a village in New Jersey, so I take it for granted that they are everywhere. I have often wondered why someone doesn't smash their noses. I have often wondered why I didn't. One comes to the town for a definite purpose, however, and usually

expects to leave soon. It is easier to answer questions about yourself, if you have nothing to conceal, than it is to explain why you smashed someone's nose. Moreover, one can never be sure that this is not a reverse-English idea of hospitality. In Western Texas I know it is. There, some villager will cross-examine you until you think he is

the sheriff and you are about to be mistaken for a fugitive from justice. About the time you reach for your documentary proof of identity, he offers to carry your suitcase to the hotel for you and perhaps volunteers useful information that may save you time and trouble. I try to feel appreciation but I don't. I cordially hate such people. They are one of the reasons why boys leave home. They are the reason why so many millions of people will pay outrageous rents for two or three little square holes in a mountain of brick on Manhattan with permission to die without being noticed by the neighbors rather than have a real house with a yard around it for half as much money.

Eastern villages contain hundreds of thousands of persons who have not been to the nearest city for twelve months. I cannot understand that. In Texas people pay very little attention to distances. As a boy I have often gone one hundred miles on the train to spend an afternoon with a girl I liked. Many times I have made a trip of 200 miles to have dinner and chat with a little group of friends. Persons who like to drive automobiles make trips of one hundred to three hundred miles in Texas without regarding the adventure any more seriously than a trip to the post-office. Texas roads are not nearly so good as Eastern roads, either.

But there is one impression I have of villages wherever I find them that will make all of them seem alike to me until that characteristic changes. They always know what is wrong and they don't know how to throw their hats in the air and cheer. Cities cheer. They love the game. Success is what they want. They are not money mad. A person who is money mad is the last man on earth who can make money. If the bankers and brokers, who villagers think have horns, were money mad they wouldn't send strange messenger boys around town with thousands of dollars wadded into cotton sacks. They would be afraid the boys might steal it. But they are playing a game they like and it never occurs to them that anyone would break the rules any more than a baseball [Continued on page 288]

### Do You Want to Talk Back?

Very possibly you will disagree with Mr. Crowell's estimate of American villages. If so, speak up! Put your retort on paper before it has time to cool off and send it in to us — not more than 200 words — and we'll hold a town meeting in the columns of *The Independent* to present the inside viewpoint of small town life.



# Are We Downhearted? No!

A Message from the British Nation to the American People

By The Rt. Hon. C. A. McCurdy, K. C., M. P.

Food Controller of Great Britain

ON the whole we are getting over the troubles of the war very well. The financial recovery of the United Kingdom has been more rapid than anyone would have ventured to hope for eighteen months ago. We have much to be thankful for. Never were the industrial classes enjoying more material prosperity than they are enjoying at the present time. The rise in wages that has followed the war has been of the most substantial and startling character. During the first twelve years of this century—the twelve years before the war—wages in this country rose a little more than one per cent. In 1912 the earnings of employed manual wage earners in the United Kingdom were as follows: The average earnings of 8,700,000 men were £15.9 per week. The average earnings of 4,600,000 women were 10/7 per week. The national income was estimated at something under £2,000,000,000. The total wages bill of workers of both sexes was estimated at £740,000,000. I cannot say what the total wages bill is today. It grew enormously during the war and I can say that since the armistice there has been a further increase of something like £500,000,000 to the annual wages of British workers. In many industries wages have been more than trebled since 1912, and altho the increased cost of living should heavily discount the material advantages to be derived from the rise in the wages level, the actual advantages enjoyed by the workers, the increased comforts which they enjoy are obvious to every observer.

On the other hand there is an abundance of electricity in the political atmosphere. Side by side with continuous new demands for further increases in wages come demands for economic or political changes in the structure of the British constitution, which if persisted in must ultimately lead to direct conflict more or less violent between labor and the rest of the community. We are bothered by the Socialists and the syndicalists whom no increase of wages or division of profits will satisfy as long as the capitalist foundations upon which British industry has been built up are allowed to remain, the revolutionaries who desire to substitute Soviet government—whatever that may mean—for the British constitution, and the Direct Actionists, who keep on issuing their ultimata as to the

foreign policy to be pursued by the British Cabinet under penalty of a general strike if their edicts are not obeyed.

The Bolsheviks of Great Britain are very active just now. At a conference recently held in London a British Communist Party was formally added to our other political parties.

Membership is limited to those who stand for the dictatorship of the working class for the Soviet system, and for support of the Third International.

It is a real revolutionary party, out, as one of the speakers said, to demonstrate "the historic and revolutionary value of a gun in the hands of the working man."

Straight talk of this kind has no attractions for the average British working man.

What attracts and mystifies him is a vague conception of Bolshevism as some sort of democracy where the people have come into their own. He knows nothing about the Third International and desires none of the heavy civil war which Lenin recommends to his followers in this country.

But he believes in Bolshevism as he believed in Bombadier Wells. He has had the tip to put his money on Bolshevism as the latest and best thing in democracy, and he means to back Bolshevism against the Poles, or against Mr. Churchill, or against the League of Nations itself.

The love of the British working man for Lenin and Trotzky is not an intellectual or Platonic affection, based on any appreciation of their moral qualities or political virtues.

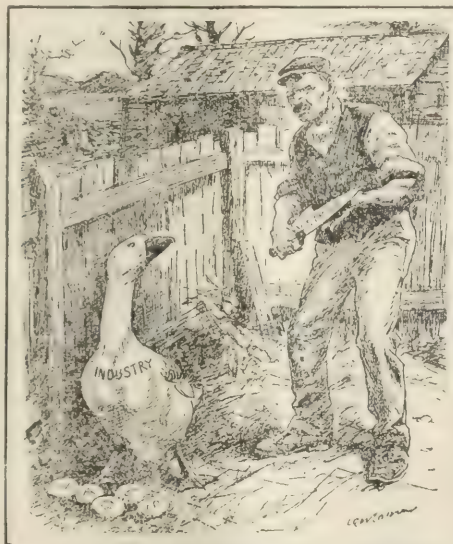
Bolshevism is merely a banner with a strange device which the labor party have adopted like the young man in "Excelsior," as one of their party banners.

*Bolshevism, Nationalization of Industries and Direct Action* are the flags, the oriflammes, under which British labor means to go into action against the Coalition Government when the day comes.

The question of most interest is when that day will arrive.

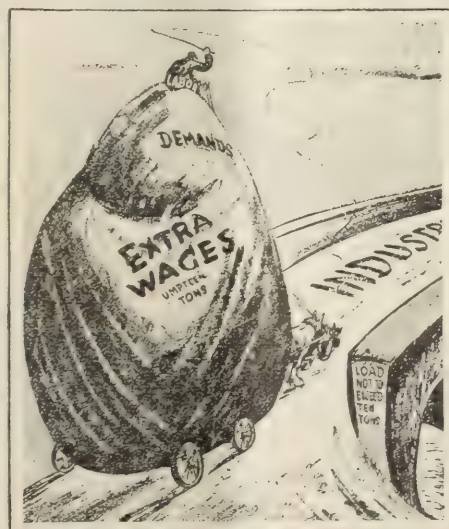
If we could believe everything we are told we might expect the general strike and the commencement of the "heavy civil war" with some confidence in the coming autumn.

At the Trade Union Congress held in London on July 12, 1920, a resolution was carried by a card vote of [Continued on page 292



London Punch

The goose that lays the golden eggs: "Have you realized, my good sir, that if you proceed to extremities with that weapon my auriferous activities must inevitably cease?"



Manchester Sunday Chronicle

Taking the consequences, or what happens to the driver who uses the whip and tries to carry extra weight over the bridge once too often?



# The Steel Strike Teaches Us—

Three articles in which a member of the Interchurch Investigating Committee, a prominent manufacturer, and a clergyman point out some important aspects of the Interchurch Commission's report on the steel strike

## "An Industry Drifting Towards Unrestricted Warfare"

By George W. Coleman

Member of the Interchurch Commission to investigate the steel strike, former president of the Associated Advertising Clubs of America, author of "Democracy in the Making"

**J**UST before the publication of the report on the steel strike by the independent commission appointed by the Interchurch World Movement it was declared with emphasis by one group of insiders that the publication of this report would kill the Interchurch. Another group of onlookers were quite certain that such action would mean the rehabilitation of the organization. Apparently there was not a son of a prophet among them on either side. The gripping truth of the matter is that the report will stand on its own legs, gather its own momentum and register on its own merits.

Already this report of 90,000 words, still fresh from the bindery, is making its own fame. The press thruout the country, daily and weekly, has accorded it marked attention. On July 28, the date the report was released, it was given 2000 columns of newspaper space in the press of the country. The *New York World* and the *New York Tribune* declare that the findings of the commission have already been given more newspaper attention than any sim-

ilar report of the past fifty years. Nearly all the editorial comment was such as to leave in the reader's mind an impression favorable to the report.

A real investigation of a strike in a major industry, involving three hundred thousand workers and hundreds of millions of capital, spread over several states and continuing for months, is no small task for anyone. Never before has a body of church men been entrusted with such a responsibility.

The first outstanding fact in the situation is that the commission came thru the ordeal solidly united in a unanimous verdict that faces the facts, weighs the evidence and applies the moral law categorically, without

evasion or subterfuge. The eight men and one woman composing the commission had never worked together before as a body and were in considerable part strangers to one another. They came from different denominations and from various parts of the country and included both the clergy and the laity. Every member is an individual representing in himself or herself a wide constituency of well-

Employees of the United States Steel Corporation announcing their strike last fall

© International



But how about the people in the street?

Thomas in *Detroit News*





meaning, responsible American people of religious mind who would have confidence in the findings of said individual. In the midst of our present-day maze of confusion and divisiveness of interest which prevails more or less in every camp, it is of the utmost significance that these widely separated individuals could present unanimously so explicit and detailed a report on so controversial a subject.

Another matter of peculiar interest which has been largely overlooked is the confidence bestowed by labor upon a body of church people in the midst of a great strike involving the workers economic existence. Notwithstanding Judge Gary's instructions to the subsidiary steel companies granting the commission an open door for its investigations, there was a good deal of material in their possession of value to the commission which was not forthcoming. On the other hand, the labor organization welcomed us to their innermost circles and gave us the right of way wherever we wanted to go.

On the day after Thanksgiving, in the New York office of our commission, Mr. William Z. Fitzpatrick, one



© Underwood & Underwood

That working hours were unfairly augmented was one of the grievances for which the steel workers struck—this long waiting in line for pay outside hours, for instance, is one of the many minor complaints

of the two generals leading the strike, himself a sincere Roman Catholic, speaking on behalf of the strikers, the preponderating portion of whom were Greek or Roman Catholics, asked our commission, a body of Protestant churchmen exclusively, to present the case of the strikers to the Steel Corporation, agreeing to abide by our advice, whatever it might be. That is the first time, so far as I know, that labor has ever entrusted so much to representatives of the church. Of course we could not refuse such a request. And of course Judge Gary would not listen to us on such an errand. Nothing came of it. But it was an illuminating incident nevertheless. It is commonly said

that labor distrusts the church and regards it as a class institution. Actions speak louder than words.

Very few people, relatively speaking, will read, in full, the report, which is a volume in itself. But, on the other hand, very few people will fail to learn that a weighty pronouncement has been made against the twelve-hour day and the seven-day week as inhuman and un-American. It will also be made clear that the Steel Corporation with its great [Continued on page 290

# Shall Labor Get Complete Control?

By Charles Piez

President of the Link-Belt Company, former Director-General of the Emergency Fleet Corporation, former chairman of the Illinois Workmen's Compensation Commission

**I**N the limited time at my disposal I was unable to secure a copy of the steel strike report presented by the independent commission appointed by the Interchurch World Movement, and such knowledge as I have of this report is gleaned from Mr. Coleman's article appearing in this same issue. The article, however, develops the salient points of the report sufficiently indicate the weaknesses of the report when judged from the standpoint of an industrial manager.

Mr. Coleman and the other members of the Commission made the primary mistake in concluding that the strike "was waged wholly in the cause of hours, wages and control of jobs and over the manner in which all these matters were determined," and I am afraid that this primary error resulted in a train of erroneous conclusions. To those of us who have spent the last two years on the industrial firing line, the steel strike was but one of a series of broad, industrial disturbances that were deliberately designed to wrest the control of industry from its owners, and place it in the hands of the radical element of organized labor.

These disturbances began with the strike of the shipyard workers in January, 1919. In this case the men, under exceedingly unwise and intemperate leadership went on a strike in defiance of an agreement solemnly entered into with the Emergency Fleet Corporation, an arm of the Federal Government. The agreement had but nine weeks to run to expiration, yet so intolerant and arbitrary was the leadership, that the

plants in the entire Puget Sound district were shut down without giving the men concerned an opportunity to express themselves on so vital a matter, thru a fair referendum.

I was at that time Director General of the Fleet Corporation, and know that there was no question of hours or conditions involved. The Government had spent millions in safeguarding the workers, in adding to their comfort, in providing them with a voice in matters affecting their interests, and had organized with the sanction and coöperation of the men, a tribunal, on which the Government, the men, and the public had representation, to decide all questions of hours, wages and conditions. Every one of the conditions which Mr. Coleman and his committee contend for had been properly met, but the men struck against the Federal Government in the face of the agreement. And what is more, organized labor in the Seattle district surrendered to radical leadership and organized the strike to force the hands of the Government.

The propaganda issued by the reds during and previous to that disturbance, the utterances of the leaders of the general strike, a majority of whom were aliens, rather leads to the conclusion that the strike had its origin, not in a question of hours, wages and conditions, but in a purpose to secure control of industry in the Puget Sound district. Only the courage of Seattle's executive stood in the way.

The spirit of unrest which followed the armistice



lent a fertile field for the demagogue and the paid agitator. Any statement, no matter how wild and unfounded that labor was being exploited, that labor alone produced wealth, and that industry's profits were swollen far beyond the fair and reasonable limits, found a ready audience and general credence.

Very few wage contracts survived the onslaughts which the general dissemination of such misinformation brought about, and employers generally feel today that a labor contract is observed only so long as it is to labor's advantage to do so.

Will not Mr. Coleman admit that the failure on the part of labor to observe its contracts to the letter is a fatal barrier to the spread of collective bargaining, and will he not further admit that until labor accepts responsibility for the breach of labor contracts, it

should forfeit public sympathy? If the breach of a contract were an occasional offense condemned by labor generally, we might pass it over as an exception, but when the national organization of labor condones, rather than condemns, such an evasion of contractual responsibility, then why build any hope on a lasting settlement of labor difficulties thru collective bargaining.

In inquiring into the steel strike, would it not be wise to measure its purpose by the character of its leaders? William Z. Foster, one of the two leaders, is an avowed Syndicalist, who has publicly announced that "the wage system is the most brazen and gigantic robbery ever perpetrated since the world began." John Fitzpatrick, the other leader, is a man who was violently opposed to the passage of any [Continued on page 289]

# The Duty of the Church

By Shailer Mathews

Dean of the University of Chicago Divinity School,  
Director of the religious work at Chautauqua Institution

THE special commission appointed by the Department of Industrial Relations of the Interchurch World Movement has made its report on the steel strike. Considerable attention has been given such parts of the report that have been published and it bids fair to become something of a storm center. Already the press devoted to anti-labor propaganda has begun to attack it as well as some of the individuals concerned with it. The main object of these attacks is to discredit the findings on the ground that they represent radicalism within the Interchurch World Movement and the Federal Council. How far such criticism is really justified is a question of fact. How far these criticisms are propaganda is also a question of fact. In one of the criticisms, the radical point of view of one of the investigators is argued because he holds "that the teaching of Jesus Christ should be brought into the industrial field and that the cardinal principle set forth in the Sermon on the Mount should be injected by the churches into industrial relations." If that be radi-

calism, a good many of us are not afraid of it! Whatever else can be said of the report, one thing is clear: it challenges the trustworthiness of our news gathering agencies. The press of the country emphasized the radical and revolutionary purposes on the part of the leaders of the steel strike. The report finds evidence of no such purposes, but sees in the strike an orthodox labor union attempt to improve the conditions of the working man, reduce his hours of labor and win recognition of some type of collective bargaining. This estimate will certainly require strong evidence if public opinion is to be converted.

The report also suggests the question as to how far it is the business of church organizations to investigate industrial affairs. There is bound to be a difference of opinion here. Men who earnestly agree that Christian principles must be applied to social affairs are not agreed that it is wise for religious bodies to investigate and report on strikes. Some limits to pronouncements are obvious. The churches are [Continued on page 291]



Underwood & Underwood

Inside one of the foundries, where work is hot and hard and indescribably dirty



# Your 650,000 Servants

A Message from the United States Government to the American People

By Herbert E. Morgan

United States Civil Service Commission

**E**ACH work day 45,000,000 American men, women, and children go forth to earn a living for themselves and their dependents. Of this vast army of bread-winners, approximately 650,000 are employed in the offices, laboratories and workshops of the United States Government.

At the height of the war expansion about 850,000 civilian employees were considered necessary to keep the machinery of government in motion. Further reductions are to be expected, but it is certain that the pre-war figure of less than 500,000 never again will be reached.

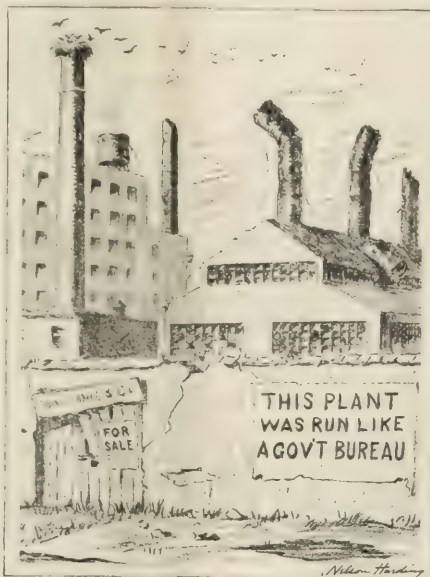
All of these Government employees, Mr. Businessman and Mrs. Housewife, are just as much your servants as the clerk in your shop or office or the maid in your home. You pay their wages and it is your right and duty to see that they return in service dollar for dollar for what they receive. It is no less your duty to see that they have just compensation for the service that they render you.

Your federal civil servants are constantly striving to increase and improve the output of your farms. They are bringing new seeds and plants to America from all parts of the world and endeavoring to grow them profitably in American soil. They keep a watchful eye on the food you eat, that it may be free from poisons and adulteration, and safeguard your health in a hundred other ways. They collect your letters and packages from a mail-box in New York City and deliver them at the road-gate on your ranch in California. They mint the coin and print the paper money you use in the transaction of your daily business. They count you and your neighbors periodically. They dig canals and make ice cream. They build battleships and study the habits of bugs. They burrow into the ground and fly into the air in search of scientific knowledge for your benefit. They do ten thousand things that affect the life of every citizen and that are accepted as a matter of course, with little thought as to how they are done or what the bills amount to.

It costs you considerably more than half a billion dollars a year to pay off your help. That, surely, is a good reason why you should interest yourself in the kind of men and women you employ, the conditions under which they work, and the manner of their working.

There is no denying the fact that the civil service of the United States today is not 100 per cent efficient. The fault, however, is not with the employees themselves; it lies in conditions over which the workers have no control.

Under the civil service law of 1883 a good system of competitive examinations and appointments on merit has been built up for the classes of positions covered



Harding in Brooklyn Daily Eagle

As Mark Twain said of the news of his own death, "This is slightly exaggerated. But let it remind you, Mr. and Mrs. Voter, that Uncle Sam's business is your own. It's up to you to see that it is run right

by the law. But beyond certification by the Civil Service Commission for appointment of those applicants who are proved by examination to be eligible the merit system is not fully operative even in connection with the positions to which it applies. Haphazard practices in assignments of work and in promotions, over which no central authority has jurisdiction, have brought about inequalities which are discouraging to the workers. This condition and the relatively low salaries paid by the Government cause a "turnover" in Government forces that could not long be withstood by a private business. At the time of this writing many branches of the public service are sorely depleted as to personnel because of competition with private employers. This is true especially of the technical and scientific forces. Uncle Sam is wrestling with the servant problem on a large scale.

Furthermore, our administrative system presents the anomaly of filling certain inferior positions through the test of merit under the civil service law and excluding from the scheme thousands of higher offices, which should stand as a reward for meritorious service but which, in fact, are often held as payment for service to the political party in power.

A situation such as this cannot fail to produce apathy in the ranks. Indeed, the wonder is that so many capable men and women spend their lives in the service of the Government under conditions as they exist today.

A fundamental difference between the business of the Government and that of a private enterprise is that the Government business does not aim at profits. The making of money for his employer is the ultimate test of the worth of an employee in private business. The expectation of reward for results produced serves as a spur to effort. The test of money profits is lacking in the Government service, but the incentive to work need not be. There is a way to establish real efficiency in the public service and that is by so improving conditions that employment by the Government may be regarded as a career earnestly to be sought; by establishing a real merit system which promises reward for work well done, dismissal for failure.

How can this be brought about?

First, there must be a reorganization of the Government departments and offices with a view to preventing duplication of work. Representative Good, chairman of the appropriations committee of the House, has said:

Today duplication in the Government service abounds on every hand. For example, eight different departments of the Government, with large overhead organizations, are engaged in engineering work in navigation, irrigation and drainage; eleven different bureaus are engaged in engineering research; twelve different [Continued on page 286



# The Democratic Candidate

A Debate by Talcott Williams and Norman Hapgood

## How Big Is Cox?

By Talcott Williams

JAMES M. Cox, in seven weeks, has forced the League and the Covenant on the country exactly as President Wilson did a year ago when he started on his disastrous tour. The President's object was to break down the Senate. Instead he split his own party vote in the Senate and public opinion did not rally to his support. When the war had just closed it was possible and wise to try to force the League thru without analysis or discussion. This is no longer possible. Exactly as President Wilson led the country to begin asking just what the League would require of the United States and halted the movement for its ratification, so the naked issue of the League by Governor Cox will force a like challenge. The Democratic candidate, as far as his record and equipment goes, has not proved equal to defensive analysis of the League. His letter of acceptance and his brief episodic speeches have not revealed the capacity for arguing out the working of the League and making it perfectly clear that the President has not too much power under the Covenant.

This direct challenge has had this great advantage. It has brought to his support two newspapers widely known, the Springfield (Massachusetts) *Republican* and the New York *Evening Post*. The circulation of the two papers, perhaps 50,000 to 60,000 together, is not large, but their position as independent journals undoubtedly awakens a wide range of independent voters over the country to the support of Cox and the League. The weight of the New York *Evening Post* is undoubtedly diminished by the circumstance that Mr. Thomas W. Lamont, its owner, is a partner in J. Pierpont Morgan & Company, the great international bankers. Mr. Lamont has done all that an honorable man could do to give its able editor, Mr. Edwin F. Gay, complete control; but facts have their weight. With these papers, various independent Republicans have come to the support of Cox and the League. This all counts. A bolting league of Cox independents is talked of.

It is necessary for both parties to show just how the League will work. This need for explanation comes at the very time when in England, France and Italy men are demanding that opinion, labor action or the power of the national legislatures, all and several, shall pass on every step such as a League might order.

The great mass of voters will not swallow the League with Article X, whole, unexplained, because of appeals to war emotion and the "great heart of the world." Can Cox make such argued explanation as is needed? He shows no signs of this and he is revealing himself as a man who urges without arguing. Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt has made the sad blunder of saying we hold the votes of Santo Domingo, Hayti and Nicaragua, with other states in the League. This is not a nice thing to say and it is not true, if we are truthful in our declaration that our present control is temporary, solely to develop these small lands so that they can vote for themselves. Mr. Cox has not, in the past, argued things out. Senator Harding has a definite plan for taking the existing League and Covenant, opening negotiations, laying American objections before the leading foreign powers, securing their consent, and getting the League changed by mutual compromise, concession and consent, as was our

Constitution, so that European countries, both parties in the Senate and the American people as a whole will be satisfied.

Governor Cox wants the League unchanged. This is natural. He is a good man; but he has always gone with his party and his newspapers have acted with the state party machine. He was early trained in the newspaper methods of the Cincinnati *Enquirer*, methods effective but not always respected. These methods do not train a man for a constitutional argument. Governor Cox is snappy, impulsive, with a quick temper, not always under control in public or in private life. Senator Harding is deliberate, a party man, careful, conscientious, and a man of judgment and consideration. He seeks advice. At Washington, in personal conversation, he made no secret of the fact that by getting the advice of a group of able constitutional lawyers, the Covenant could be made both safe and effective. Senator Elihu Root's trip to Europe for the organization of a court, more effective than that of the Covenant, will offer the Republican candidate information and advice of which he will undoubtedly take advantage. All the European countries are ready for compromise.

This will bring up issues for which so far Governor Cox has not revealed himself equipped. He takes the League unchanged with only interpretative amendments. His reforms were isolated—widows' pensions, almshouses, prison improvement. These were all good, but led nowhere.

Long as the Cox letter of acceptance is, nothing opens a general policy. Under the League we could be called on to aid Poland in her extremity. Everyone knows the country would not hear to this. Mr. Cox ventures no opinion. He does not speak on Armenia, tho it is plain as day that the country is opposed to a mandate. He feebly sees the weight of income and profit taxes. He proposes a tax on all sales. He does not see that under such a tax—to take the iron and steel trade—that the Steel Trust (United States Steel Corporation), which goes from the ore to finished products, would pay only one tax. In the case of "independent" companies which turn ore into Bessemer, which in turn goes to a company which turns pig into steel and this into shapes and bars, each step being done by a separate corporation, a tax would fall at each stage, a heavy handicap. His Ohio budget scheme he could not enforce. In Congress he created no impression, for all an anecdote or two to the contrary. So far Cox has been rather striking in his speeches, but shallow. He has thought out little he has proposed.

Passing from the League, the letter of acceptance is mushy. On labor issues he is vague and dangerous. What does "the writ of injunction should not be abused" mean except evasion? For prices and profiteering he proposes "modernizing local market facilities." Can anyone put that into a policy or a statute? Or this proposal for profiteers: "Compelling these exceptions to the great mass of square-dealing American business men to use the same yard-stick of honesty that governs most of us . . ." or "suffer the penalty of criminal law." Either this means what all experience shows impossible, reducing prices by statutory penalties, or it means nothing.

"It is the duty of the Federal Government to stimulate



the work of Americanization." This is bunk. The Federal Treasury ought, as the Republican platform and candidate proposes, to aid the state in education. Cox wants it "to inventory the possibilities of progress legislation," mindful doubtless of southern jealousy of the education of the negro.

This great racial question he never mentions. No condemnation of lynching for him. Schools for the poor mountain white and ignorant, but not for the negro. His election cannot take place except thru the suppression of the negro vote. He is not even aware that some two-thirds of the increase in farm tenancy is due to negroes buying lands. For their aid he has no word. Duties to the oppressed he can see abroad, not at home. Federal expenditure should be "a maximum of \$4,000,000,000 a year." How, for what purpose, on what distribution? Not a word. The income tax has no comment. He avoids the tariff. The paragraphs on the Federal Reserve Bank are "hot air" and incredibly ignorant. Look at the present deadlock in credits, the exorbitant profits of the Reserve Banks, the suspension in banking accommodations to commercial needs, canceled orders and universal anxiety. Cold storage regulation and irrigation are commonplaces. An ocean route via the St. Lawrence on foreign territory is proposed when no more money would open the Erie to ocean vessels of the new economical type.

This plea for the League as it is and these random suggestions do not constitute a fit or effective program for a President-to-be. The United States is a vast going concern which calls for judgment, prudence and the capacity both for taking advice and seeing the problem as a whole. Men once predicted that showy men, swift to conclusions and careless of argument, would appeal to the people for President. This is not the record of our history. Worst of all, the leadership of southerners in Congress, the heavy taxes laid on northern states, reckless administration in railroads, current commercial anxiety, extravagant expenditures grow on a public environed by many perils. Do we want the past seven years continued?

## Cox and His Record

By Norman Hapgood

IT is not up to me to prove Governor Cox a great man. His power of growth in the Presidency will determine his size. So far we only know that he has been a successful and progressive Governor three times in a Republican state; that he has carried out the many reforms he has planned; that he spoke clearly on the League of Nations long before he was nominated and is speaking clearly now; that he stood for industrial freedom even in wartime, so that workingmen from Pennsylvania and West Virginia had to go over into Ohio in order to consult together about how they could deal on something like equal terms with the steel companies and the other vast aggregations of capital which are just as much the bosses of Penrose, Lodge, Smoot, and Brandegee as these gentlemen are the admitted bosses of Senator Harding.

I would like to add a word to what Dr. Williams points out about newspapers. It is certainly significant that Cox is supported by the Springfield *Republican*, perhaps on the whole the most just and independent of our dailies. The *Evening Post*, long famous for its independence, is in the absolute control, for three years, of Mr. Gay, former head of the Harvard Business School, one of the deepest and most exact students of business and economic tendencies that our country has. Before taking a final stand the *Post* waited many weeks to see if Harding had anything real to say on any subject. The *World*, with its powerful independent and progressive editorial page, has also come out for Cox. The New York *Times* is committed to no party and it is conservative, but it is supporting Cox because it looks upon the League question as the most urgent of all

considerations. The most influential newspapers in support of Senator Harding are the Hearst newspapers and the New York *Sun*.

Evidently Dr. Williams's experience of the impression Cox is making differs from mine. Every Democrat with whom I have talked intends to vote for Cox, and every pro-League Independent. Among my pro-League Republican friends a considerable percentage are going to bolt their ticket and vote for Cox. Let the readers of this weekly inquire around among their own acquaintances. I do not believe they will find a Democrat voting for Harding unless that Democrat has an income of \$25,000 or over. I don't believe they will find an Independent voting for Harding unless he is a relentless opponent of the League. And I am sure they will have no trouble in finding Republicans who are going to bolt Harding, either on the League issue or because they think 1921 is too late in history to put in office a professed servant of the Penrose ring. The wool trust, the steel trust, the sugar trust, and what is left of the money trust, since it was crippled by the Federal Reserve Act, may (or may not) be all right in themselves, but they ought not to issue orders to the next President of the United States, either direct or thru their servants, the Senate oligarchy.

AS to the negro question, I must decline to discuss it. It seems a long time ago since Senator Lodge introduced his famous "force bill." It is still longer since a revengeful North, its bad passions let loose by Lincoln's death, inflicted a wicked "reconstruction" by carpet-baggers on the South. Does Dr. Williams think the question of reviving an old sectional bitterness is one of the leading issues of this campaign, or does he hope to get negro votes in northern cities? Is this constructive statesmanship? I can do no more with this business than I can with Senator Harding's convenient forgetfulness about what he had written about the Irish question. Senator Johnson stirred up a large following by reading various national antipathies and very possibly Senator Harding may do the same thing. A good many Italians vote in New York and Boston and Harding and Lodge take an extraordinary interest in helping Italian imperialism to choke the new Czechoslovak nation. But there is no use in arguing these appeals. Certainly I think Cox needs no defense for sticking to the actual issues.

That Republicans are annoyed with him for his handling of the League of Nations question is comprehensible. He says briefly: "I am for it." He says our boys did not go to France with reservations. He says every consideration on which we fought, and by which a great nation ought to be guided, calls us to the side of the twenty-nine nations now in the League. The idea that the whole League can be made over again and suit some nation that may some day emerge from the brains of Johnson and Lodge in Washington, as beautifully as it emerged at Chicago, is just what Herbert Hoover calls it, "bunk and worse." It is what Mr. Taft, in his politer language, shows to be impossible. Governor Cox is telling clearly his position on the League. Why should he stop to deal with the flimsy ghost of what Johnson may refuse to do, or the Senatorial followers of Johnson, even if the people vote for the League, since Johnson already has Harding as completely nailed to the mast on the Treaty as Penrose has him nailed on economic privilege? For some weeks I have known that the frightened Republicans were hoping to scare up a new division when Root gets home, but we will deal with that cloud of dust when it reaches our shores.

As to George Washington, I invite any reader of The Independent to go into a library, take the writings of Washington, edited by Ford, look up the index, and see what Washington said to the kickers against the treaty between the thirteen states. This is not an advertisement,



# The Massacre of Nikolaievsk

*Photographs from Adachi*



The partizan or Red guerilla band that captured the Siberian city last February tortured and killed Japanese and Russians and burned a large part of the city. The Japanese garrison of 333 officers and men was wiped out and 360 Japanese civilians were killed. The number of Russian victims of the Red regime is said to be about 5000



The Red rulers of Nikolaievsk. Trapitsin, their leader, is seen leaning on his hand, while Nina, his mistress and chief of staff, sits beside him. After taking the city they put the officials and merchants in prison, outraged their wives and killed their children



The Japanese Vice-Consul, Ishida, with his wife and little daughter, were massacred when the consulate was burned. The Consul had appealed in January to his Government for additional troops but it was not until spring that the melting of the ice enabled the Japanese to send aid



The Japanese at Vladivostok hold a memorial meeting for the victims of the Nikolaievsk massacre. Offerings are laid before the tablets of the slain. The affair has roused the Japanese people to bitter resentment and has led to the Japanese occupation of the entire coastal region. The Soviet and Vladivostok Governments both disclaim responsibility for the Partizans and proffer sympathy to the Japanese

The docks along the water front on the Amur River were burned by the Reds as they left the city



The Russian refugees who had fled from the Reds are returning under Japanese protection



but I have brought these quotations together, for comparison with the present League of Nations fight, in a book just published, called the "Advancing Hour," and I regret there is not space to quote them here.

As to Poland, anybody who imagines our soldiers would have been sent over there is good material for the Harding-Johnson scare-mongers. See George Washington on the same subject. See Taft on Article X. Perhaps if we had been in the League it might have been strong enough to tell Poland not to begin its idiotic war on Russia. And perhaps a few innocents believe that if crazy performances like the Polish invasion start another world-war we are very likely to keep out. Our business is to help prevent such a war, not throw fits of alarm about our responsibilities that must cause in Switzerland, Denmark, Holland and Belgium a pitying smile.

If Dr. Williams does not understand the reference to abusing the writ of injunction, I think it is understood by most men who work with their hands. It is one of the most familiar scandals in the history of government for the benefit of a dominant class. Industrial injunctions go always—one way. I don't remember seeing any injunction against the American Woolen Company's throwing thousands of men out of employment to affect a political campaign. It is time to stop using them to help capital in its disputes with labor.

The next President of the United States will be Cox or Harding. I ask no more of any reader than that he read carefully all that so skilful a critic as Dr. Williams can find to say against Cox, and compare the result with what we all know about Harding, for it is one or the other. The differences are limitless! You take your choice. Dr. Williams speaks of prices as something fixed by God. Harding says: "You can never reduce the cost of living except as you reduce the capacity to live." That is enough to keep my brain working for a long time. If it means anything I don't know what it is. Presumably Senator Harding might concede that the world-war increased the cost of living. Measures that would prevent war, and reduce preparations for war, lessen the cost of living. Senator Harding voted in favor of leaving the armament business in private hands, and thereby voted for other wars even more surely than he did in the position he has taken on the League of Nations and in his itching to interfere with Mexico. "I am a believer in universal and compulsory service, oftentimes alluded to as conscription." No wonder: that position is logical for one who is against the League, against letting Mexico alone, and against taking the munition business out of private hands. Also for a person all of whose votes favor profiteers, and who is now trying to get back a Mark Hanna tariff, it is perfectly natural to believe that nothing has anything to do with the cost of living, but why should Dr. Williams blame Cox for not discussing the tariff? Wilson took it out of the private offices of the trusts and out of politics. Also I may remark that President Wilson, who does believe the cost of living can be affected, proposed a series of legislative steps at the expense of the profiteers. Presumably the President believed that if the metal, textile, and mining industries tripled their profits in the war, that had something to do with prices and the cost of living, and the same consequence would follow from the food corporations having two and one-half times as large profits as before the war. The Republican majority took none of the steps urged by the President nor did it take any others. I don't like to make such rough statements, but it is true that if Harding is elected the Government will pass back completely into the hands of big business graft. When Dr. Williams gets after Cox on the Federal Reserve Act and the tariff he raises a sharp and real division. Anybody who wants to put the Money Trust back where it was before the Federal Reserve Act, and to open up the tariff question for another twenty years' fight in favor of bigger

profits for bigger industries, will vote against Cox anyway. He can get further consolation in supporting Harding since that bold fighter has come out fearlessly in favor of doing something for the North American Indian.

## What Does Cox Say?

By Talcott Williams

**D**ISAPPOINTED I am, this time in my most friendly antagonist, Mr. Norman Hapgood. He is not punching me, he is punching the sand-bag. Warming doubtless, but not efficient. I once had a dear and most lovable collie from whom a chipmunk escaped by darting thru a hole in a common or garden-variety stone wall. We never passed that stone wall without that most intelligent animal barking and pawing at that hole with vociferous energy. Mr. Hapgood can never take a walk abroad in this debate without being certain that "tariffs" and "trusts" are in the Harding hole and that the sure way to catch Harding is to bark at "trusts" and the "tariff."

Today we are not walking past the Harding hole. We are considering what show James Middleton Cox has made before the country as a possible President. Either he or Harding will be President. The betting odds are two to one for Harding. I look on them as about even. What has Cox done to make a fair-minded voter want to vote for Cox electors? He has written a long letter of acceptance of about twelve columns. This is about as long as the Gospel according to Mark. I do not say this irreverently; but solely to remind the reader what can be done with about the same number of words if you have something to say. I know Mr. Hapgood has read the letter, because he does not allude to it.

Mr. Cox has a good subject. He cannot complain of that. He is telling 30,000,000 voters what he thinks a President of the United States of America ought to do in the next four years, at the most momentous crisis in modern history. I think in all history. What has Mr. Cox said he is going to do? Gentle reader it is a month since you read it. You have been hearing about it ever since. What did he say?

On the League, he was right. No question about that. I have said this before and repeat it now. He has shaken the whole Republican fighting line. As to voters, I am not so certain. Maine will leave us wiser. I am but one of a great multitude of Republicans who are waiting to hear from Harding on this point before they are certain they can vote for him. Some efficient League, more than a mere court, we must have, and there are enough of us to turn the doubtful states.

But Cox, what did he say? He is for the League, but how? If there is a deadlock over the League, what will he do? This is vital. Will he follow Wilson in refusing compromise? Voters have a right to know that. Cox dodges here. Harding proposes to make himself clear. Cox does not. I do not like it. I do not believe Cox knows. Has he the kind of mind that grapples with such a question? Unlike Harding he has not studied it and Harding has turned to Elihu Root. Cox has Woodrow Wilson. A difference!

As to other questions, what does Cox say? We have to adjust ourselves to heavy taxes. Who shall pay them? The many, says Cox, by a sales tax and in a way which helps trusts, as I show above and Mr. Hapgood does not make answer. I admit the Republican party has more property holders, more of the 11,000,000 or so who own their homes, more of shareholders, more of bondholders, more payers of insurance premiums, more voters who are in business for themselves than the Democratic party; but it and its leaders have no more relation to the "trusts" than the Democratic party and its leaders except in the cartoons. In both parties there are leaders affiliated with the trusts. In both party conventions these men this year had a large say in



selecting a candidate that looked likely to win, but from Allison's Interstate Commerce Act, 1887, and Sherman's Anti-Trust Act, 1890, to the Railroad Act passed this year, the statutes restraining and controlling the great corporations have been passed by Republican majorities in Congress. They have enacted all our constructive legislation on this issue.

As for the "Money Trust" and the Federal Reserve Bank, banking capital has never made the profits or charged as high interest rates as in the past twelve months; it has never so tyrannized over business and never before raised rates so arbitrarily to the greater profit of fortunate speculators. This is one reason why I want a new deal in the Treasury Department. I am a little weary of Berlin banks and banking families so near our fiscal and banking affairs. What Cox says about taxation, the tariff, currency, banking, exchange, is prattle. He does not know the language. He is a good man. He means well. He is zealous for the right as he understands it. He is ignorant and he talks like a man who does not know how little he knows and thinks instead any good American can show the experts what honest-hearted patriotism can do.

Harding is, if anything, too cautious, but he sees the difficulties and he moves in the right direction. He believes in experts, in training and in experience. He wants a cabinet of ability. Cox will not only select men like the present cabinet, right-hearted and inexperienced, but the Democratic party itself lacks men of financial experience.

With unfeigned regret, I note that on the negro question Mr. Hapgood says, "I must decline to discuss it." Norman Hapgood is and has been a soldier in the great army of liberty. He has fought the good fight for free criticism. Here is a great issue cutting to the very core of human rights, organized oppression and the denial of rights constitutional, human and divine, and he "must decline to discuss it." No man can support and be a beneficiary of these pillaged votes without being on the side of open avowed wrong for which justice will yet come. No one of us can be true to freedom and pass this evil without open protest and condemnation. Mr. Hapgood may "decline to discuss it." Events, time and divine justice will continue the discussion.

The Republican party has its faults, but to it much can be forgiven because it has loved liberty much. If much wealth is marshalled in its ranks it is also true that Republican states, in their industrial and progressive legislation, are far in advance of Democratic states, taken as two groups. The Republican party denies to no citizens their votes. The world over it is the great tribe of the People of the Advance seeking better things for the republic and the welfare of man, and leading humanity thru the Wilderness of Wrong to the Promised Land.

### Open Debate

These articles by Mr. Williams and Mr. Hapgood close the formal debate on the Republican and Democratic platforms and candidates, and open the question to discussion from the floor. In other words now is the time for you to write us your own opinion as to the next President of the United States and the party that he will represent. We will publish a large number of these replies and for each one that we use we offer a reward of one year's subscription to *The Independent*. Try to keep your argument within the limit of 150 words. Manuscripts will not be returned.

## Clear the Track for the League!

PERHAPS the most valid of the reproaches directed against the League of Nations is that the Great Powers have preferred to handle the hottest and heaviest problems thru the Supreme Council of the Allies (some-

times known now as the Conference of Ambassadors) instead of thru the Council of the League. So long as treaties closing the Great War still remained to be negotiated there was a good excuse for this double-headed management of European affairs, since only belligerents can close a war, but now that the Turkish Treaty has been signed and the last of the hostile nations has thus made peace, it would be well if the Council of the Allies were to abdicate and turn over its remaining duties to the Council of the League. There is no excuse for keeping alive two international organizations where one will serve, and it is better that the temporary organization should yield to the permanent.

## An Intimation

HENRY Harrison Lewis devotes the July 15 issue of his journal, *Industry*, to an attack upon the Inter-church World Movement, which he accuses—to use his own spelling—of giving "free reign to investigations" into industrial relations. He charges that Professor Harry F. Ward of Union Theological Seminary in an address before the World Survey Conference at Atlantic City last January "intimated that the teachings of Jesus Christ should be brought into the industrial fields and that the cardinal principle set forth in the Sermon on the Mount should be injected by the churches into industrial relations." We agree with Mr. Lewis that it is a very serious thing to have such an idea even intimated. If the churches should attempt to inject the Sermon on the Mount into industry there's no knowing what might happen. It might prove disconcerting to both the capitalists and unionists. But perhaps there is no occasion for alarm. If we all hush it up people won't pay any more attention to what the Rev. Ward says than they do to the rest of the preachers.

## Reconsideration

THE action of Speaker Walker, of the Tennessee House of Representatives, in changing his vote from "No" to "Aye" on the ratification of the suffrage amendment brings into the spotlight an abuse of parliamentary practise that has gradually grown to a serious evil. Mr. Walker is an opponent of woman suffrage and therefore quite properly voted against it, but when he saw that his side was defeated by 49 to 47 he changed his vote to the affirmative for the purpose of getting the right to reconsider at an hour more favorable to his cause. There is no reason to think that he had become converted to suffrage in the brief interval between counting the ballots and announcing the result, or that he is so weak as to abandon his principles in order to shift to the winning side. It was then a dishonest vote, contrary to his convictions, a parliamentary trick that might have frustrated the right of 17,000,000 women to vote. The fact that it is a trick commonly played does not excuse it, but does prove the need of a reform in the rules.

It is quite proper that the right to reconsider should be restricted to the majority, for otherwise the minority might continue to call up a question that had once been settled. But this rightful restriction is removed when a member of the minority, under the pretense of changing his opinion, changes his vote. He should be taken at his word and not be allowed to deceive the assembly a second time on the same question, therefore his vote should be counted for the affirmative whenever the question is brought before the house for reconsideration. This simple addition to the rule would prevent the abuse by the minority of the power to move reconsideration and it would also put a stop to the almost equally objectionable trick employed on the other side when a member of the majority moves a reconsideration, not because he has changed his mind, but to prevent any future attempt to reconsider.



# Americans Who Broke Records at the Olympiad



© Kadel & Herbert

Top place in the running high jump at the seventh Olympiad was won for the United States by R. W. Landon, of the New York Athletic Club. Landon lived up to his club symbol of winged feet by going cleanly over the bar at a height of 1.94 meters, or 6 feet, 4½ inches, thereby establishing a new Olympic record



© Keystone View

Frank Loomis, of the Chicago Athletic Association, scored the first point for the United States in the Olympic games at Antwerp and broke a world's record by winning the 400 meter hurdle race in 54 seconds, one second faster than the previous record. His time was all the more remarkable because the race was run over a very soft track



International

The pole vault, like baseball, is rather an American specialty, but Frank Foss, of Chicago, made it one of the most popular Olympic events by his spectacular vault of 13 feet, 5½ inches. Incidentally, it set a new world's record

International

In the Marathon, the long cross country run of 26 miles and 385 yards, which is the preëminent event of all Olympic games, Finland took first place this year, thanks to the famous Kolehmainen, a veteran Olympic entrant. His time for the Marathon was 2 hours, 32 minutes, 35½ seconds, cutting down by 19½ seconds the previous record, set by McArthur, of South Africa, in 1912. South Africa came very near claiming first place again in the Marathon this year. Gitsham, of South Africa, led the field easily for the first half of the race until he was forced to drop out because his shoes had been badly torn by the sharp cobblestones. Kolehmainen, who he won the Marathon for Finland, has lived in the United States seven years and has taken out naturalization papers here



Wide World

The greatest hurdler in the world, Earl Thomson, of Dartmouth University, set a new record of 14½ seconds for 110 meters at the Olympic games and won the race for Canada

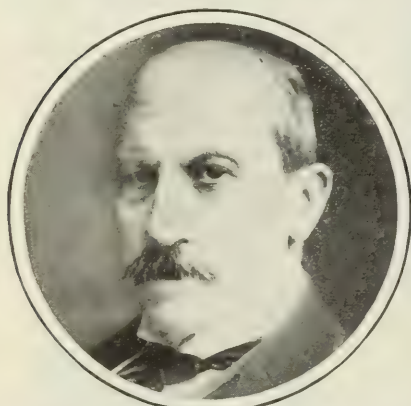


# The Story of the Week

## Egypt to Be Independent

THE *London Times* announces that the British Mission of Investigation, headed by Viscount Milner, will report in favor of the abolition of the British protectorate over Egypt and the recognition of Egyptian independence. Egypt regains control of foreign relations, subject to her not making treaties contrary to British policy, and will have the right to maintain diplomatic representatives abroad. Egypt will recognize Great Britain's privileged position in the valley of the Nile and agrees in case of war to afford every facility for access to Egyptian territory. Great Britain will maintain a garrison in the Canal Zone. Capitulations will be abolished.

It was expected that Lord Milner would recommend a very wide extension of home rule in Egypt, but this forecast of his report goes much farther than was anticipated and meets practically all of the demands formulated by the Nationalist members of the Egyptian Legislative Assembly, led by Zagloul Pasha.



Viscount Milner, who was appointed to investigate the cause of the unrest in Egypt, has reported in favor of relinquishing the British protectorate over Egypt and giving the Egyptians virtually complete independence

When it was announced that the Milner Mission would visit Egypt for the purpose of investigating conditions and ascertaining native opinion, the Nationalists declared that they would have nothing to do with it since even to confer with the mission involved a tacit acknowledgment of British authority. But it is understood that Lord Milner had sufficient opportunities to talk unofficially with the representatives of all factions and that after he returned to London he consulted with Zagloul.

Most of the measures indicated have long been in contemplation and are in conformity with the declared British policy. The capitulations, that is the extra territorial privileges according to which aliens are not amenable to Egyptian laws or to be tried in Egyptian courts, were intended to be abolished as soon as a system of law and justice recognizing the rights of foreigners could be established. In fact, Germany was required by Article 147, Section 6, of the Treaty of Versailles to "renounce the régime of the capitulations in Egypt" as well as "to recognize the protectorate proclaimed over Egypt by Great Britain." Nominally, Egypt was before the war a dependency of Turkey and under the sovereignty of the Sultan. Actually, however, it was governed by Great Britain in a much truer sense than the British dominions, such as Canada or Australia, and Lord Kitchener was virtually ruler of the country. At the outbreak of the war this legal fiction was thrown off and the Egyptian government declared war against Germany, altho technically being a vassal state Egypt had no such rights. It was not until three months later that Turkey took the other side and declared war against England. During the war the Canal was defended

by Great Britain and Egypt was used as a base for attempts to capture Constantinople and for the invasion of Palestine. On December 18, 1914, a proclamation was issued declaring that "the suzerainty of Turkey over Egypt be terminated and that Egypt henceforth constitute a British protectorate." The Khedivate was abolished and the Khedive, Hilmi Pasha, was deposed because of his adherence to the enemies of the British King. In his place Hussein Kamel Pasha was made ruler with the title of Sultan of Egypt. He died in 1917 and was succeeded by his brother, Fuad, a man of little ability, foreign educated, who hardly speaks Arabic and is out of sympathy with his subjects.

After the war was over and the restrictions of the military régime were relaxed a strong anti-British feeling developed. The Egyptians were resentful that the Arabs should have been made the protégés of Great Britain and established as a kingdom while Egypt, with its high historic traditions, was placed in a subordinate position. Attacks upon trains and British residents in isolated localities were frequent. Riots broke out in villages and cities. The suppression of these by the military authorities increased the dissension. Zagloul Pasha, Vice-President of the Legislative Assembly, started for Paris with a delegation of Egyptians to lay their cause before the Peace Conference, but they were deported to Malta. This action was recognized as a mistake and was overruled by the British Government. Last June Zagloul was invited by the British Government to England to confer on the future government of Egypt.

## America and the Egyptian Question

THE declaration by President Wilson in April, 1919, that the United States as well as the Allies recognized the British protectorate over Egypt dashed the hopes of the Egyptian Nationalists who were expecting American support in their demand for complete independence. The ques-



THE SPREAD OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE

It was New Zealand in 1893 that first recognized in government the fact that world women have been granted the right to vote—and the map is filled with the years of other nations following suit.



tion was brought up in the Senate when the Treaty was under consideration, since that document required the recognition of the British protectorate by Germany. Senator Owen of Oklahoma inquired about the action of the United States, and received from Secretary Lansing the following answer:

In reply I beg to state that the department does not understand that Egypt was, prior to the British proclamation of December 18, 1914, in possession of full independent sovereign rights.

The effect of this Government's qualified recognition of April, 1919, was to acknowledge with the reservation set forth at that time only such control of Egyptian affairs as had been set forth in the notice of the British Government transmitted to the department on December 18, 1914, a copy of which is enclosed.

It is assumed that it is the purpose of Great Britain to carry out the assurances given by King George the Fifth of England to the late Sultan of Egypt, as published in the London *Times* of December 21, 1914.

It has been repeatedly stated in the American press that at the time when the British protectorate was declared the British Government promised that it should be limited to the duration of the year. No such pledge, however, appears in the official documents as published. The assurances referred to in Mr. Lansing's letter as having been given to the Sultan promised the revision of the system of treaties, known as the capitulations, after the war, and it is declared the aim of the British Government

while working thru and in the closest association with the constituted Egyptian authorities, to secure individual liberty, to promote the spread of education, to further the development of the natural resources of the country, and, in such measure as the degree of enlightenment of public opinion may permit, to associate the governed in the task of Government. Not only is it the intention of His Majesty's Government to remain faithful to such policy, but they are convinced that the clearer definition of Great Britain's position in the country will accelerate progress towards self-government. The religious convictions of Egyptian subjects will be scrupulously respected as are those of His Majesty's own subjects, whatever their creed. . . . The strengthening and progress of Mohammedan institutions in Egypt is naturally a matter in which His Majesty's Government take the deepest interest and with which your Highness will be especially concerned, and in carrying out such reforms as may be considered necessary, your Highness may count upon the sympathetic support of His Majesty's Government.

The Milner plan provides the way by which these promises may be rapidly carried to fulfilment.



© Harris & Ewing, from Paul Thompson

The moment toward which woman suffragists have been working for nearly a century was celebrated by the unfurling of this suffrage flag at headquarters of the National Woman's party in Washington. The thirty-sixth star, for Tennessee's ratification, had just been sewed on the flag by the chairman of the party, Miss Alice Paul, who is standing in the balcony

## Russians Repulsed

THE Soviet forces before Warsaw have suffered a reverse as sudden and dramatic as that of the Germans before Paris in the battle of the Marne. The Polish capital was enveloped on three sides and the Bolshevist advance guard had reached the suburbs when the Poles rallied and attacked with such fierceness that the enemy was driven back in confusion. General Pilsudski himself led the Polish center in a direct drive against the Russian front to the east between the Bug and Vistula rivers. Under the impact of this blow the Russians retreated beyond Siedlce to Brest-Litovsk, which is on the Polish frontier.

On the south in Galicia where the dashing young Cossack cavalryman, General Budenny, has been trying in vain to capture Lemberg, the Poles have also recovered and relieved the pressure on the Galician front.

Last week we called attention to the recklessness of the Bolsheviki in throwing their forces forward in the north along the German border till they reached the Vistula regardless of the fact that this left them exposed to flank attack for a hundred miles. The Poles took advantage of this rash maneuver and by striking simultaneously from Thorn on the west and Warsaw on the south they cut off and captured a large part of the Soviet army.

The French officers in Poland ascribe the initial success of the Russians in recovering their lost ground and overrunning half Poland in a few weeks rather to the demoralization of the Poles than to the valor of the Bolsheviki. A French colonel reports that he saw a troop of 400 Red horsemen who had only 200 carbines among them and more than half of these were so rusty as to be quite useless. The rest of the men were armed only with sabers and clubs. Most of the troopers rode barebacked and their spurs were made of telegraph wire wound around the boot or bare foot. The infantry, according to the French, are worse off. Their clothing is ragged and far from uniform, and they are without shoes. They have to live on the country for lack of commissariat and do their cooking with an old beef tin as the sole utensil. They have few cartridges for their guns and many of these are duds.

If this is a true picture of the equipment of the Bolsheviki it is no wonder that they fell back rapidly when the Poles under French command attacked with British tanks, French 75's and American machine guns. The arrival of the French reinforcements and the promise by



FRAGE ROUND THE WORLD

at women are people. Now in considerably more than half the area of the evening fast. Jamaica has adopted woman suffrage within the last few days

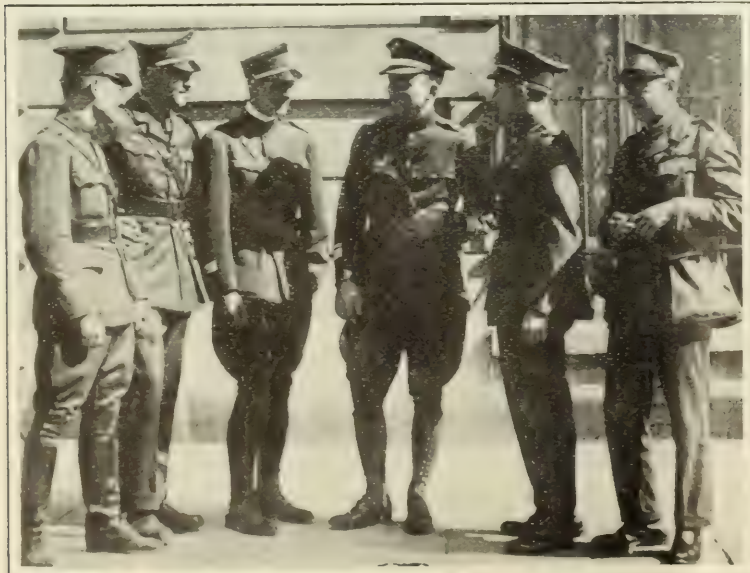


President Wilson of American aid restored the courage of the Poles and they have routed the Reds on every side. The number of Bolsheviki prisoners taken during the first week of their reverse is estimated at 75,000. General Weygand, the French commandant, says that "Poland will be the grave of three-fourths of the Bolshevist army." The Poles have captured immense stocks of war material, including the big guns that the Bolsheviki had brought up for the bombardment of Warsaw.

## The Danzig Gate

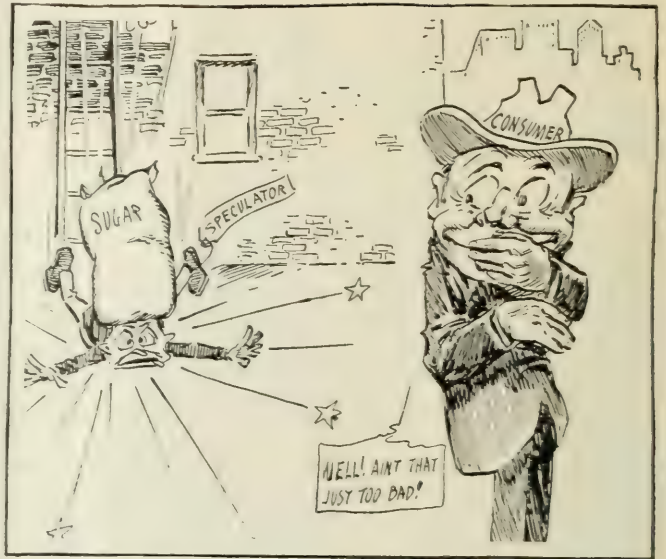
THE Polish war has put a severe strain upon one of the most delicate points of the Versailles Treaty. President Wilson in his fourteen points stipulated that Poland should "be assured a free and secure access to the sea," but it was difficult to contrive this without violating the other Wilsonian principle of self-determination, for the only practicable port was Danzig, where the Poles constituted only about five per cent of the population. The problem was solved at the Peace Conference by giving Poland a "corridor" to the sea, consisting of a strip of territory, largely Polish in population, cutting off East Prussia from West Prussia. Danzig, however, was not ceded to Poland, as the Poles demanded, but was restored to the status of a Free City, as it was in the sixteenth century. Poland was given the right to include the city within the Polish customs frontiers and to conduct its foreign relations. Poland was granted the control of the Vistula River and of the railroads and telegraphs, and was ensured "without any restriction the free use and service" of the docks and waterways "necessary for Polish imports and exports." A High Commissioner appointed by the League of Nations was "entrusted with the duty of dealing in the first instance with all differences arising between Poland and the Free City of Danzig."

An Englishman, Sir Reginald T. Tower, was appointed High Commissioner of Danzig and he has come into conflict with the French and Poles over the question of the admission of munitions. When the French cruiser *Gueydon* arrived with a load of war supplies for the Polish army the Commissioner refused to allow them to be landed and shipped into Poland on the ground that he did not have enough troops to protect them. The southern end of the Polish corridor was at that time threatened by the Bolsheviki and there was also danger of a rising among the Germans who accuse the Poles of using their military power



© Kadel & Herbert

These are some of the American aviators who volunteered more than a year ago to make up the Kosciuszko Squadron, which is fighting with the Polish army against the Bolsheviki



Spencer in Omaha World-Herald

Unholy (perhaps)—but human glee

to overawe the Germans in the plebiscite area. The constituent assembly of the Free City of Danzig passed by a vote of 62 to 21 a resolution calling on the Commissioner to proclaim the neutrality of Danzig in the Russo-Polish war. This would prevent Poland from importing the munitions needed in her campaign against the Bolsheviki. It would seem that the Commissioner had no power to declare the neutrality of Danzig since the Treaty of Versailles puts Poland in charge of the foreign affairs of the city, but on the other hand the Treaty as quoted above gives him the power to deal with all differences arising between Danzig and Poland.

Sir Reginald asks for 20,000 troops before he will feel justified in permitting the passage of munitions. But the League of Nations will not meet until September when President Wilson calls it together at Geneva and by that time the fate of Poland will doubtless be decided. The French Government contends that the Commissioner has no right to interfere in any way with Poland's free use of the port and that the 2000 troops in Danzig, with the support of French, British and American warships, are sufficient to maintain order. Sir Reginald has conceded to the demand of Premier Millerand to permit the unloading of the French vessels, but the dockers refuse to handle munitions intended for the Poles.

## Minsk Peace Conference

THE Polish and Russian peace commissioners finally got together on August 17 after long delays and repeated postponements for which each party blames the other. The place of meeting is the city of Minsk, 150 miles east of the Polish frontier, but in the region recently overrun by the Poles. Chairman Danilevsky of the Soviet delegation in his opening speech said:

We are not conquerors and shall evacuate Polish territory immediately Poland gives us guarantees that the Polish republic has abandoned its aggressive policy and is resolved to commence peaceful constructive work.

Soviet Russia and Ukraine are regarding with full sincerity and a brotherly feeling of solidarity the workers and peasants of Poland, and desire only one thing—restoration with Poland of solid, friendly and neighborly relations.

The Bolsheviki at Minsk, as they did at Brest-Litovsk, insist upon all proceedings of the conference being open to the public.

The British, Italian and American govern-



ments, fearing lest the Poles in their elation over their victory should again attempt to move on Moscow, have warned them against passing beyond their ethnographical frontiers as laid down by the Allied Supreme Council. Premier Lloyd George of England and Premier Giolitti of Italy in conference at Lucerne issued a joint declaration calling upon both parties to refrain from aggression. They adhere to their intention of restoring intercommunication between Russia and the outside world, but denounce the Soviet for surreptitiously slipping into the peace terms the provision for reducing the army and putting arms in the hands of the workmen of Poland.

## Bolshevist Peace Terms

THE terms presented to the Polish delegates at the Minsk conference are mostly the same as those previously submitted to Premier Lloyd George and Earl Curzon some weeks ago and approved by them. The line laid down by the Soviet for the eastern boundary of Poland follows for most of the distance that drawn by the British Foreign Secretary Curzon and where it deviates, as in the neighborhood of Cholm and Bialystok, it gives to Poland more territory than was allowed her by the Paris Peace Conference. Hostilities are to cease within seventy-two hours after the armistice is signed. The Russian army is to hold the line it occupies at the time of signing, while the Polish army is to retire fifty versts (thirty-three miles). The neutral strip between is to remain under Polish administration under control of mixed commissions constituted by trade unions. The Polish army is to be reduced to 60,000 men, supplemented by civic militia made up of workers. The Russian forces will be withdrawn simultaneously with the Polish demobilization until only 200,000 Russian troops remain near the neutral zone. The Russians insist upon the right of free transit for goods and men thru Polish territory.

The Bolsheviks stick to their old formula of peace without annexation or indemnities and with complete publicity. Russia and the Ukraine renounce all indemnities and recognize in full the independence and liberty of the Polish republic and the full right of the Polish people to establish their own form of government. The Poles will be required to restore the railway and agricultural material taken from the Russian territory they lately occupied and to reconstruct the bridges they demolished. Poland is required to grant complete military and political amnesty and to grant lands to the families of Polish citizens killed or disabled in the war. The treaty and protocols are to be published immediately after signature.

The treaty is proposed in the name of Russia and Ukraine jointly, seeing that Poland professed to be fighting Russia in behalf of Ukrainia and that Petliura, the Ukrainian leader, joined forces with Pilemski, the Polish president, in the offensive against the Soviet. The Ukraine is now under the control of the Moscow Soviet, but it would seem from the wording of the peace terms that the Ukraine Bolsheviks insisted upon a separate national organization. The fact is that the Russian Bolsheviks, being internationalists by principle and looking to an extension of their revolution thruout the world, care little where the boundaries are drawn. That is why the Bolsheviks are willing to give the Poles more territory than the Allies would concede to them and why they so readily recognized the independence of the border states of Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania and the like which President Wilson in his recent note refuses to recognize. The Republic of Latvia has sent a diplomatic representative, Alfred Nagel, to the United States, but he has been refused admission at Ellis Island, by a State Department order.

The clause requiring Poland to form a militia of workmen and turn over its surplus arms to them points toward the promotion of a Bolshevik régime in Poland. This

clause did not appear in the Soviet terms as submitted to the British and Italian premiers. Consequently Mr. Balfour has sent a peremptory note to the Soviet Foreign Minister declaring that present terms "are in fundamental contradiction" to those communicated in advance by the Soviet envoy in London. Mr. Balfour adds that "on the answer to these questions the future policy of the British Government will depend."

## Poles Invade Silesia

ACCORDING to the Treaty of Versailles the inhabitants of Upper Silesia were to be allowed to vote whether they would remain in Germany or join Poland. The plebiscite to determine this was to be held under the auspices of the League of Nations and in the meantime the disputed district is policed by French, British and Italian forces, the United States having declined to participate in the maintenance of order. But in spite of the presence of Allied troops there have been frequent conflicts between the Germans and the Poles and each party accuses the other of trying to expel its opponents and to run in colonies of its own nationality in anticipation of the referendum. The trouble culminated in riots at Kattowitz, which is a German city surrounded by Polish peasantry. The French General Gratier, who has command at Kattowitz, has placed the city and the region roundabout in a state of siege. But the Silesian Poles have been reinforced by Polish troops from over the border and the Germans and Jews are fleeing into Germany by the thousand. The Inter-Allied Commission is endeavoring to disarm both factions of the population.



Pittsburg Sun

The Kilkenny cats

## Seven Assassinations a Day

ON Sunday, August 22, the Irish broke their shooting record by killing seven constables within twenty-four hours. The most daring of these deeds was the murder of Police Inspector Swanzy at high noon and on the highway in Lisburn. He was walking home from the Protestant church with his mother and sister when three men with rifles confronted him and fired a volley. He fell and the assassins, after discharging their guns again into the body, fled and escaped in a taxicab. Last March when the Sinn Fein Lord Mayor MacCurtain of Cork was killed Swanzy was in the service there and the coroner's jury charged him with the murder, along with Premier Lloyd George and Viscount French, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. On account of local hostility Swanzy was afterwards transferred to Lisburn, a strong Unionist center. On learning of his assassination the Lisburn people set out to burn the house of every Nationalist and to drive all the Catholics out of the town. The property destroyed in these Lisburn reprisals is estimated at \$2,500,000.

On Saturday constables and police sergeants in Dun-



dalk, Naoroom, Kilrush, Galway, Tralee and Athlone were killed and several others wounded.

The special activity of the Sinn Feiners is due to their resentment for having prevented Archbishop Mannix of Melbourne from landing in Ireland and for the conviction of Lord Mayor MacSweeney of Cork for sedition. The latter was conveyed to England and is confined in Brixton prison. He has gone on a hunger strike, but the Home Secretary says that he will let him starve rather than release a convicted criminal. A general strike is threatened to secure his release.

## When Greek Meets Yank

THE United States is once more winner of a majority of events in the Olympic games, held this year in Antwerp with twenty-seven nations competing for the athletic honors of the world. The first Olympiad, planned as a revival of the ancient Greek games, was held in Athens in 1896. Paris had the next in 1900, and the United States the third, held in St. Louis in 1904. In 1906 the Olympiad was again at Athens, in 1908 at London, and in 1912 at Stockholm. Then the Great War cut off international sports, and when the nations of the world could at last plan for the seventh Olympiad the honor of staging it fell to Belgium.

On August 14 King Albert opened the seventh Olympiad with an inaugural address, and as spokesman for the 3000 athletes gathered in the crowded stadium a white-clad Belgian swordsman swore before his king that all assembled would take part in the games in a chivalrous spirit for the honor of their countries. Then the delegations, carrying their national colors, marched once around the track: Australia, Brazil, Canada, Chile—smallest delegation of all—Denmark, Egypt, Spain, Esthonia, United States—with a team of 300 athletes—Finland, France, Great Britain, Greece, Holland, India, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Monaco, Norway, New Zealand—represented by two boys and a little girl swimmer—South Africa, Portugal, Sweden—with a long procession of girls in blue and white gymnastic costumes, and a half regiment of giants—Switzerland, Czechoslovakia and Belgium.

Two competing nations of previous Olympiads, Ger-

many and Austria, were barred from participation, as were all enemies of the Allies in the war.

The Marathon, always the chief event of the Olympiad, was won this year by the famous Finnish runner, Hannes Kolehmainen, who ran the course of twenty-six miles and 385 yards in 2 hours, 32 minutes, 35 2/5 seconds, breaking by four minutes the previous world's record for this race. Kolehmainen, tho the rules of the contest required him to run for Finland, has lived in Brooklyn for seven years and has taken out his citizenship papers here. The first American competitor to finish the Marathon was Joe Organ, who came in seventh. The race was run under the worst possible weather conditions, over thick mud or sharp cobble stones, and in pouring rain and a northwest gale.

In the track events the Americans showed more propensity for first place. They established three new world's records: the 400 meter hurdle race, won by Frank Loomis of Chicago A. A.; the pole vault, won by Frank Foss, also of Chicago A. A.; and the 400 meter relay race. And an American, R. W. Landon of New York A. C., broke the Olympic record for the running high jump. The total of points in track and field events gave 212 to the United States, with Finland second with 105, Sweden third with 95, and Great Britain fourth with 92.

Swimming and boxing contests followed the track and field events in the second week of the Olympiad. Duke Kahanamoku, the great Hawaiian swimmer, broke the world's record that he himself had set by swimming 100 meters free-style in one minute, 1 2/5 seconds. Women contestants came into more prominence in the swimming events than ever before, and three Americans, Ethelda Bleibtrey of New York, Irene Guest of Philadelphia, and Mrs. Frances Schroth of San Francisco, broke the record for women in the 100 meter free-style swim.

## Uncle Sam's Twelve Votes

FRANKLIN D. Roosevelt, Democratic candidate for Vice-President and former Assistant Secretary of the Navy, in speaking at Butte, Montana, on the League of Nations, said:

The Republicans are playing a shell game on the American people; they are still busy circulating the story that England has six votes to America's one. It is just the other way. As a matter of fact, the United States has about twelve votes in the Assembly.

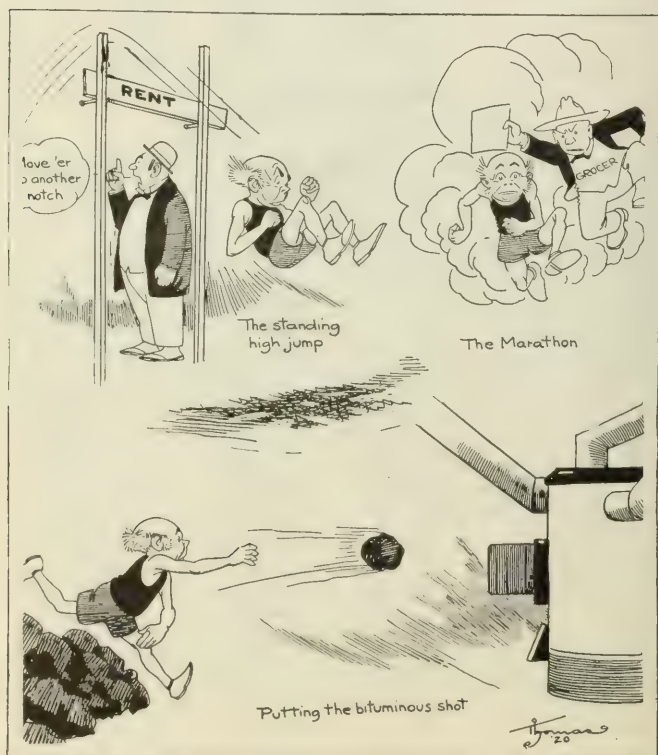
Until last week I had two of them myself, and now Secretary Daniels has them. You know I have had something to do with the running of a couple of little republics. The facts are that I wrote Haiti's Constitution myself, and, if I do say it, I think it a pretty good Constitution.

This remark created a sensation and gave rise to such adverse criticism that Mr. Roosevelt took occasion in his Portland speech to explain his statement more fully:

During the last week I have been demolishing a silly argument about England being able to outvote us six to one in the League of Nations. I have shown first of all that it is the Council of the League which is the true governing body, and that in that Council the whole British Empire has but one vote, just the same as the United States. And I have shown that while in the Assembly, a very large body, which has primarily only recommendatory powers, five of Great Britain's dominions, like Canada, South Africa and Australia, each have a vote, the United States of America will undoubtedly have the support of twice as many of our neighboring and friendly republics in the West Indies and South America.

I cited, for instance, the fact that the Republic of Santo Domingo is at the present time being administered by the United States Navy, and that as the interests of the two countries are closely bound up together, the votes of both countries would undoubtedly be found in the same column. The same thing is true of the Republic of Haiti, tho in that particular case they have a President and Cabinet of their own. It is true also that the interests of other republics, such as Cuba, Panama, Nicaragua and Brazil, are so akin to ours that we shall be of mutual support to each other in the Assembly of the League of Nations.

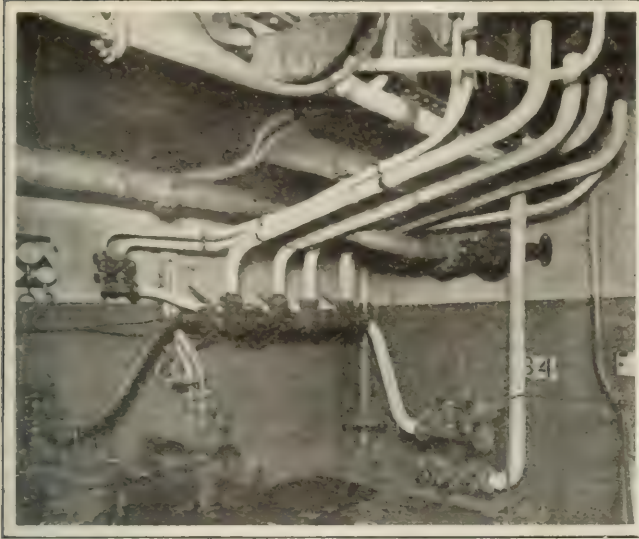
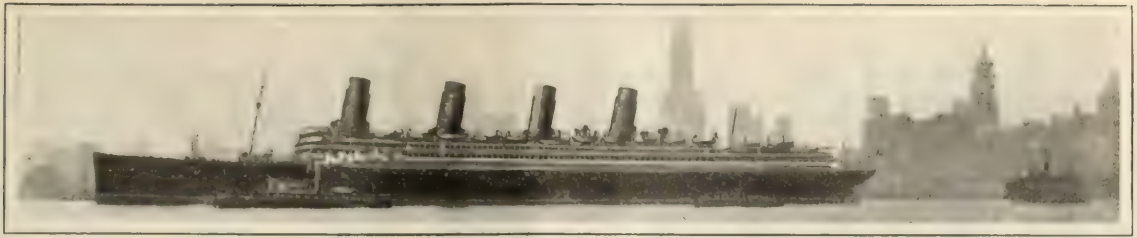
What I am driving at is this: The above simple and clear statement got under the skin of the partizan Republican leaders



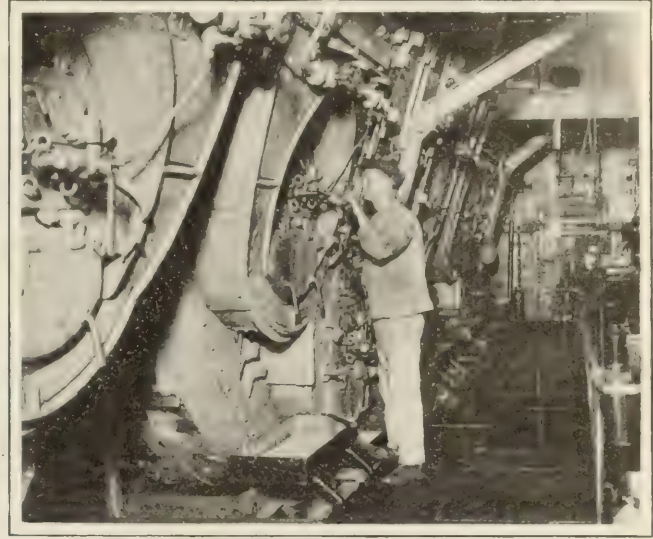
Thomas in Detroit News

We didn't send our greatest athlete to the Olympic games





© Underwood & Underwood



© Keystone View

The "Aquitania," one of the world's largest liners, broke the transatlantic record on her last voyage because of the increased efficiency of oil over coal as her engine fuel. After the "Aquitania's" war service as a transport was over she was refurbished, almost rebuilt as far as interior arrangement went, and fitted with oil-burning engines in place of the old coal-burning ones. The oil-burning engines cut down from days to hours the time needed to "fuel" the ship, reduce the temperature of the engine rooms many degrees, require only about a quarter of the previous number of firemen, save cargo space in the ship, and make for cleanliness and increased efficiency. Above is the "Aquitania" in New York harbor. The photograph at the left shows the oil feed system, pipes, pump, suction strainers and heater. At the right is a corridor of the engine room with a fireman looking into one of the oil furnaces

to such an extent, and under the skin particularly of the partisan Republican press, that they sent some one to the State Department the other day and misrepresented me, saying that I had said that the United States has control over the governments south of us. A cleverly worded story appears from Washington making it appear that the State Department has denied my claim about those republics in the League of Nations.

I am glad that the State Department has denied the absolutely false statement given to them as coming from me. I wholly agree with the State Department. I reiterate exactly what I said before, that the United States will have voting side by side with it in the League of Nations not six states, but at least twice that number, and this because of the simple fact that these little republics have the same kind of interests that we have, and that it is even more certain that we will all be voting the same way than that Canada, Australia and South Africa will be found voting with England.

## Campaign Contributions

COX claims that the Republicans have a fund of \$15,000,000 to expend on their campaign. Roosevelt says that the Republican fund is \$30,000,000. Chairman Hays of the Republican National Committee claims that the Republicans are keeping to their rule of limiting campaign subscriptions to \$1,000 from any one contributor. Treasurer Upham says the Republican National Committee has raised only \$944,353.82 since the nomination of Harding. Treasurer Marsh of the Democratic National Committee says that if the Democrats raise \$800,000 he will consider it a large and adequate campaign chest.

Senator Kenyon, chairman of the Senate campaign expenditures committee, has asked Governor Cox to produce the proof of his charge of a fifteen million dollar Republican fund before the committee at Chicago on August 30. The Senate committee has also summoned both Chairman Hays of the Republican campaign committee and Chairman White of the Democratic campaign committee to appear before it with the books showing all contribu-

tions to their party funds. Kenyon promises a thorough investigation of the whole question within three weeks.

## The Socialist Campaign

IN the New York convention of the Socialist Party of the United States a divergence of opinion developed on the Bolshevik program and tactics. Consequently a referendum of the entire party membership was taken on two questions. As the result of this it is announced that the Socialist Party endorses the Third International with reservations, but disapproves of the adoption of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" as practised in Russia. The Third International is the organization established at Moscow under the auspices of the Soviet for the conversion of the world to communism. It expects this to come about through a revolutionary rising of the wage-earning classes and their seizure of property and power. The rival organization, the Second International, with headquarters in Switzerland, sticks to parliamentary methods and is willing to cooperate with other classes and parties in securing practical improvements in labor conditions. Most of the Socialists and Laborites of England, France and Belgium adhere to the Second International, but a National Communist Party has just been formed in England that supports the Third, including the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Socialist Party of the United States has selected as its delegations to the next convention of the Third International in Russia, James O'Neal and Algernon Lee of New York and J. E. Cohen of Philadelphia. The party declares its disapproval of the Socialists of Poland for supporting the Government in its war against Soviet Russia.

The five Socialists, who were expelled last spring from the New York Assembly on the ground of belonging to a seditious organization, are conducting a vigorous campaign for reelection at the special election of September 16.



# A Little of Everything



## Metal Wings

**C**ANVAS, wood and a maze of bracing wires have been the materials of the airplane builder ever since the Wrights flew their first machine over the sand dunes of Kitty Hawk. From time to time some one has come forth with the suggestion that metal be used instead of wood, but the suggestion has received little serious thought. The bracing wires have been slowly reduced in number by improved designs; but the wood and canvas might have remained to the present day if German aircraft constructors had not departed from the time-honored idea and experimented with metal planes. During the closing months of the war German airmen appeared over the Allied lines flying marvelous all-metal machines. At the time these were considered freaks of little if any real value. Aeronautical men outside of Germany were only too hasty in their condemnation of the all-metal German machines. How, they asked, could one

make a practical all-metal machine? Was not the weight of even the lightest aluminum alloy considerably heavier than wood, matching strength with strength?

And so the German aircraft constructors stole a long march on the aircraft constructors of all other nations. With the ending of hostilities certain all-metal German machines came into the possession of the Allied experts, and then the advantage of this new form of construction became known. Still, it was a much mooted question whether such construction was practical in any machine other than one intended for aerial combat, wherein engine power was almost unlimited since the main consideration was performance irrespective of expense.

Several weeks ago an all-metal monoplane made a new American record. This machine, the JL-6, is nothing more than a German Junkers limousine six-seater—one of several machines of this type brought to these United States by an enterprising business man who has the future of aviation at heart. The speed of the all-metal monoplane was surprising. But most surprising was the low fuel consumption. This seemingly heavy machine excelled by a good deal the efficiency of the relatively flimsy wood and canvas planes.

Germany has scored a very decisive success in airplane construction. To deny that fact would be foolhardy. It appears that Dr. Junkers of Germany has gone ahead along new lines, ignoring the old misconceptions about the heaviness of metals and the necessity of canvas for the wing surfaces. He has produced machines with thick, unbraced cantilever planes, corrugated aluminum alloy for the wing surfaces, and all-metal struts. At one stroke he has wiped out canvas, wood and the maze of wires, and in their stead he has introduced tremendous strength, unapproached wearing qualities, fire-proof characteristics, and unrivalled efficiency.

The wood and canvas airplane—the airplane which we know so well—is a frail structure compared with this all-metal machine. The wood and canvas machine has a life of about a year or two with steady use; the all-metal airplane, with little to deteriorate from exposure to the elements, has a life of several years. The all-metal machine can withstand hard landings, which would cost the usual airplane smashed members.

Germany is not confining the all-metal construction to small airplanes. Already she has constructed several giant airplanes, one of the largest being the Zeppelin-Staaken monoplane. This machine proved one of the greatest surprises in store for the Allied officials who visited Germany right after the armistice. It is powered with four 260 horse power motors, mounted as tractors on the leading edge of the wings. The mechanics can actually get about inside the monoplane wings and repair and adjust the engines while in the air. This giant accommodates eighteen passengers, or it can carry a one-ton load of useful cargo. All comforts are included for the passengers—easy chairs, large windows, pantry, lavatory, a luggage compartment, and a sleeping cabin which also serves as a collision buffer in a bad landing.

## Teaching New York to Read

The New York State Department of Education has shown a commendable initiative in using the census of January, 1920, as a campaign map for the war on illiteracy. By special arrangement with the Federal Government, on the request of Governor Smith to the Director of the Census, the Department of Education obtained permission to make a copy of the names and addresses of persons who admitted to the census enumerators either that they could not read and write in any language or that they could not speak English. Only the names of adults were copied because the regular school authorities under the compulsory education law were quite effectively dealing with the instruction of the children. New York's



© Keystone View

The first transcontinental aerial mail was carried across the United States by this all-metal plane. Note the corrugated surface arranged so as to offer no resistance to the wind



© Keystone View

This is one of the all-metal aeroplanes owned by the United States Government and used for the transcontinental mail service. Another similar all-metal plane is engaged in forest fire patrol work



illiteracy problem, unlike that of the southern states, is almost wholly a question of adult immigration. These lists will, of course, be kept confidential from the general public but copies have been sent to school superintendents in all parts of the state so that they can find out who are the men and women in their own localities who need the night school or the "Americanization class" to give them the rudiments of an American education. Thus illiteracy will be tracked down to its lair, individual by individual, and with proper zeal on the part of the local authorities it should be practically eliminated soon.

How great is the task is shown by the census figures; 382,039 New Yorkers between twenty-one and fifty years of age are recorded in the census as either unable to read or write or un-

able to speak English. This is certainly a minimum figure, as some illiterates may have been skipped by the enumerators or because of pride may have boasted a knowledge they did not possess. Probably 400,000 would be an inside figure for the age-groups considered. There are also, of course, children and young persons under twenty-one as well as some aged immigrants or illiterate backwoodsmen over fifty who might have been added to the total. But even if 382,039 be taken as the measure of New York's problem of illiteracy, it is worth noting that this figure is greater than the total population of the state at the first Federal census and greater than the population of Arizona, Delaware, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah, Vermont or Wyoming by the census of 1910.

self-evident conclusion is that the American public ranks the minister as an unskilled laborer.

## The Vocal Clock

Although so far no one has complained of the effort of counting the strokes of the clock, there is no doubt that the mental exertion would be less if the clock used words instead of strokes to tell us the hour. Such a clock has now been invented by Vincent Pinto, a Philadelphia inventor, who studied clockmaking in Italy. It is the size of what is known in the United States as a grandfather's clock. That is, it has a very long pendulum, and stands in a narrow case about seven feet high. According to the inventor, however, the mechanism may be condensed sufficiently to fit a case the size of an alarm clock. It can be made to call the hour, half, or quarter hours, or all of them with a phonographic mechanism, and has chimes in addition. At present this clock, which is made by hand, says at eleven o'clock at night: "It is eleven o'clock. Time to go home." This remark is a joke of the inventor at the expense of his eighteen-year-old daughter who entertains many friends.

## Nerves of War

The sinews of war about which we talked so much a few years ago no longer interest us vitally, but the nerves of war are just beginning to be a national problem. They are the after results of that thing which we are not to call shell shock, tho we are never told what else to call it. There are 50,000 cases now under the care of the United States Public Health Service, and the War Risk Insurance Bureau has made the rather startling estimate that the peak load of war nerves will not be reached until 1927 or possibly even 1929. There is urgent need now of trained workers to deal with these cases and the need will grow. It is a need, too, that extends beyond the army. Civil hospitals, factories, schools and courts are beginning to see that the



IT'S THE HAT—AS WELL AS WHAT'S UNDER IT—THAT COUNTS

Would you call these women pretty? They each have beauty enough to be chosen as a model in the recent New York fashion show of the Milliners' Association, but they are being made to look their worst here by wearing hats unsuited to them. The obvious moral was drawn with emphasis by the Milliners' Association: Don't buy a hat because it looks well in the window!

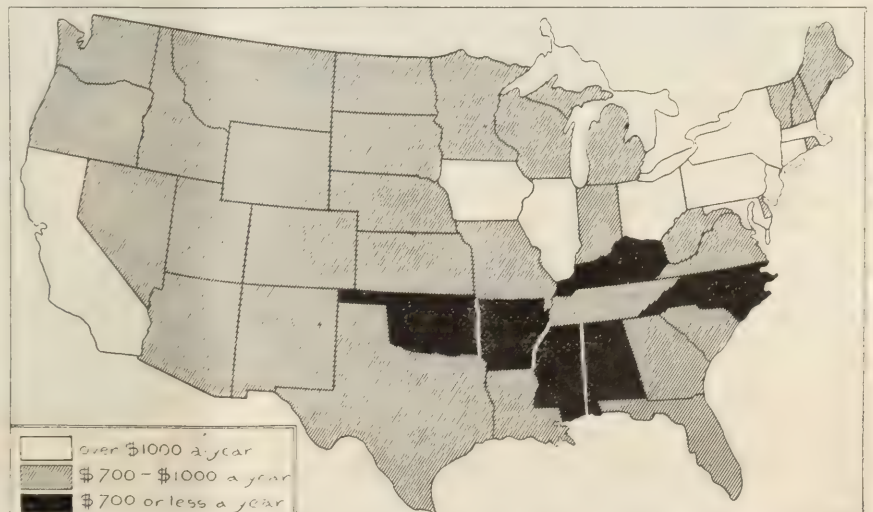
# Saving Souls Is Under-paid Labor

Under modern conditions and the present scale of prices the minimum wage necessary to maintain the American standard of comfort is generally placed in the neighborhood of \$2,000 a year, at least for married folk. There is no state or territory in the Union, except the District of Columbia, in which the average salary of the clergy reaches this sum. In only ten states, according to statistics gathered by the Interchurch World Movement from eighteen Protestant denominations, does the average minister get a thousand dollars a year, and in six states he gets less than \$700. The average for the whole United States is \$937 or \$4.38 for each church member.

How do ministers' salaries "stack up" with those of other occupations? Well, the Interchurch World Movement also investigated the steel strike and its severe comment on the inadequate wages paid the workers has awakened widespread interest. But it declares that the highest salaries ordinarily paid to ministers are about the same as the wage of an expert roller in a steel mill and "the lowest is lower than *any* wages paid in the steel industry."

The United States income tax returns for 1916 show that one lawyer in

five has an income of more than \$3,000 a year; one doctor in seven; one architect or engineer in ten; one minister in a hundred! Except for the elementary branches of teaching, which are in many states almost exclusively filled by single women, no form of professional, skilled or semi-skilled labor is so poorly paid as the ministry. The



This map of the United States shows how low the average salaries of our Protestant ministers are—in all but ten states ranging under a thousand dollars a year





This earnest young person is trying to pass a mental test given her by one of the students at the Smith College summer school, which is training women for psychiatric social work not only with soldiers but in schools, courts, factories and civil hospitals

psychiatric social worker is the person to help them solve some of their toughest problems—and there are in this country just about 150 psychiatric social workers.

The Red Cross has called for at least 130 psychiatric workers this year and seventy more next year to work among ex-service men; in civilian work the supply does not begin to meet the demand. It is a profession with an infinite variety of possibilities; one which any social worker would do well to investigate. Summer courses for trained social workers, and for beginners who will take work next winter, are being given this year at the New York School of Social Work, the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, and the Smith College Training School of Social Work in Northampton, Massachusetts. The Smith College School was opened during the war, in the summer of 1917, and has trained about half the psychiatric social workers now in the country. Thirty-two of the students there this summer are on Red Cross scholarships, which means that they are pledged to six months' service with the Red Cross in Public Health Service hospitals.

## The Centrifugal Gun

Further details of the centrifugal machine gun, invented by E. T. Moore, a lawyer of New Jersey, and which successfully met the tests of the War Department, have been made public. The main parts of the gun consist of an upright shaft attached to a powerful electric motor capable of giving it a rotation of 10,000 revolutions a minute. Attached to the shaft, and at right angles to it, is a hollow steel arm eight inches long, which serves as the gun barrel. Balls instead of bullets are used, and are half an inch in diameter and of .50 calibre.

In Mr. Moore's opinion the most essential part of the gun is the timing device, which lets the balls into the barrel at just the proper time and interval to insure their emerging from the end of the barrel the instant it reaches the opening in the stationary gun covering or casing which incloses

the revolving barrel. This outer opening is in the front of the gun.

As the projectile moves out thru the gun barrel the barrel itself is continuing its rotatory movement. The force and speed with which the ball leaves the gun, therefore, is the resultant of two forces, its radial force acquired by its motion out thru the barrel and the peripheral force, which is the force acquired from being rotated about the shaft at a rate of 850 feet a second.

When the muzzle of the gun barrel has just reached the opening in front, the ball, due to the timing device which let it into the barrel at just the proper point in its revolution, is at the end of the barrel and ready to fly out in a straight line with the force acquired from its centrifugal motion. For each revolution of the gun barrel a single projectile is automatically fed into the breech-block at a definite point of the rotational movement, and is released from the breech-block and permitted to enter the barrel at another equally definite point of the rotational movement.

The centrifugal gun, according to the tests just made by the War Department, is capable of firing about 2000 balls a minute. When it is desired to cease firing, the feed from the hopper is shut off, stopping the flow of balls into the breech-block. Then the motor is stopped.

The hopper is a patented container with a revolving bottom fitted with grooves. As the machine gunner turns a crank or handle the balls are ground one by one into a tube which leads to the breech-block. Instead of grinding them out by hand, the same power that operates the gun may be utilized to drive the mechanism of the hopper.

As now designed two men can carry the machine and tripod, and two more men can transport the batteries.

"Fire control with our gun is constant," said Mr. Moore. "There is no smoke, noise or flash. Instead of 2000 men being exposed to enemy fire and covering much ground and area, less men than make up one squad would be used in operating our gun, and the fire control would come from one central point. Distributing our guns at certain intervals would cover an enormous front line. The lack of fire or noise from our gun conceals the position of the same and prevents the enemy from ascertaining its location."

It is a well known

fact that bullets fired from a gun held rigid will not all strike in the same place, but will show a lateral and vertical spread. Mr. Moore has figured that the lateral spread of a ball from the centrifugal gun is approximately five feet for each hundred feet that the ball travels, and the vertical spread three feet for each hundred feet. Thus, at a distance of 300 feet the centrifugal gun would cover a street fifteen feet wide for a distance of nine feet above the ground, at the rate of 2000 shots a minute, thereby rendering anybody's chances of remaining alive in that area exceedingly slim.

## By The Way—

The only quadruped that cannot swim is the camel.

\*\*\*

One person in fifty in the United States pays an income tax.

\*\*\*

New York City pays one-fifth of the Federal income taxes.

\*\*\*

Alaska potatoes have yielded as much as 18,876 pounds per acre.

\*\*\*

There are 20,000 persons in the United States who 'fessed up to an income of over \$50,000 a year.

\*\*\*

The University of Cincinnati has introduced a course of training for teachers of retail salesmanship.

\*\*\*

The United States imports four times the value of laces and nine times the value of furs that it used to import before the war.

\*\*\*

Talk about sending coals to Newcastle!

The United States is exporting rice to Japan at the rate of 100,000 pounds a month.

\*\*\*

The Russian Orthodox Church in America has decided to conduct services in English hereafter. Thus Americanization advances.

\*\*\*

It is estimated that the saving of waste paper in the United States would make it possible to save a million feet of lumber each year.

\*\*\*

During six months the Washington police arrested 289 drunkards who laid their intoxication to drinking hair tonics, toilet water or bay rum.

\*\*\*

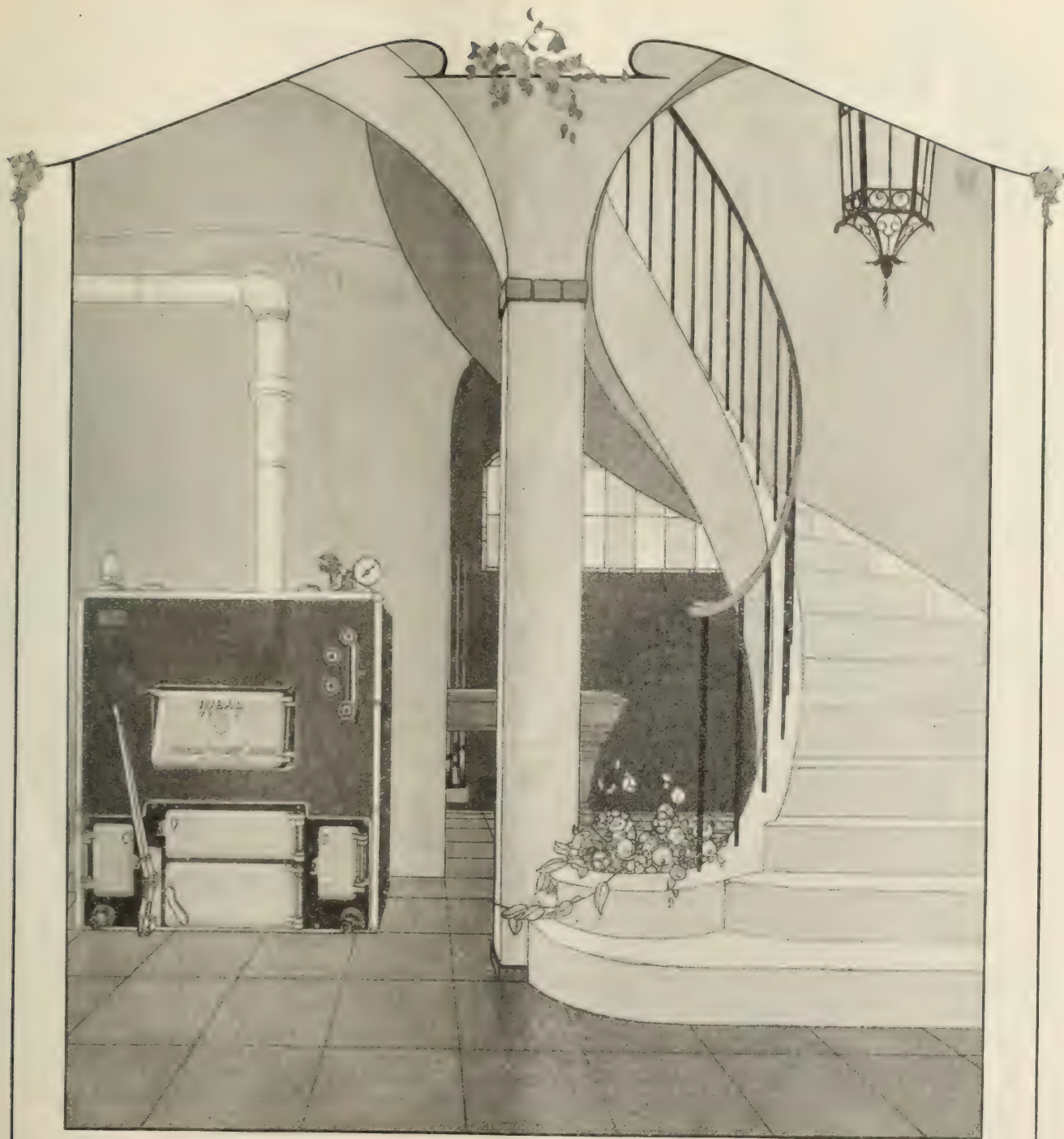
As an Indiana revivalist asked the question, "If lightning should strike this tent tonight how many would be ready to die?" a bolt did strike the tent and killed two ministers.



Wide World

A German sculptor, Hans Fries, of Heidelberg, has expressed in this statue his conception of Germany today—"Broken in war, bowed down by humiliation"





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It makes no difference WHERE your property is. It makes no difference WHAT it is. The Simplex Plans will show you how to turn it into cash. This is convincingly proved by the fact that more than 5,000 properties in the United States and Canada have already been sold by this scientific method.

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"Sold my farm for cash."—*Alrs. L. A. C. Glenwood, Minn.*  
"Sold my country place in three weeks for cash."—*H. M. B., New York City.*  
"Sold my store and real estate."—*B. L., San Francisco, Cal.*  
"Simplex Plans sold my house for cash within three weeks."—*M. E. L., Marshalltown, Iowa.*  
"Sold my hat factory. Endorse your methods."—*H. E. E., Buffalo, N. Y.*  
"Sold my property. Your plans quickest I ever saw."—*G. S., Waterford, N. Y.*  
"Your plans sold my Colorado ranch."—*P. E. V., Lansing, Mich.*  
"Sold for cash in 10 days."—*W. H. C., Wakefield, Mass.*  
"Sold my Hotel."—*G. S., St. Paul, Ill.*  
"Sold three lots for cash."—*R. P. M., Ottawa, Canada.*  
"Sold my Michigan farm."—*E. A. D., Miami, Fla.*

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You don't have to buy a "pig in a poke." We trust you. Mail the coupon below and we will send you—without a penny down—a complete set of these original, copyrighted Plans for ten days' free examination. Take plenty of time to go over them carefully. Decide for yourself. Be your own judge. Keep them if you want them. Remail them if you don't. It's all up to you. It costs you nothing to investigate. Remember, these Plans have been tried, tested and proven hundreds and thousands of times. They are the concentrated results of

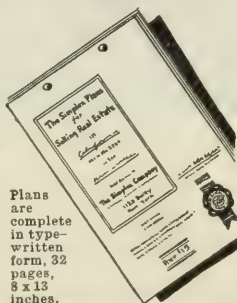
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Plans are complete in type-written form, 32 pages, 8 x 13 inches.

## Your 650,000 Servants

(Continued from page 269)

organizations are engaged in road construction; while twelve, with large overhead organizations, are engaged in hydraulic construction, and sixteen are engaged in surveying and mapping. Sixteen different bureaus exercise jurisdiction over water power development. Nine different organizations are collecting information on the consumption of coal. Forty-two different organizations, with overhead expenses, are dealing with the question of public health. The Treasury Department, the War Department, the Interior Department, and the Labor Department, each has a bureau dealing with the question of general education. These departments operate independently: instances of coöperation between them are exceptional. Each of these departments is manned at all times with an organization prepared to carry the peak of the load and maintains an expensive ready-to-serve personnel. . . . The system is wrong, and Congress alone can change the system.

The first important step toward reorganization was a change in the rules of the House of Representatives, effective on July 1 last, which provides that all executive estimates and all appropriations shall be handled by the committee on appropriations, instead of by eight committees, as in the past. This action followed the President's veto of the budget bill. It is a practical application of the budget principle. Hereafter all officials with designs on the public purse must report to one committee of Congress, whose business it is to see that the garment is cut according to the cloth.

Secondly, there must be a reclassification and readjustment of the duties and salaries of Government employees so as to correct inequalities which have arisen as the result of injudicious practices in the past, and place Government salaries in proper relation with those in private employ. Readjustment does not necessarily mean raises in pay for everybody in the public service. It simply means consistency—fitting the salary to the job. Readjustment in the District of Columbia has recently received the attention of the Joint Commission on Reclassification of Salaries, which was authorized by a provision in the legislative, executive and judicial appropriation act approved March 1, 1919. The report of this commission is now in the hands of Congress. A large part of the field force has already been reclassified and readjusted. Effective July 1, 1920, the entrance salaries of postal employees, who constitute probably one-third of the Government force outside the District of Columbia, were substantially increased and provision was made for automatic advances, dependent upon good work, for a certain number of years, after which the rule of the survival of the fittest will prevail.

This increase in the pay of postal employees, without corresponding increases in the pay of other federal civil employees, has resulted in still more confusion by creating a marked disparity in salaries of employees in dif-

ferent branches of the service who are engaged in practically the same grade of work. The natural result is that the postal service is being recruited at the expense of other branches.

The following is typical of letters received almost daily by the Civil Service Commission:

How can you expect to get first-class men for this work at \$3000 to \$3600 a year? We pay our men \$6000 and expenses.

This letter came from the western manager of a large oil concern and was prompted by the announcement by the Civil Service Commission of an examination to fill a position of expert driller under the Bureau of Mines. Might it not be possible to conduct the Government's business with fewer employees, adequately paid, and, therefore, of better quality? True economy in employment is not measured by the amount of salary alone; it is measured by the amount of salary as compared with results produced.

Third, there is needed a system of promotions on merit thruout the service under competent central jurisdiction. There can be no question that at present "outside" influence is often brought to bear in the matter of promotions. A system in which the employees themselves, the department interested, and the central governing agency are all represented, is entirely feasible. Such a plan would prevent a recurrence of the inequalities which now exist and which it is sought to correct by the reclassification which has already been recommended.

No such system could be completely effective unless it held dismissal as the penalty for falling below a fair standard.

The fourth obvious step is a provision for promotion of worthy subordinates to the more responsible and, therefore, the more remunerative positions. No lengthy argument should be needed to convince any intelligent person that the prospect of advancement thru merit to the supervisory offices would tend to improve the quality of applicants for Government employment.

For many years it has been evident on every hand that the efficiency of the civil service has been seriously reduced by the retention of aged employees who have outlived their usefulness. This defect is being corrected by the recently enacted law which provides for retirement with an annuity. Semi-monthly contributions by the employees to the pension fund are required by the law. The purpose of retirement and pensions for Government employees is not philanthropic; the idea is based upon sound business principles.

The substance of these recommendations for the betterment of the civil service is simply this: "The palm to him who merits it."

A message from the American Government to the American people is much like a letter from yourself to

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## A Subtle Principle of Success



This subtle principle in my hands, without education, without capital, without training, without experience, and without study or waste of time and without health, vitality or will power has given me the power to earn more than a million dollars without selling merchandise, stocks, bonds, books, drugs, appliances or any material thing of any character.

*This subtle and basic principle of success* requires no will power, no exercise, no strength, no energy, no study, no writing, no dieting, no concentration and no conscious deep breathing. There is nothing to practice, nothing to study, and nothing to sell.

This subtle and basic principle of success does not require that you practice economy or keep records, or memorize or learn to do anything, or force yourself into any action or invest in any stocks, bonds, books, or merchandise.

This Subtle Principle must not be confused with memory systems, "will power" systems, Christian Science, psychology, magnetism, thrift or economy, nor should it be confused with health systems, auto-suggestion, concentration, "personality," self-confidence or opportunity, nor should this Subtle Principle be confused with initiative, mental endurance, luck, chance, self-analysis or self-control. Neither should this principle be confused with imagination, enthusiasm, persuasion, force or persistence, nor with the art or science of talking or salesmanship, or advertising.

*No one has yet succeeded in gaining success without it.*

*No one has ever succeeded in failing with it.*

*It is absolutely the master key to success, prosperity and supremacy.*

When I was eighteen years of age, it looked to me as though I had absolutely no chance to succeed. Fifteen months altogether in common public school was the extent of my education. I had no money. When my father died, he left me twenty dollars and fifty cents, and I was earning hardly enough to keep myself alive. I had no friends for I was negative and of no advantage to any one. I had no plan of life to help me solve any problem. In fact, I did not know enough to know that life is and was a real problem even though I had an "acute problem of life" on my hands. I was blue and despondent and thoughts of eternal misery arose in my mind constantly. I was a living and walking worry machine.

I was tired, nervous, restless. I could not sleep. I could not digest without distress. I had no power of application. Nothing appealed to me. Nothing appeared worth doing from the fear that I could not do anything because of my poor equipment of mind and body. I felt that I was shut out of the world of success and I lived in a world of failure.

I was such a pauper in spirit that I blindly depended on drugs and doctors for my health as my father before me. I was a "floater" and depended on luck for success. The result of this attitude on my part was greater weakness, sickness, failure and misery as is always the case under similar condition.

Gradually my condition became worse. I reached a degree of misery that seemed intolerable. I reached a crisis in my realization of my failure and adverse condition.

Out of this misery and failure and pauperism of spirit—out of this distress—arose within me a desperate reaction—"a final effort to live"—and through this reaction, arose within me, the discovery of the laws and principles of life, evolution, personality, mind, health, success and supremacy. Also out of this misery arose within me the discovery of the inevitable laws and principles of failure and sickness and inferiority.

When I discovered that I had unconsciously been employing the principles of failure and sickness, I immediately began to use the principles of success and supremacy. My life underwent an almost immediate change. I overcame illness through health, weakness through power, inferior evolution by superior evolution, failure by success, and converted pauperism into supremacy.

I discovered a principle which I observed that all successful personalities employ,

either consciously or unconsciously. I also discovered a principle of evolution and believed that if I used it, that my conditions would change, for I had but one disease—failure, and therefore there was but one cure—success, and I began to use this principle and out of its use arose my ambition, my powers, my education, my health, my success and my supremacy, etc., etc.

*You may also use this principle of success deliberately, purposefully, consciously and profitably.*

Just as there is a principle of darkness there is also a principle of failure, ill-health, weakness and negativeness. If you use the principle of failure consciously or unconsciously, you are sure always to be a failure. Why seek success and supremacy through blindly seeking to find your path through the maze of difficulties? Why not open your "mental eyes" through the use of this subtle success principle, and thus deliberately and purposefully and consciously and successfully advance in the direction of supremacy and away from failure and adversity?

I discovered this subtle principle—this key to success—through misery and necessity. You need never be miserable to have the benefit of this subtle principle. You may use this success principle just as successful individuals of all time, of all countries, of all races, and of all religions have used it either consciously or unconsciously, and as I am using it consciously and purposefully. It requires no education, no preparation, no preliminary knowledge. Any one can use it. Any one can harness, employ and capitalize it, and thus put it to work for success and supremacy. Regardless of what kind of success you desire, this subtle principle is the key that opens the avenue to what you want.

### It was used by

Moses,	Clemenceau,	Elbert Hubbard,
Caesar,	George Washington,	Shakespeare,
Napoleon,	Marshall Field,	Mozart,
Roosevelt,	Sarah Bernhardt,	Mendelssohn,
Rockefeller,	Galli-Curci,	Copernicus,
Herbert Spencer,	Nordica,	Confucius,
Emerson,	Melba,	Mohammed,
Darwin,	Cleopatra,	Cicero,
Morgan,	Alexander the Great,	Demosthenes,
Harriman,	Edison,	Aristotle,
Woodrow Wilson,	Newton,	Plutarch,
Charles Schwab,	Wanamaker,	Christopher Columbus,
Lloyd-George,	Phil Armour,	Vanderbilt,
Charles E. Hughes,	Andrew Carnegie,	Marcus Aurelius,
Abraham Lincoln,	Frick,	Pericles,
		Lycurgus,
		Benjamin Franklin,

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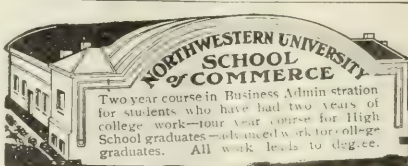
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Washington, D. C.

## The Little Dots That Make the Mighty Map

(Continued from page 264)

player would run to third base instead of first and try to call his single a three-bagger.

Cities draw the people who are striving to do something, to reach a goal. Day after day they see men and women speed over the line and win their laurel crowns. The vast horde of strivers has time to look up and cheer because each hopes to get there in his turn. If Caruso lived in a village someone would probably have him arrested, thinking that he must be drunk or he wouldn't be singing so much. Babe Ruth would probably be suspected of bribing the pitchers. In a village one always hears: "He's a nice fellow but—" Until they can leave off that "but" they all look alike to me whether they are built of pine boards or ivy covered rock.

New York City

## Pebbles

"Madeline is quite a noisy girl."  
 "Yes, she combs her hair with a bang."  
 —Froth.

Mabel—Did the doctor treat you?  
 Helen—No; he charged me five dollars.  
 —Jester.

Tim—I've got to work hard next year.  
 Tam—Why, aren't you coming back to college?—Gargoyle.

Harold—Bring me an egg nog.  
 Waiter—We have plenty of eggs, sir, but we are all out of nogs.—Punch Bowl.

"Helen changed a lot last year."  
 "How's that?"  
 "She had a job as cashier."—Purple Cow.

She (upon leaving restaurant)—That waiter seems terribly tired.  
 He—I'm pretty well spent myself.—Pitt Panther.

The Bride—Oh, Jack, I could sit here forever!  
 The Groom—So could I, darling. Let's go back to the hotel and have lunch first.  
 —Life.

"I want to ask for your daughter's hand," said the suitor to her father.  
 "All right, boy. Go to it. Take the hand that is always in my pocket."—Ladies' Home Journal.

Jack—You've got a bad cold, Pete.  
 Pete—Yeh.  
 Jack—How'd you get it?  
 Pete—I slept in a field last night and someone left the gate open!—Boys' Life.



## Shall Labor Get Complete Control?

(Continued from page 268)

Workmen's Compensation legislation in Illinois. He has in the ten years I have known him, never to my knowledge advanced, or even advocated any constructive piece of legislation, and he has held his position with the Chicago Federation, because he is honest and because he is a skilled labor politician. John Fitzpatrick hasn't the slightest idea of the problems of industry, he can't conceive of overhead expense as anything more than graft, and he lacks all knowledge of the problems of production, distribution and the sale of the products of industry. His horizon begins and ends with the wrongs that labor has suffered, and he usually refers to wrongs that wise legislation and a changed relationship have remedied.

That the commission succumbed to the spell of Mr. Fitzpatrick's personality is a tribute to Mr. Fitzpatrick's dramatic powers, but hardly to his sincerity or to the justice of his cause.

To Foster and Fitzpatrick the steel industry presented an opportunity for organization, not for a righting of industrial wrongs. It was the great labor prize of the industrial field, and to succeed in organizing the Steel Corporation, would bring to the leaders the broadest recognition and the highest reward the labor world had to offer.

The real or imaginary wrongs of the workers played not the slightest part in the decision to organize the steel industry.

It was the citadel of the open shop that was the subject of attack, it was the last barrier against complete and final unionization of American Industry, against which Foster and Fitzpatrick combined their resources.

And it is to the everlasting credit of Judge Gary that he successfully resisted this attack, for it is to the interest of the public that the principle of the open shop be sustained.

We have had many examples in the past two years of the effects of unlimited power in the hands of arbitrary, unwise, and selfish leadership. Organized labor has grown in membership, in political influence, in political power, and the public is today concerned, not with bringing industry within the pale of the law, but in devising some means of enforcing upon labor collective responsibility for collective action.

Lenin and Trotzky are said to head an organization of six hundred thousand members, yet they control the destiny of one hundred and twenty million people.

The leaders who could control the railroads, the coal mines and the steel industry thru the complete organization of the employees of these three vital occupations, would have a strangle hold on the public.

The effect of a complete labor control of industry would be infinitely more baneful to the public's interest than a complete monopoly of industry by capital, because it would be harder to regulate, and more difficult to end.

We have escaped monopoly by capital, let us see to it that our emotions and sympathies will not lead us into the toils of a labor monopoly.

Our labor friends are skilled in the art of arousing sympathy, and are ever ready to make appeal to that great quality in the American people. But let us all meet these appeals with the knowledge that, for the nonce, labor is the top dog in the industrial struggle, and that hereafter labor's plea for general control of industry must be weighed in the light of its influence on the public welfare.

Labor today controls our railroads and our coal mines, and the public is in daily dread lest a new demand will result in another stoppage of the service of these two vital industries.

The spirit of competition, that life-giving fillip of American enterprise, no longer exists in these industries, and the deterioration in service shows it.

Are we prepared to surrender still another of our large industries to the control of an unseasoned, unwise, an often wholly selfish and an always irresponsible leadership? And would Mr. Foster and Mr. Fitzpatrick give us better and cheaper steel and a more contented mass of employees than Judge Gary and Mr. Schwab?

Let us admit that there is a sad lack of understanding between many employers and their employees, but let us also acknowledge the tremendous strides which industry generally has made in the last decade in the improvement in the sanitation and safety of its workshops.

As political democracy has evolved to its present, by no means complete state thru the slow process of centuries of strife and adjustment, so industry is advancing steadily toward better understanding, a more effective coöperation, toward, if you please, a more democratic form of administration. There is much to overcome before a perfect scheme of industrial control is reached, and it cannot be reached without occasional strife. But that is no reason why we should despair of the ultimate result.

The leaders of labor and the leaders of industry represent a cross section of American manhood. Neither are lily white, neither jet black. They are engaged in an economic struggle in which the public's interest frequently suffers, and it therefore behooves the public to revise the rules under which the contest takes place.

The most effective revision would be to enforce responsibility for losses deliberately, arbitrarily, or inconsiderately inflicted. That would, at least, narrow the bounds of the conflict and reduce the loss. And in the meantime, the public would itself learn to appreciate the relative value of the three factors in industry, capital, labor and management, and would find a way of determining the compensation due to each. For that, after all, is the problem.

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(Continued from page 267)



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wealth and mighty influence has stood for this thing year after year, in the face of promises to quit it, and that the hours of work per week are greater now than they were ten years ago.

Another thing will get widely registered. Those industrial managers who will not tolerate collective bargaining, who will not cooperate with labor unions and who rely upon the old boss method of hiring and firing whomever they please, whenever they please, for whatever cause they please, will be obliged to discover some method, as yet unknown to them, whereby absolute autocracy in industry can be made to work without creating such a hubbub as to disorganize all the rest of current life. Dummy employee associations, under-cover industrial spies, outreries against the closed shop, charges of Bolshevism, however forceful and interesting at times, are hopelessly ineffective substitutes for genuine representation of the workers, frequent conferences, mutual understanding and practical cooperation between employer and employee.

The commission was entirely persuaded that the conduct of the recent steel strike was strictly orthodox according to labor union policies in its every phase, with no acceptance whatever given to the radical ideas of the I. W. W. or of Bolshevism. The press of the country quite generally gave the impression that the wildest radicals were in the saddle and that the objective was the complete overturn of our entire industrial system.

The strike was waged wholly in the cause of hours, wages and control of jobs and over the manner in which all these matters were determined. The annual earnings of 72 per cent of all the workers were below the standard set by Government experts as the *minimum of comfort* level for families of five. Likewise as many as one-third of the productive iron and steel workers were below the Government level named as the *minimum of subsistence*. All this in spite of the fact that the most highly skilled men in the steel works are perhaps the best paid men in industry.

The commission reports a very sad and dangerous and unnecessary suppression of civil liberties, especially in Western Pennsylvania, where press and pulpit, very largely, and officers of the law were all used as partizan adjuncts of the steel companies, and strikers were grievously denied not only free speech and assemblage, but also were denied protection of property, life and limb.

Altho the commission did not have time to make a thoro investigation of welfare work and safety devices in the steel mills, there is much to indicate that the companies have made a record in these directions in which they may take just pride.

The strength and efficiency of the strikers' organization in comparison with that of the companies was pitiful to behold. It is amazing what courage and hopefulness men will display thru long weeks of dreary fighting against such tremendous odds. The strikers had little or no chance of winning the battle, having insufficient organization, inadequate leadership, no control of the great avenues of publicity, very limited funds, class prejudice from without and race prejudice within. They have gone back to work—those who were permitted to do so—compelled by the lash of economic necessity, sullen and revengeful, and nothing has been settled, no grievance removed, no confidence or good will generated.

Unless something is done by the companies on their own initiative, or under the stress of Government supervision or thru the pressure of public opinion, to put their industrial relations on a more stable basis in the light of the present hour, the tragedy will recur, the battle will be fought all over again, the fearful waste and extravagance of another industrial conflict of huge proportions will again be saddled upon a public which is fast approaching the limit of its endurance.

The report closes with a number of practical, constructive recommendations, calling upon the Federal Government to set up a commission to bring about immediate conference between the companies and the workers for the purpose of eliminating the twelve-hour day and the seven-day week and for the readjustment of wage rates; also to establish an adequate plan of permanent free conference to regulate the conduct of the industry in future. The Federal Government is called upon to make a full inquiry into the past and present state of civil liberties in Western Pennsylvania, to investigate and regulate labor detective agencies, to make public two reports of recent investigations made by the Government into the conditions in the steel industry which never have been made properly available.

If there is immediate response to these suggestions and the work proposed is pressed with vigor and fairness to both sides, something substantially worth while will be accomplished in due process of time. But how much more satisfactory in every way it would be, how much more might easily be accomplished, how quickly would the present dangerous drift be turned, if only a true light might break out from within the camp of organized capital, engendering at once a better spirit within the camp of organized labor, and producing a working basis by which all future differences may be settled without resort to the power of brute force! It is being done in some industries. Why not in steel, too?

Boston



## The Duty of the Church

(Continued from page 268)

composed of different classes which are united in support of certain activities of the church, but are not united as regards political and industrial opinions. No one group can quite represent the other and therefore can hardly speak as the representative of the church. Unanimity of opinion among church members seems possible only when the issue has been lifted into the sphere of morals.

Such facts as these, however, do not warrant total indifference on the part of individual Christian people to proper investigation of industrial and social conditions, nor do they forbid organized groups of Christians using such reliable information as is obtainable or of getting it if it is not otherwise obtainable. As a matter of fact, this report on the steel strike is not that of any denomination or group of denominations. It was drawn up by a commission appointed by the Industrial Relations Department of the Interchurch World Movement. It did much of its work thru the professional investigators furnished by the Bureau of Industrial Research. The fact that the report was adopted by the Industrial Relations Department of the Interchurch World Movement after no little discussion is evidence that the department has confidence in the methods employed and in the information the report contains. The report is thus made by representatives of representatives of organized Christianity and is published by a group of men as to whose character and sympathy there can be no fair question. It is idle to say it is merely partizan.

The whole matter shows that we need a body of experts, partizans of no opinions, capable of making scientific studies of social conditions and of making reports upon the same. If we only had such a body possessing the respect and confidence of all parties concerned we should be much better able to see the moral issue involved in an industrial situation. Only by the massing of facts will it be possible for us to see elements of justice and injustice in a conflict between interested parties. Until such reliable data are gained, our moral teaching must very largely deal with principles rather than with distinct situations. In so far as the commission on the steel strike has pioneered in this sort of method, it deserves appreciation. In so far as it has failed to maintain the strictly investigative spirit, its findings will naturally be discounted. It ought to help us to distinguish between moral issues and detailed programs of reform; for it is one thing to stand for justice and another to be an umpire as to what is justice. At all events, discussion of the facts which the report sets forth can no more be regarded as industrial radicalism than criticism of the church for attempting to apply the teaching of Jesus to social affairs can be attributed to all employers.

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## Are We Downhearted? No!

(Continued from page 265)

2,760,000 to 1,636,000 "demanding the withdrawal of all British troops from Ireland and the cessation of the production of munitions of war, destined to be used against Ireland and Russia."

"And in case the Government refuses these demands," the Trade Union Congress proceeds, "we recommend a general down tools policy and call on all the trade unions here represented to carry out this policy, each according to its own constitution, by taking a ballot of its members or otherwise."

This resolution denying the right of the majority in the state to settle the political policy of the state is itself a majority resolution of the Congress.

I sincerely hope that both in Ireland and in Poland the skies may clear and the storm clouds disperse.

But the British Government can hardly consent to have its hands tied in case of worse troubles ahead by the ukase of the British Trades Unionists.

If the British Government succeeds in escaping trouble with the trade unions over our foreign policy, or in attempting to deal with the murders in Ireland, there are still rocks ahead nearer home. The miners are in the words of one of their leaders, rising like lions after their long slumber in unvanquishable numbers, and moreover they are realizing that "we are many and ye are few."

Realizing this fact they intend to use it, as I am informed, to obtain a further large increase of wages, to which the Government is not likely to assent.

The rise of wages cannot go on forever, and I do not believe that these new demands of the coal miners are the result of any feeling that present wages are not fair and reasonable.

They are pushed on by those who want to give the new remedy of Direct Action a fair trial, who want to try once more whether the Government cannot be reduced to impotent submission if a great industry withholds its services.

They want to realize the millennium of which Disraeli drew such a remarkable picture eighty years ago:

The whole of the north of England and a great part of the midland counties were in a state of disaffection; the entire country was suffering; hope had deserted the laboring classes: they had no confidence in any future of the existing system. Their organization, independent of the political system of the Chartists, was complete. Every trade had its union, and every union its lodge in every town and its central committee in every district. . . . A flowing standard of silk was borne before the leader like the oriflamme. Never was such a gaunt, grim crew. As they advanced, their numbers continually increased, for they arrested all labor in their progress. Every engine was stopped, the plug was driven out of every boiler, every fire was extinguished, every man was turned out. The decree went forth that labor was to cease until the charter was the law of the land; the mine and the mill, the foundry and the loomshop, were, until that consummation, to be idle; nor was the mighty pause to be confined to these great enterprises. Every trade of every

kind and description was to be stopped—tailor and cobbler, brushmaker and sweep, tinker and carter, mason and builder, all; for all an enormous Sabbath that was to compensate for any incidental suffering which it induced by the increased means and the elevated condition that it ultimately would ensure.

But there are two saving facts, first the British working man is not by nature a revolutionary, and secondly he is not in fact oppressed or underpaid.

The progress achieved in eighteen months of reconstruction is amazing. There are still mountains to be removed. But already we can say that industry is restored, signs of comfort and prosperity about us. We who did not lose heart in 1914, are hopeful that we shall still surmount the difficulties of 1920.

London, England

## Books of the Hour

THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE, by S. C. Vestal (Putnam). A somewhat ponderous defense of the doctrine of the balance of power as the only preventative of wars.

THE CITIZEN AND THE REPUBLIC, by James A. Woodburn and Thomas F. Moran (Longmans, Green). A good civics textbook, with particular emphasis on party organization.

THE NEW FRONTIER, by Guy Emerson (Holt). The spirit of liberalism, the product of the individualism and experimentalism of the frontier, as the pervasive principle of American life.

STEPS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY, by Andrew Cunningham McLaughlin (Abingdon Press). High-hearted historical essays on the evolution of the American ideal of democracy.

THE BALKANS, A LABORATORY OF HISTORY, by William M. Sloane (Abingdon Press). A reprint of Professor Sloane's well-known history of the Balkan wars with added material to bring it up to date.

IRELAND AN ENEMY OF THE ALLIES? by R. C. Escouffaire (Dutton). An attack on Irish nationalism by a Frenchman embittered by the pro-German policy of the Sinn Fein extremists during the Great War.

THE UNITED STATES, AN EXPERIMENT IN DEMOCRACY, by Prof. Carl Becker (Harpers). Keen, clear, impartial analysis of American institutions and traditions, reminding the reader in many ways of Bryce's *American Commonwealth*.

A STRAIGHT DEAL OR THE ANCIENT GRUDGE, by Owen Wister (Macmillan). A well-intended attempt to remove American prejudices against the English by a reconsideration of history. Makes many true and effective points, but is a little exclusive in its attitude towards nations outside the frontiers of Anglo-Saxondom.

THE IRISH CASE BEFORE THE COURT OF PUBLIC OPINION, by P. Whitwell Wilson (Revell). A correspondent of the London *Daily News* presents the British case against Irish independence to an American audience. A remarkably fair-minded and adequate summary of the reasons for viewing with distrust the Sinn Fein propaganda.

THE GHOST IN THE WHITE HOUSE, by Gerald Stanley Lee (Dutton). This book is about spiritual politics, not spiritualistic politics, as the title might indicate. The ghost is the mind of the hundred million human beings whose insistent needs must haunt the desk and pillow of the next occupant of the White House. Mr. Lee, who is well known to every independent reader, tries to interpret the ghost and reduce his vague aspirations to thoughts about the political and industrial problems of the day.

PROBLEMS OF PEACE, by Guglielmo Ferrero (Putnam). The great Italian historian narrates the events of European politics from the time of the Holy Alliance to the organization of the League of Nations. His purpose is that Americans should better understand the historic roots of the problems with which Europe must grapple: "the meaning of the death struggle between France and Germany, the persecution of which the Catholic Church has been in turn the author and the victim, the revolutionary struggles in the Russian Empire which resemble the sulphurous emanations and intermittent rumblings of a volcano half asleep, the bitter internal discords in France which die down only to revive again, or the hideous death agonies of the Hapsburgs."



# The Independent

## The Cover

The statue of "The Maid of 1620," which is reproduced on the cover of The Independent this week, is to be erected in Plymouth, Massachusetts, to the memory of the women of the "Mayflower." Its dedication will be a part of the Tercenary celebration this fall to commemorate the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth in 1620. Henry Kitson, who designed this statue, is the Boston sculptor who made the famous "Minute Man" statue at Lexington, Massachusetts.

## Remarkable Remarks

**LEON TROTSKY**—In a year all Europe will be Bolshevik.

**DR. PEASE**—Cigaretts are fast bringing human civilization to ruin.

**MEREDITH NICHOLAS**—Happiness is the true touchstone of Democracy.

**MARTHA KEELER**—Girls are human documents and they won't stay put.

**NEAL R. O'HARA**—France has become décolleté beyond the decimal point.

**HERBERT COREY**—Many a treaty has left more enduring scars than the war which made it possible.

**GOVERNOR COX**—This is a progressive age and the seat of power rests in every home of America.

**WHITNEY WARREN**—I believe in d'Annunzio, and I think him the bravest man I have ever known.

**DR. J. B. CRANFILL**—The United States Senate crucified a bleeding world on a cross of partizan politics.

**PREMIER LLOYD GEORGE**—The last people in the world to complain about interfering with Russia are the Soviet Government.

**SECRETARY BAKER**—The interpretation of the Chicago platform by Senator Harding is even more obscure than the platform itself.

**OTTO H. KAHN**—Europe for the past year has been suffering less from the effects of the war than from the effects of the peace.

**JOHN BLAKE**—Decide as early in life as you can just how much time you can afford to waste, and never waste another hour beyond that limit.

**FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT**—By not signing the peace treaty we have placed ourselves in the same class with Bolshevik Russia, Mexico and unspeakable Turkey.

**HERBERT HOOVER**—If those who wear silk stockings could see the millions of people in Europe who have no stockings at all, they would take less satisfaction in the sheen and pattern of their costly hose.

**MRS. VINCENT ASTOR**—If there ever were women who gave dinners at which dogs and monkeys were the guests of honor, and at which eating off gold plates was the standard of luxury, they were surely rather to be pitied than scorned.

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## Pebbles

Judge—I sentence you to be hanged.  
Optimistic Prisoner—I love to be kept in suspense; it's so exciting.—*Widow.*

Simpleton—I see by the society journals that Mrs. Dashaway is going to Europe for her gowns.

Keene—Judging from her appearance I think she must have left her clothes somewhere.—*Cartoon's Magazine.*

Andrew Carnegie was once asked which he considered to be the most important factor in industry—labor, capital, or brains. The canny Scot replied, with a merry twinkle in his eye: "Which is the most important leg of a three-legged stool?" *The Virginia.*

Casey—Ye're a har-rd worrucker, Dooley. How many hods o' murther have yez carried up that ladder th' day?

Dooley—Whist, man—I'm foolin' th' boss. I've carried this same hodful up an' down all day, an' he thinks I'm worrakin'! —*Cleveland Leader.*

"No, sah, ah don't neber ride on dem things," said an old colored lady looking in on the merry-go-round. "Why, de other day I seen dat Rastus Johnson git on an' ride as much as a dollah's worth an' git off at the very same place he got on at, an' I sez to him: 'Rastus,' I sez, 'yo' spent yo' money, but whar yo' been?'"—*Ladies' Home Journal.*

A long and patient but vain effort on the part of a khaki-clad driver to induce a mule to draw what appeared to be a load of laundry thru the gateway of a local hospital afforded considerable amusement to the boys who were watching the proceedings. The mule would do anything but pass thru the gate.

"Want any 'elp, chum?" shouted one of the boys to the driver, as he rested for a moment.

"No," replied the driver, "but I'd like to know how Noah got two of these blighters into the Ark!"—*Tit-Bits.*

## New Plays

*The Lady of the Lamp.* A pipe dream transporting a young American into the imperial palace of Chengtu, 1200 years ago. Georgeous Chinese scenes and amusing situations. (Republic Theater.)

*Spanish Love,* by Avery Hopwood and Mary Roberts Rinehart. A thrilling and very beautiful tragedy. A large part of the action takes place in the midst of the audience without footlights or makeup. (Maxine Elliott's Theater.)

*Greenwich Village Follies*—An ultra-modern "revusical" show which rises to great artistic heights thru its staging by John Murray Anderson, in its colorful costumes designed by Robert E. Locher and James Reynolds, and in the dancing of Margaret Severn and Mlle. Phebe. It has low-brow comedy aplenty, too, including the inimitable Savoy and Brennan. But as Savoy would say, "You don't know the half of it, dearie," till you've seen the show for yourself! (Greenwich Village Theater.)





Wide World

# The Congress of Nations

In the friendly competition for athletic honors among the twenty-seven nations represented at the Olympic games there has been evidenced a spirit of real international good will. Athletes of amateur standing can usually be counted on to be "good sports" in the best sense of that abused phrase. Perhaps the atmosphere of these outdoor games may furnish a stimulus to the councils of international diplomacy



Wide World

Charles Paddock, of the American team, won the 100 meters race by a spectacular jump across the finish line



© International

In the royal box at the Olympic games was one of the most interested spectators, King Albert of Belgium, who is an athlete as well as a King. On the King's right is the Queen of Belgium, and beyond her Prince Leopold. On the other side, at the right of the photograph, is Cardinal Mercier

Ethelda Bleibtrey, of New York, broke a record almost every time she dove for a race at the Olympic games



Wide World



© International

A statue of a Belgian soldier guarded the entrance to the Stadium in Antwerp where the seventh Olympiad was held. Above is the opening ceremony of the games



© International

A representative of each of the twenty-seven nations participating raised his national flag at the opening of the Olympiad in Antwerp and swore that all the contestants would "take part in the games in a chivalrous spirit for the honor of their countries"



# The Independent

September 11, 1920

## The Call of the Offshore Wind

A Message from the United States Government to the American People

By Admiral W. S. Benson

Chairman of the United States Shipping Board

THE eyes of the world are upon us as we work for the establishment of a permanent American merchant marine. They saw our shipyards work wonders during the war. They saw our ocean tonnage rise under the stress of necessity until our country had taken second place in point of carrying capacity among the maritime nations of the world. Foreign powers watched us closely then—but no more closely than they are watching today. They know, what many of our own people do not understand, that ships alone, tho we have thousands of them, will not give us a permanent American merchant marine.

Our merchant marine was built backward, when considered as a peace time proposition. It had to be. Our war need called for ships and more ships. Our peace problems call for operators and efficiency in cargo handling. Now it is a question of seeking cargo. We had no such problem to deal with during the war.

As it existed on the day of the armistice our merchant marine might be compared to a gigantic tree, miraculously created, with but the slenderest roots. Unless new roots were given it, it would wither and die. The very enormity of it would hasten the process. The job of the Shipping Board was then to give the war-created merchant marine roots capable of sustaining it and inducing larger growth. These roots must reach deep into our national life.

A nation capable of whipping into shape between the declaration of war and the time when supplies were most urgently needed a fleet able to carry 93 per cent of the supplies, some seven million tons, and 45 per cent of her fighting forces overseas, certainly is capable of sustaining such a fleet when built. This fleet, with additions made since the armistice, amounts to approximately 3400 vessels of about 16,920,000 dead-weight tons. It cannot be sustained on a permanent basis, however, unless it receives from the whole people the same attention that was given to its building.

No American who is not unmindful of the lessons



"We must keep ever in mind," says Admiral Benson, "that the merchant marine has a direct relation to all of us, whether we be engaged in the work of the shop, the farm, or the forge"

taught by the war can fail to understand the importance to the nation of a large and efficient merchant marine, not only in times of conflict but also in times of peace. We were content before the war to allow 92 per cent of our foreign commerce to be carried in vessels flying foreign flags. It did not seem to hurt our pride that only 8 per cent of our foreign commerce was carried under our own flag. We did not understand the relationship of our merchant marine to our national prosperity, the extension and development of our foreign trade or even to our national defense.

We do understand these things now. We built a merchant marine during the war and put our faith in it. We should have the same faith in it today. Any American who lends himself to propaganda in any way tending to injure American shipping is a mighty poor sort of an American.

The unusually high record of performance of the shipbuilder, the ship operator and those who manned our ships—the American youths, the men of tomorrow—is sometimes forgotten because of the insidious spreading of exaggerated accounts that now and then find their way into our press, frequently under foreign date lines. It is evidence that the art of propaganda so effectively used in the war is still being used in an attempt to tear down what we are bent upon making permanent—an American merchant marine made up of ships built by Americans, owned by American capital, sailing under the American flag and carrying the products of this country to all the markets of the world.

An impression has been spread in some quarters that our vessels, constructed during the war, were strictly of an emergency character, hardly capable of standing the wear and tear of peace time usage. It is a fact that not all of those vessels were entirely satisfactory, but the greater bulk of this tonnage is not only seaworthy but of the most efficient type. This is proved by insurance returns, which show that ship losses, despite unusually severe operating conditions, are far



below normal in the government built merchant fleet.

I say, therefore, have faith in the American merchant marine. And do more than that. Take an active interest in its development. We cannot hope to have our merchant marine on a basis of healthy development until our people become more ship-minded and express their interest in the fleet thru legislation and investment and shipping securities. We must keep ever in mind that the merchant marine has a direct relation to all of us whether we be engaged in the work of the shop, the farm or the forge. No matter what our walk in life we should know how vital the development of the American merchant marine—a merchant marine worthy of the name—is to our future welfare.

At the rate we are turning out ships, the Emergency Fleet Corporation anticipates the completion of the present building program within a relatively short time. By the end of this year it is likely that most of the 2300 ships on the active building program will have been completed. Shipping history was made on the afternoon of Wednesday, July 21, when the Hog Island shipyard within the space of an hour launched seven



These scouts live far inland but they manage to go to sea tho they don't go near the water. With a tree for a mast and a wooden platform for a deck they've rigged up a sail and all the paraphernalia of boating and they're becoming "ship-minded" as fast as they can

401-foot vessels, representing 54,775 dead-weight tons of shipping. These seven fabricated steel ships were the last of the 122 built at this yard since August 5, 1918, with a total dead-weight tonnage of nearly 1,000,000.

With the completion of our program almost at hand, we have turned from the problems of ship production to the questions that daily arise in connection with the operation of our vast fleet. It is no longer a question of getting ships. It is now: How are they to be operated so that our main purpose—the establishment

of a permanent merchant marine—will be accomplished?

One of our basic needs is more of the right kind of youths trained for the sea who will enter our service on a merchant ship at the bottom rung with the hope, ambition and power ultimately to own the ship. The records of our Sea Placement Bureau, in this connection, are encouraging. They show that during the last six months, out of every ten men entering the service of vessels under our control, six on an average were American citizens. And this percentage is growing higher every week. In 1917 only [*Continued on page 315*]

## The Poison of Bolshevism

An intellectual who escaped from Soviet Russia said: "The worst is not that the Bolsheviki force starvation upon us; not that they make us freeze almost to death. The worst is that they have made such scoundrels out of us"

By Leo Pasvolksy

THE national crisis brought about by the war with Poland has afforded the Soviet Government and the circles closely associated with it an opportunity for an appeal to those elements of the Russian people which still persist in their opposition to the régime, particularly to the former officers and the intelligentsia, or educated classes. In the work of gaining the good will of the officers, the Soviet authorities have been assisted tremendously by the attitude taken at the very beginning of the Polish invasion by General Alexis Brusilov. In his letter to N. I. Rattel, the Red chief of staff, General Brusilov laid down two general principles which, in his opinion, were necessary in order that the Russian could meet the Polish danger. In the first place, he emphasized the supreme importance of arousing in the people a feeling of national patriotism, without which it would have been utterly impossible to create a fighting army. And in the second place, he proposed to the chief of staff that a special council be created, of men experienced both in military and civil affairs, for the purpose of organizing the struggle against the Poles.

As regards the first point, he said:

It is necessary for our people to understand that the

former Government was not right in holding under its domination a part of the Polish people and enforcing its rule by violence for over a century. Free Russia did exactly what it should have done in striking the chains off the former subject peoples. But in liberating the Poles and giving them an opportunity to order their affairs in accordance with their own desires, Russia has a right to demand the same thing from them, and the Polish invasion of the lands which since time immemorial belong to the Christian Orthodox Russian people, must be repelled by force.

As for the idea of a council, Brusilov considered that it was necessary that this council should be put in charge of the matter of supplies, both of food and munitions, and should not interfere in anyway with the actual military operations.

The Soviet authorities not only published Brusilov's letter most prominently in the official organ of the Government, the *Izvestia*, but also immediately created a council of the kind suggested by Brusilov and asked him to become the chairman of it. Several other generals of the imperial régime were also invited to become members of this council; the most important among them being General Polivanov, formerly Minister of War under the imperial régime, General Klembovsky, General Parsky, and others. Later on, General Brusilov was



appointed commander of the Soviet troops operating on the western front against the Poles. The successful leader of the last great offensive during the world war, General Brusilov in the last few weeks fought again over some of the territory on which he had fought so successfully against the German-Austrian armies.

Brusilov's appeal to the officers was also published prominently in the *Izvestia* and was reprinted in the newspapers published for the Russian prisoners of war abroad. In this appeal, which was signed by several other generals beside Brusilov, the officers of the old Russian army were addressed as follows:

We appeal to you to recall again your love for your motherland and to serve her with body and soul. We appeal to you to forget all your sufferings, no matter by whom they were caused, and to enter into the ranks of the army, obeying all the orders of the Soviet Government, in order that we may, by our common effort, save our Russia from dismemberment and destruction. If we shall not do this, Russia will perish, and we shall bear the blame for it. The future generations will deem us responsible for the destruction of our motherland and will accuse us of causing misfortunes to our people, because we considered only egotistical motives and class interests.

The Soviet Government took particular pains to bring this appeal to the attention of the Russian officers who were kept in concentration camps as counter-revolutionists, and as a result of it, many officers entered the ranks of the Red army.

An appeal analogous to that of General Brusilov was also issued by Admiral E. A. Berens, addressed to the naval officers of the imperial régime. Admiral Berens is at present chief of naval staff, and commander-in-chief of the naval forces of Soviet Russia. Formerly, under the imperial régime, he held the post of naval attaché in Berlin, in Holland and in other countries.

But while it was important for the Soviet régime to enlist the services of the officers and thru their presence in the ranks of the army to instill a patriotic feeling among the troops, it was just as important and perhaps even more so to do away with the opposition of



Keystone View

When the Reds sent their famous propaganda boat down the Volga they backed the arguments for Bolshevism with the force of well armed troops

the intelligentsia and to enlist its support. As one of the methods for doing this, the *Izvestia* published very

prominently an article signed by Professor N. A. Gredeskul, a former member of the First Duma. The article was entitled "The Polish Advance and the Intelligentsia." In this article the professor attempted to answer the question as to what should be done now when all the internal fronts of the civil war have been liquidated, with success on the side of the Soviets, and when only the Polish front remains.

Professor Gredeskul considers that the victory on the Siberian and the South-Russian fronts signified the choice of the Russian people, and that it remains for the intelligentsia merely to recognize this fact that to "begin the realization of the great social change." Thus at the end of the civil war, it should have been the duty of the intelligentsia to give all its powers to the work of the

rehabilitation of Russia, but the possibilities of creative work in this direction were interrupted by Polish invasion.

Analyzing the causes of the invasion and the aims which the Poles pursue, Professor Gredeskul considers that the first object of the invasion is to crush Bolshevism and not permit the establishment of a "Socialist régime in Russia." But that is only one side of the question. A more important purpose which the Poles have in view in their military operations against Russia is to crush Russia. Professor Gredeskul warns the intelligentsia that if Poland should be victorious over Russia, she would crush and destroy her, and this work of destruction would be absolutely without any mercy, for Russia would be destroyed under the guise of Bolshevism. Russia would then be placed in the position of a barbarous country. She would be dealt with as "a madman fit for a strait-jacket."

Nor does Professor Gredeskul have any faith in the Entente powers, for he considers that the Allies pursue exactly the same aim as do the Poles, viz., the destruction and the despoliation of Russia.

And the conclusion that Professor Gredeskul drew from all this was as follows: [Continued on page 324



Keystone View

General Alexis Brusilov, commander of the Soviet troops fighting against the Poles, has also helped direct the Soviet campaign to persuade patriotic Russians that in their joining with the Bolsheviki now lies the only hope of Russia's future



Keystone View

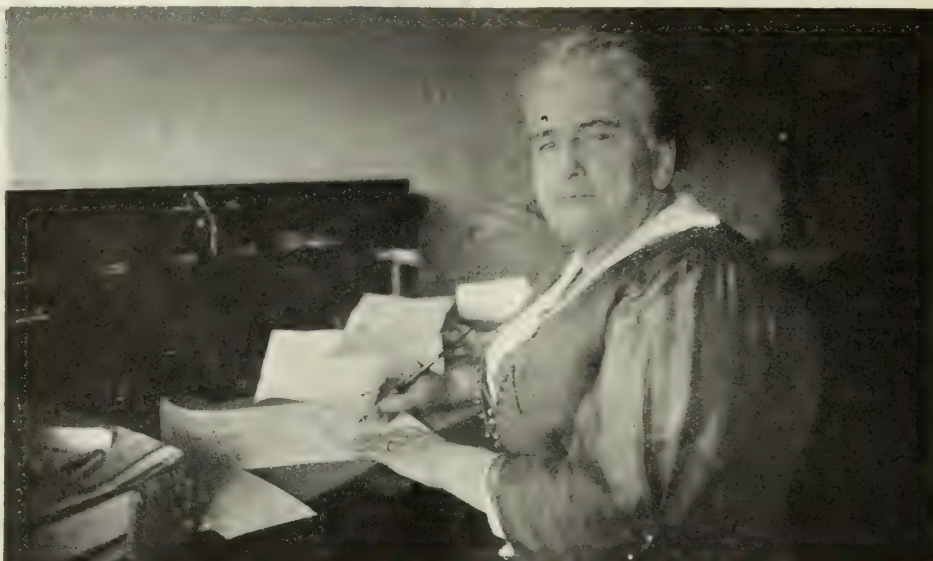
The Bolsheviki now are supplementing violence with propaganda in the hope of educating the young and converting the intellectuals. Commissioner Kalenin, director of municipal economy in the Petrograd government, is shown here lecturing



# Women as Citizens

By Anna Howard Shaw

A hitherto unpublished article written just before her death by the great leader of the woman suffrage movement in America



**T**HE two most important facts that the war indelibly impressed upon the consciousness of mankind are: first, the solidarity of the human race and the interdependence of nations; second, the realization that women are not apart from humanity but are a part of humanity—that there is no sex in suffering or in justice, in freedom or in government.

When the United States Government called upon American women to organize for war it was the first time in history that a great government recognized at the very beginning of a war the importance of the conservation of women's work in the conduct of war . . . Women realized the obligation and the duty to respond . . . It was the first time that it was generally recognized that the co-operation of both the man-power and the woman-power of a nation is absolutely necessary, in times of war and of peace, if all the interests of the nation are to be conserved . . . This necessity was manifest in keeping alive those agencies of government in the home and in the educational, social and spiritual life upon which the hope of the future is based.

The immediate response of women to the call . . . proved, if proof were needed, the efficiency, the loyalty and the patriotic devotion of women.

It aroused and strengthened in women a civic and political conscience that will forever pre-

vent them from failing to recognize the sacred obligations and duties of citizenship.

It showed the governments of the world that public concerns are not narrowed or controlled by sex but that these concerns are human and universal in their application, and that no class, no race, no sex, can justly be eliminated from participation in national life without a corresponding loss to the group and to the state.

**W**OMEN are not and never have been a group apart with their interests different from those of men. They are a part of the life of the nation. Their interests are identical with and bound up with national success. Therefore they will never permanently separate themselves from men in order to secure success in the field of industry, education, social or political life.

The war, dire tho its results in many directions were, taught the lesson of a new democracy not only in respect to the solidarity of the human race but in respect to the existing unity of human interests.

It made clear that the world would never be a safe place for democracy until it is established upon the sure foundation of equality, liberty and justice for all.

. . . And that is the kind of democracy that is dear to our hearts and for which women pledge their lives and their honor.



# Entering the Promised Land



A million women signed the petitions carried in this last march for woman suffrage in New York

## Four Interviews Concerning Suffrage

By  
Donald Wilhelm

**W**OMEN seem to have hung their rope ladders on the gates so long kept shut by their political lords and masters and climbed up the mossy old walls behind which for ages they have been condemned to water the vines and wait. And now it looks as tho they might draw their ladders up after them. For, as Governor Calvin Coolidge, the Republican candidate for Vice-President, admits, theirs is the power and the glory—and the responsibility, too. In other words, the Canaanites, the zealots of this changing day, have entered Canaan, and now perforce must cultivate it and make it flower supremely.

"But in national affairs, the touchstone of all affairs, how shall women do that best?" I asked no less a person than Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Democratic candidate for Vice-President, who for seven years has been Assistant Secretary of the Navy and is by common reputation one of the best informed men in Washington.

He enunciated his "message" to American women straightway:

"How shall women best express themselves in our national life?" Mr. Roosevelt repeated. "Well, read two papers, one representing each side. Read the platforms and the statements of the issues presented by the candidates. Get the national rather than the local point of view. Then make up your mind."

He went on to explain:

"My fundamental thought is that women voters have to face the same danger that men voters have to face, or an even greater danger—the danger of getting their information about public questions from one side and taking that information as the absolute truth. Please understand, too, that I am not suggesting that women should read a Democratic paper and Democratic statements only. I am asking them to read both Democratic and Republican papers and statements, then to make up their minds. If they do that, and get the national rather than the local point of view, they will improve the entire running of our Government 50 per cent in a very few years.

"The great majority of women voters have come into the franchise so recently that they are not bound by the party traditions or inherited tendencies that men are bound by. Man, the average voting man, is more or less influenced from the age of fourteen up by the politics of his father, with the result that most men voters instinctively have a more or less distinct party trend. On the other hand I do not subscribe to the talk about

women being emotional when they come to make up their minds. When it comes to making up their minds I can't believe women are any more emotional than men."

It was then suggested that the advent of the enormous woman electorate is much like the advent of a new state. "How then," the Secretary was asked, "shall women exactly express themselves in national affairs? With the ballot, merely?"

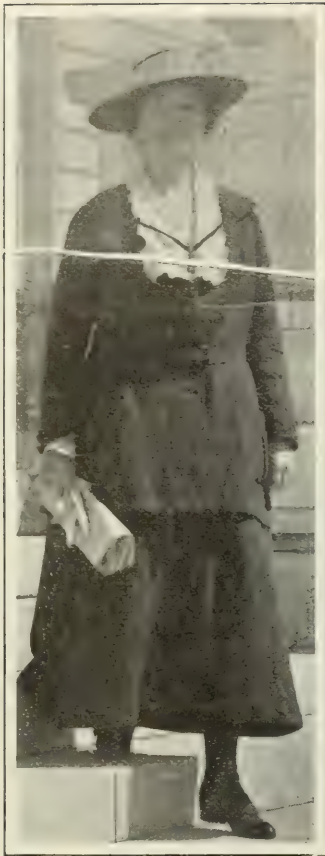
"Absolutely no," he replied, emphatically. "The most, and the least, and the best that women can do in and for the nation is for them exactly to express themselves not only with the ballot but also in the other ways that men express themselves. They ought by all means to seek public office, not for the office but for the service they can render the nation in office. I have no doubt on that score. In the various bureaus and boards that I have worked with the presence of women has without question improved the general tone of things and, I think, broadened efforts and made them more businesslike."

"And how else should women express themselves?"

"Well, in a broad way, both collectively and individually, as men do. Thru their organizations. Individually, too. I hope, however, they will not put much faith in perfunctory propaganda directed at legislators. To illustrate, I observed when I was in the New York State Senate that as soon as measures of any large importance came up propaganda for or against these measures would appear—printed postal cards, for instance, or telegrams, furnished by some organization or other and sent to constituents to be signed and forwarded. Soon I paid very little attention, and I think legislators generally do, to such perfunctory communications that express no individual point of view. But when I received a personal call from a constituent I found unusually that he had given the matter in hand no little thought, and I knew I could learn something from him. He came to educate me, and I wanted to learn. Again, when I received a long, hand-written communication expressed in an individual's terms, I knew it meant individual thought and I gave it ten times the attention I gave a form letter, card or telegram."

The Secretary of Agriculture, Edwin T. Meredith, whose views, it was felt, ought to be of especial interest to women on the farms, next pondered the leading question. At the outset he granted that when rather recently he took office he was disconcerted by





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Miss Anne Martin, candidate for United States Senator from Nevada, believes that "it is necessary for the welfare of the nation that women's viewpoint should be expressed in government"

sional politicians "interfered" by bargaining their influence for office.

"Men in politics," the Secretary replied, "usually belong to one of two groups. There is one great group who want their party to win because they want its policies applied for the good of the nation. There is another group who want their organization to win in order to secure patronage. I feel that women will not in the main belong, in the near future at least, to either of these groups, but that they will go into politics to get specific things done. It will be easier now for them to get things done, for when they express themselves to Congressmen and Senators, or State legislatures, those in office will know that half of their constituents are women. My thought is that women can and will accomplish a vast deal, largely from their own firesides, by education—by the creation of public opinion. It may be doubted if any great and enduring change in any nation's life was ever achieved except by change of public opinion. In general, I think women instinctively will accomplish most by devoting themselves to causes—to the improvement of the tone of politics, abolition of child

the traditional disharmony between Congress and the executive departments, which, he agreed, is disturbing when Congress and the President are of the same political faith and all but disastrous to satisfactory governmental service when they are of different political faiths. He added that he believed women are too practical and direct long to endure such quibbling and cross-purpose. "Women," he smiled, "are quite too accustomed to bringing home in their market baskets what they go shopping for."

He added: "I feel that women are going to want and to demand better service on the part of the Government—better laws, more efficient management of public affairs, also the elimination of political interference and patronage."

It was suggested that the hundreds of women who attended the political conventions saw very clearly how, in both the major parties, profes-

labor, better health, better education and citizenship—causes such as these."

Causes, yes! Causes rather than presidential candidates, in this election surely, many leaders say. "But what kind of causes?" I asked a progressive United States Senator who has fretted the Republican old guard greatly by his liberalism.

"You want to know, for your own information," he replied, "what causes women can champion with best results to our national life?"

"Exactly."

"I'll tell you in a minute. They ought to take up the whole question of popular government. They ought to learn, they ought to establish schools in which to teach, the principles of popular government and the processes by which the people can control the politicians. Some of these principles are the initiative, the referendum, the mandatory primary, the preferential ballot and the short ballot, the use of the publicity pamphlet, the use of corrupt practices acts. It will never be possible to have a Government that is as good as honest people



© Keystone View

Mayor Miller (center) and the four councilwomen round her defeated an all-man ticket for the city government of Jackson, Wyoming, this year. Two husbands ran for office in opposition to their wives, but were beaten. Jackson used to be a pretty fair sample of the "bad town" of the wild and woolly West, but even the men are strong in their approval of its petticoat government now

desire until principles and processes such as these are in effect."

But the writer doubts, so far as women are concerned, and apparently most of the experienced leaders of women also doubt, if now, when women have barely come of age politically, they could be rallied in support of causes as fundamental, and as abstract, as these that the Senator suggests. "For at this juncture," Miss Anne Martin, the first woman candidate for the United States Senate and now a second time candidate, told me, "women must not, of all times, risk the ground they have already gained."

"They must play safe?"

"Yes."

Then shall women express themselves by their sweet, clinging-vine appeals to gallantry?

That would be to build the future of women on the most insecure foundation in the world. "In the South especially," one Southern woman, a national committee-woman in the Democratic party, said in an interview—"that is a great danger, a far greater dan- [Continued on page 316]



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Mrs. Annette Abbott Adams, a Californian, is the first woman to serve as Assistant Attorney General of the United States. "There are many men," says Mrs. Adams, "still slow to give women credit even when they have done good work"



Seventh article in The Independent's Industrial Series on the big plants that are finding a successful answer to the problems of labor unrest



The Dennison factory at Framingham, Massachusetts, gives its employees the profits their own industry and imagination create

# Where the Workers Own the Stock

By Professor John R. Commons of the University of Wisconsin

In collaboration with A. P. Haake, O. F. Carpenter, Malcolm Sharp, Jennie McMullin Turner, Ethel B. Dietrich, Jean Davis, John A. Commons

**D**ENNISON for the Dennisons! Not the Dennison Family, but the Dennison Workers. Every stockholder, every director, every officer of the Dennison Manufacturing Company, Framingham, Mass., is an actual, active employee of the company. There are other stockholders—preferred stockholders—but they have no voting power.

Seventy-five years ago the great-grandfather of the Dennison family began to make paper boxes in his kitchen. A knife, a scissors, a pot of paste, a slab of wood, were his factory.

His jewelry boxes were in great demand. He added other paper products. Today the company manufactures 10,000 separate articles, sends its products to all parts of the country and many parts of the world, sells millions of tags and baggage checks to large railway companies, millions of Christmas cards to small retailers.

A splendid organization, several valuable patents, a few monopolies, big dividends, the period of risk and development has passed and the company is as safe as any industrial investment may be.

But prosperity brought its perils. There were certain stockholders who saw the Dennison industry merely as a means to an end, the end being profits and then some more profits, with the absentee owners in the saddle in unchallenged enjoyment of money and power.

The president of the company, himself a Dennison, saw another vision. He saw the Dennison equipment and the Dennison workers as something more than engines for turning out more profits. He saw them also as instruments for manufacturing paper boxes and tags, and paper napkins and 10,000 like articles, and sell them to railroads and people who use them up in making the world richer. He determined that while he had control he would fix it up so that those who looked at the industry in his own broad-minded fashion should always keep control. And that is how there came to be government by imagination.

Who is it that creates the profits of the Dennison Manufacturing Company? It certainly is not the absentee stockholders. The original Dennison evidently had a creative imag-

ination. His imagination was used in making boxes that nobody ever thought of before, and creating markets that nobody ever imagined could be created.

Who, then, are the real descendants of the original Dennison? Shall we say they are the workers? The original Dennison was a worker. But it was not his work that built up this magnificent business—this going concern that lives on fifty years after he died. It was his creative imagination. He *hired* the workers and they did what he told them to do, after his imagination had told *him* what to do and how to do it.

The real descendants of the original Dennison are those of the 3000 workers who work primarily with creative imagination. It is by imagination that the Dennison Company has developed 10,000 separate articles, and it will be imagination that will make and sell the innumerable new articles and the better old ones that it must make and sell if the concern is to keep going another seventy-five years.

If not all of these three thousand work with imagination how shall we discover those who do? Shall we appoint a committee and give it power to pick and choose? No, that will leave too much room for favoritism. Favoritism will discourage imagination.

An automatic method of choosing was first sought by means of the pay envelope and the length of service record. Men who stick and rise would seem to have imagination. So \$1,200 a year and seven years' service were hit upon as the boundary line where imagination crosses over. Then came the war and the unstable dollar, and a change seemed desirable. Of the change finally adopted, a company booklet says:

Eventually the tremendous changes in the value of the dollar, and more especially the irregular application of these changes among various classes of employees, entirely destroyed the salary line as a true dividing line between those of the employees whose effects upon profits were important and appreciable and those whose effects upon our net profits account were remote and heavily

conditioned by the policies of the management. Principal employees are now limited to those who have had five years or more of service and whose position with the com- [Continued on page 313]

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Next Month—The Shop  
Committee in Control

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# Training the Elephant

By Talcott Williams

I LEARNED, at a time when I was seeing more or less of the elephants in Barnum & Bailey's circus, that it was a hard job to teach an elephant, with four legs, to stand on a rolling ball. The ball was small and rolly. The elephant was large and timid, with a timidity born of a conservative temperament and large passions. The mahout had a good deal to learn himself, particularly if he was a new trainer.

Senator Harding is having a similar job with his elephant. A League of Nations is right and inevitable. The only difficulty is to get it. It is an agreeable and praiseworthy assumption of advocates of the League that an overwhelming majority of the country is for the Versailles League, but is prevented by a few Republican politicians, twenty or so in number, from putting it over.

This is desirable, but not true. So was the claim in October, 1918, by amiable enthusiasts that Wilson had a majority with him in the then approaching election. Instead, the President lost both the Senate and House. A majority of all the voters is for the League; but the opposition to it is strong, widespread and grew all last year, after the terms of the Covenant were known. The present election gives the first straight out fight on the principle that there ought to be common action by the great nations to prevent war, to enforce international justice and to govern the world.

This issue has been settled by Senator Harding in eight weeks after this Presidential campaign opened. The elephant has all four feet on the rolling ball of a League, even if the League to which all the European powers belong, but Russia and the German states, has proved a rather unstable and uncertain foundation in the past year. Both the parties which divide the rule of the republic are now in favor of organized relations between the great powers whose working and whose decisions the United States will support by its influence and policy and "put teeth in it," which can only mean by force of arms. The issue of the campaign is therefore no longer "League or No League." This country is not to stand alone. It is to bear its share of the world's responsibilities.

THE issue of the campaign is how this duty shall be discharged, by an organization which pivots on a Council, with an international court as subsidiary, or by one that pivots on a court, with a council which upholds the action of the court "upon justiciable questions." This last is a very important and very weakening limitation of Senator Harding, but as the United States in twenty-six treaties has accepted arbitration and judicial action on issues not justiciable and the new Hague court, as now organized, will decide its own jurisdiction, time will lessen this objection. Every lawyer will agree with me that when it comes to jurisdiction every court grabs all the power that it can get.

Senator Harding would have been more accurate and more effective if he had pointed out that the Council under the Versailles Covenant has failed because its decisions have to be unanimous or ineffective. Lloyd George frankly declared a month ago that the reason why the League Council had not acted on the collision between Poland and Russia was because the Council was not unanimous. The strongest plea for Article X of the Covenant was that the United States could not be advised to act unless it consented to be advised, because the decisions of the Council have to be unanimous. As the President decides the action of the United States on the Council, he can practically decide when the United States shall, under

Article X, be under a moral obligation to defend the boundaries of another country by its army, a very wide addition to the powers of an American President.

A unanimous executive body will always come to deadlock as the Council has over Poland, France wanting war against Russia and England opposing. The Assembly has also to act unanimously or not at all except in certain specified cases. At Versailles, no big power was willing to accept a majority decision in Council or Assembly, save in very limited instance in the latter. At the close of the war we all had the hallucination that the "allied and associated powers" would act together. They have not. They have split. They always will. I doubt if there was a single advocate of the Covenant, versed in history and political science, who did not hope for future amendment introducing the majority or two-thirds rule in the Council. No one can wish this in the Assembly. The small states will combine against the big. Nations are not equal.

The great powers must rule the world or it will not be ruled at all. How shall this rule be exercised? By an international court, whose decisions the powers will "uphold and enforce" or by a Council of the great powers, only able to act when unanimous?

This is a straight out issue on which every voter must make up his mind before next November. Most lawyers will incline to a court. Not all. Wilson is a lawyer. He never got a practice. He is southern by birth. The South, and southern and Democratic Presidents have generally exalted executive power. The North and northern and Republican Presidents have not, in general, pushed forward the President's powers. There are exceptions on both sides, as witness John Marshall and Theodore Roosevelt.

For everyday use, the lesser bodies of the League are of more constant, continuous value than Council and Assembly. The Labor Conference, the Colonial Conference, the Marine Conference, the Military Commission and the assemblage in one place of a large number of existing international bodies are products of the Versailles Covenant of great value. Their destruction would be a world loss. Senator Harding proposes to combine what is good and excise what is evil from both organizations—the Hague tribunal and the League. He does not say what in each he will keep alive and what shall die the death. The education of the elephant is not complete. Possibly, the mahout has something to learn. He will have to define himself farther in the two months to come; but he has gone far enough to save the Republican party from opposition to any stable agreement for mutual international action to establish a new order of justice, peace and good will among men.

The flagrant disregard of human rights by Franklin D. Roosevelt in his utterance in regard to Hayti and Santo Domingo has led Senator Harding to an assertion as extreme, running counter to the policy of the Republican party from Grant to Taft. The United States ought to pursue the same policy of preparation for self-government in these islands as in the Philippines, but southern injustice to the negro, a daily wrong which Democratic success tends to foster and protect, throws Republican party utterance and organization off from a wise policy of development. England's acceptance in Egypt of our policy in Cuba shows how wise was the leadership of McKinley in our colonial affairs. Class appeal which warps Senator Harding's utterance on Hayti has no place in American political action, as Governor Cox and the American Federation of Labor will learn in the attempt of the latter to appeal to Americans to vote in the alleged interest of an



"organized" part of American citizenship. On this issue the Republican party is right and the Democratic party is wrong.

## Reading for Senator Harding

By Norman Hapgood

WHAT does Senator Harding select when he reads for pleasure? The answer would be of extraordinary interest. I am actually thinking less of the Senator as an individual than of the standpat mind in general. It would be a psychological adventure to get inside of the kind of brain that believes in 1920 that we can go successfully "back" to something. It was some time ago that Dooley took up the subject of "Arnachists." As usual with that philosopher he landed successfully on the central principle. The contemplative saloonkeeper was talking before the war, and analyzing the troubles that are now so much more obvious. As was his custom he found a homely illustration in his own experience. A certain family had unaccountably begun to quarrel, everybody blaming everybody else. The priest was called in. Being a wise man he got at the source. "'Ye'r sowls ar-re all r-right,' he says, 'fetch in a plumber,' he says." What public unrest calls for is also a plumber. "'Tis no good prayin' again arnychists, Hinnissy. Arnychists is sewer gas."

One of the reasons that I am pleased to think of the Governor of Ohio as our next President is that he has shown a realization that you do not cure social diseases by scolding, but only by getting at the cause and removing it. Politically he is a plumber, whereas Harding, Penrose, Lodge and their group in the oligarchy remind one of those medicine men among the Indians who used to get rid of tribal troubles by incantations. Probably the minds of these remnants of obsolete conditions are too rigid ever to have any realization of what the world's task in the future is to be. They will die in the effort to go "back." However, if it were possible to make one of them read carefully an up to date book it would be most entertaining to watch the impression. Take, for example, the latest expert presentation of modern conditions that has come my way. John Graham Brooks has been studying capital and labor for something like forty years. He has studied its manifold phases, and much of his work has been as an investigator on the spot, often as a Government investigator. His new book, "Labor's Challenge to the Social Order," is a storehouse of information and sound conclusions, that will be of great value to any reader except an ostrich. I wish all the standpat readers of The Independent (if there are such) would read this book thru carefully, and then write me why they are going to vote for Harding. A reactionary reader can begin at the beginning, or on almost any page, and he will find something to worry him. For example, he might begin on page 80. Perhaps if the reader is Senator Harding he knows already of the profits of nine steel corporations running from 78.92 per cent to 109.05 per cent; New Jersey zinc, 95.9; a sulphur company, 236 per cent. In food in 1916 the profits were in many cases over 100 per cent, and higher in 1917. Some of the most incredible profit is in munitions, which will be of special interest to Senator Harding, as I understand that among the many cares with which his herculean brow is wrinkled a high place belongs to the need of preserving armament and munitions for private enterprize. The coal profiteering will interest the women voters. A labor paper points out raises of 200 to 300 per cent on rooms and tenements and adds that it is from the owners of some of these houses that we hear "most blame for the workers because they ask for higher wages." Of course Senator Harding knows all these facts, but Mr. Brooks's book will help him to fit them into the history of our time and into the prospects of the future. Also the book might help him understand why the report

of the American Federation of Labor was so favorable to the statesmanship of Governor Cox. Conceivably it might even help him to understand what things were in the Governor's mind when he exposed the size and nature of the Republican "Boys, get the money" campaign fund, and what deeper meanings lie in Mr. McAdoo's christening of Chairman Hays and Treasurer Upham as the Gold Dust Twins.

## Campaign Predictions

IF you were a candidate for office you would realize how sincere is the confidence which candidates and their campaign managers express in the certainty of victory. The onlooker hears both sides and does not wake up every morning to shovel off the doorstep a small mountain of congratulatory letters and telegrams or spend the day addressing cheering crowds of supporters. If Mr. Cox and Mr. Harding really wish to find the pulse of the nation they should disguise themselves at least three times a week as each other and so visit the camp of the enemy.

Too much looking on one side will result in such a canvass as once took place in Kansas. The would-be Congressman buttonholed a farmer and asked for his support. "Vote for you?" shouted the farmer; "I wouldn't vote for you for dog catcher! I wouldn't vote for you if you were the last man on earth!" The politician sighed and took out his poll book. "I'm afraid I will have to put you down as 'doubtful,'" he said.

## Democracy Must Not Be Vindictive

By John Spargo

EUGENE V. Debs has never shown himself to better advantage, or in a more lovable spirit, than by his letter to the secretary of the Central Labor Bodies' Conference of New York, which has been trying to secure his release from Atlanta penitentiary. The presidential candidate of the Socialist Party says in the letter referred to: "I wish no special consideration and I wish to fare no better than my comrades. As long as they are held criminals and convicts my place is here. My comrades will therefore understand that they can serve me best by bringing their influence to bear in behalf of all."

The generous spirit which breathes thru these simple, forthright and courageous words will command the respect and admiration of every American whose loyalty springs from an intelligent attachment to the best ideals and traditions of democracy in general and American democracy in especial. Any attempt to maintain such a man in the criminal category is bound to defeat itself, to remove the stigma from crime, and to bring contempt upon the whole system of criminal law and its administration.

Whatever excuse or justification there was for treating Debs as a dangerous criminal during the war, passed with the cessation of hostilities. Personally, I have never believed that there was any shadow of justification for the exceptionally heavy prison sentences imposed upon Debs and other offenders against the special laws relating to sedition and espionage enacted under the extraordinary conditions of war. Differing fundamentally from Mr. Debs and his comrades upon the issues raised by the war, and freely admitting that the nation's right to self-defense justified stern and harsh measures of repression against all who sought to weaken the national morale, or to defeat the effort to carry the war to a successful issue, I cannot permit myself to condone, or remain silent concerning, the brutal and czaristic spirit which those in authority have manifested since the cessation of hostilities.

The dangerous and severe illness which so long incapacitated President Wilson, and which still limits alike his powers and the opportunities of citizens to reach him personally, is the only valid reason for moderating one's criti-



cism of his failure to act toward the offenders against the extraordinary wartime laws in a manner befitting this great democratic nation. At the same time, somewhere direct responsibility for that failure lies. It must be charged to the administration. Some person or persons in authority must be held responsible for permitting an ugly and indelible stain to besmirch the record of Mr. Wilson, the idealist, and, what is more important, the record of this greatest of English-speaking nations.

It is a matter for the deepest humiliation and shame for the American citizen to remember that even the most despotic and autocratic of governments have always granted pardon and amnesty to all such "criminals" as Mr. Debs after every war. I do not recall an instance to the contrary of this. Certainly the hated and despised Wilhelm II of Germany and Nicholas II of Russia never thought of keeping in prison men and women whose sole offense was the expression of anti-war views, no matter how dangerous these might have been regarded during war. Does anybody believe that a democratic nation ought to be less generous? Does anybody for a moment believe that Lincoln, for example, would have permitted himself to be excelled in generosity by the Butcher of Potsdam or the weak and cruel Czar Nicholas II?

Not for one moment do I believe either of these propositions. Neither do I believe that President Wilson would be less generous than Lincoln. It is unthinkable that he can be aware of the great wrongs perpetrated by the Department of Justice in the name of the Government of the United States; and it is equally unthinkable that he would justify—or willingly permit—the continued punishment of men and women whose sole offense was the honest and open expression of anti-war views, however mistaken those views may have been. Surely, Woodrow Wilson, who gave such matchless expression to the great spiritual aspirations and ideals of democracy—aspirations and ideals, be it noted, which alone justified our assuming the yoke and sacrifice of war—must understand how far most of these men and women were and are from being criminals. If by "patriotism" we mean a sincere and profound love of country, then I make bold to say that not a few of the men and women who now languish in prison, victims of a vindictiveness wholly alien to the democratic spirit, were and are as patriotic as President Wilson himself, or as any of the brave men who fell upon the battlefields of France.

I have been called a "patriotic Socialist" and given much—too much—credit therefor. But in truth my motives in supporting the war were no more "patriotic," in the true sense of that term, than were those of many other Socialists in opposing the war. I believed that our victorious participation in the war would be helpful to America and to mankind, and in supporting the war I sought to help America and mankind. I have not the slightest doubt that, with equal honesty, Mr. Debs, for example, opposed the war because he believed that by so doing he was helping onward the best interests of America and mankind.

Is it too much to expect from a nation which professes to be based upon democratic principles and guided by democratic ideals some recognition of the great spiritual and moral overstrain to which the exigencies of war subjected millions of men and women, including some of the noblest and best? Is it too much to expect that such a nation will draw a clear line between the two classes of offenders—those who, on the one hand, served the enemy, either by conveying to it military information, or by committing crimes against life and property in its interest, and those, on the other hand, who simply agitated against the war, or openly declined to aid in securing victory, because they could not make the mental and spiritual adjustments which their fellows found possible?

For the first of these two classes, which I believe to be so small as to be quite negligible, there need be very little

concern. For the second class, which is far from being negligible, there should be understanding and mercy and forgiveness. In their case mercy is no more than justice.

Every day Mr. Debs and others like him remain imprisoned the shame of America and the degradation of her best traditions are increased. If President Wilson has an intelligent friend near him in these times, that friend ought to tell him frankly that those who have most trusted and cherished his inspiration and leadership during the war are most hurt and ashamed to see him fail in loyalty to democracy here.

## Choosing Our Rulers

By Preston Slosson

**A**N American citizen met a Russian Bolshevik. "How can you call yourself a democracy," said the American, "when only a small part of your people enjoy the franchise and even they can only vote for local soviets, which in turn elect provincial soviets, and so on until you reach the All-Russian soviet which chooses the Commissars? In our country we vote directly for Congress and practically directly (since the electoral college is only a form) for President."

"Very true," said the Bolshevik. "You vote directly for your rulers, city, state and national. But can you vote for just anyone?"

"We-ell, in theory. Of course no one has a real chance of election unless he is nominated by one of the two great political parties."

"So your election is really in two stages. The second stage is democratic; you vote for whom you choose of those nominated. Is the first stage equally democratic; do you nominate directly?"

"No, I can hardly say that," confessed the American. "Party members choose delegates at caucuses or primaries and these meet in state conventions to nominate state candidates. Then there is the national convention on top of all which nominates for President and Vice-President."

"So you have indirect elections in several stages, too, just like us Russians. The only difference is that you have indirect election for nominations and then direct election as the final step."

"But recently," said the American, "we have been putting in direct primaries in place of the caucuses and local conventions."

"That ought to simplify matters," said the Bolshevik. "Does it?"

"I am bound to confess that it doesn't. You see the politicians get together just the same and make 'selections' or 'recommendations' or 'designations' for the various offices and these names get printed on the direct primary ballots along with the independent candidates nominated by petition. So while the direct primary acts as a check on the party politicians it adds still another stage to the business of nominating. The matter is very complex and puzzling and the laws don't seem to be the same in any two states. To tell you the truth the average voter doesn't know how the name of a candidate for the state legislature or the judicial bench gets on the ballot until it suddenly appears before his eyes on election day."

"So your democracy seems to be like the free choice granted at a cheap restaurant," smiled the Bolshevik. "You can ask for whatever you want but there is nothing but ham and beef in the house. The politicians, taking advantage of your cumbrous nominating machinery, get up two slates of candidates and then let you choose."

"Well, what remedy would you suggest?"

"It is hardly my business to suggest a remedy," replied the Bolshevik, "your political methods seem so much like ours that it is flattering. My own suggestion would be



# The New Regime at Ellis Island



*International*

From Ellis Island one can see the radiant statue of Liberty and the skyscrapers of New York piled like a dream city against the horizon. But more than the dream of a "sweet land of liberty" is needed to make the immigrant into a good American



*(C) Keystone View*

The new Commissioner of Immigration (right) has announced his intention of making the work at Ellis Island constitute a real contribution toward the Americanization of our immigrants. By showing them the best brand of United States courtesy and recognizing their need for individual consideration Commissioner Wallace hopes to make the incoming "foreigners" feel an interest and responsibility in America at the very start



*(C) Keystone View*



There was a time when immigrants got pretty much the same treatment as cattle, herded along from one inspection to another, kept standing in line for hours or waiting all day long in crowded, badly ventilated rooms—which isn't at all the best way to get a first impression. But the future citizens in these photographs, detained at Ellis Island over a Sunday, are developing their new patriotism in advance under the stimulus of a popular concert out-of-doors. Five thousand immigrants a day is the average of arrivals at Ellis Island now, material of enormous possibilities or dangers, according to the way in which Americanization is carried out



that you carry your admirable two-party system one step farther and have our Russian one-party system. Instead of offering the voter a choice between a Republican and a Democrat, both picked by the politicians and perhaps very much alike, we offer the voter a choice between a Bolshevik and another Bolshevik, exactly alike. Of course, if you were in earnest about democracy I imagine you would smash both the caucus and the primary and work out some third system of nomination.

"You might have all enrolled members of the party the country over choose their nominees by a simultaneous post-card canvass in which each party member could write in any name he chose in a blank space provided for the purpose. Thus on the same day the people would pick directly the men they wanted to vote for in nation, state, county and city without any intervention of caucus, convention or other machinery. Or, again, you could permit party conventions to meet as they chose but allow no names to go on the ballot used on election day except by popular petition of a certain number of voters. Or you could use a blank ballot on election day and require voters to write in such names as they wished to vote for."

"I see," said the voter, "but there are two difficulties. In the first place, if people could vote for anyone they wished instead of picking out one of two selected candidates, votes would be too much scattered. Congressman Jones might be very unpopular with the majority of voters and yet he would be reelected by a plurality vote if he could get his adversaries to scatter their strength among Messrs. Smith, Robinson, White, Isaacs, Murphy and Hendricks instead of concentrating on Smith."

"There are methods widely used in the bourgeois democracies of Europe," said the Bolshevik, "aimed to prevent just that danger. You must have heard of the second ballot, the transferable vote, proportional representation, and devices like that, tho they have been little used in your own country. If Jones gets a bare plurality you could either hold a second election between him and his highest rival or combine the two elections in one by allowing voters to indicate their second choice on the original ballot."

"My other objection," continued the voter, "is this. Such methods of direct popular nomination or election could be applied to prominent offices that the people knew all about, like President or Governor or Mayor or Congressman. But how is the average voter to pick out the minor offices on our long ballots—all the judges and comptrollers and state engineers and coroners and so on. Perhaps you don't realize that, counting national, state, city and county offices altogether the American voter must often choose among hundreds of names for scores of offices."

"And your democracy is so sensitive," scornfully said the Russian, "that rather than adopt the short ballot and vote for a few men, and those responsible, you permit the politicians to keep alive their caucuses and conventions and primaries for the nominating to scores of offices of whose qualifications the voter knows nothing. Rather than let the Governor pick a judge by appointment, you let a boss pick him by nomination. That is because you value the name of democracy above the fact. You Americans aim at democracy but you never take the trouble to study the machinery thru which it works. It is such folly which cheats you out of self-government and thus helps our propaganda in your country. If you gave half the care to devising methods for the majority to rule that we Bolsheviks have given to methods enabling the minority to rule you might with more reason call yourselves a democracy."

## New Sources of Paper

IF "the art preservative of the arts" is not to perish from the earth and the world relapse into the dark ages before Gutenberg some new supply of cellulose must be discovered. Norway, from which England gets her paper

pulp, and Canada, from which we get ours, are being denuded of their spruce and pine. Trees, once they are destroyed, cannot be grown in a northern clime fast enough to feed the press. So it is evident that we must look to the tropics for our future supply. Various candidates for the succession to the vanishing dynasty of the conifers have been nominated. Most conspicuous because the biggest is the baobab tree of Africa, whose bloated trunk, sometimes thirty feet thru, has never been found useful for it is too wet for fuel and too soft for lumber. But it may be just the thing for paper pulp.

Professor Dunstan, Director of the Imperial Institute, London, tells us that bamboo is the best yet. The Chinese have long used it for paper as well as for almost everything else they need. A bamboo shoot grows to its full height in a single season and will yield half its bulk in pulp. An acre of ground in the West Indies will grow forty tons of bamboo a year.

Sir Harry Johnston proposes to utilize the elephant grass and reeds that surround African lakes. Esparto grass is a proved possibility. Banana stalk can also be made into paper. The material wanted, cellulose fiber, is the substance of all plant life and it is merely a question of where it can be obtained most abundantly and worked up most cheaply.

## Wanted: A Pullmaneria

OUT of the West, where the pristine American spirit of independence still survives, have come the cafeteria, the groceria, the shaveria, the shineria and other self-help schemes. But the idea can be carried farther and should be brought to bear upon that earliest and most persistent stronghold of the tipping evil, the sleeping car. Why could not the Pullman be provided with the magic beds of the bungalow that come out of the wall ready made at the pressing of a button? Then with an automat installed in the dining car a man could travel without degrading himself by insulting his fellow citizens.

Worse than that the traveler has been insulting his Government by proffering bribes to its subordinate officials. He doubtless does not realize that the dusky palm which has of late been held open to him for the customary coin was that of Uncle Sam. Uncle Sam's tip during the twenty-six months that he ran the railroads was more than \$15,000,000. So it is figured out by the *Commercial Bribery and Tipping Review* of Washington—a new journal whose name belies its laudable purpose; it should be called the *Anti-Tipping Review*. When the Government took over the roads the Pullman Company employed about 7600 porters and maids, or rather partly employed them, forcing them to get the major part of their honest earnings by dishonest graft. They received on the average \$46 a month apiece, but got in tips from \$44 to \$200 extra, the amount dependent not upon their extra duties but upon the wealth and caprice of their passengers. In May, 1919, the Director General of Railroads raised the wages of the sleeping and parlor car employees, then numbering 12,000, by \$25 a month. But probably, at the prevailing rate of wages, the Government would have had to pay them \$120 a month instead of \$71 if it had abolished tipping, and counting in the hungry hands of the 10,000 dining car employees the Government must have been helped out to the extent of some \$20,000,000 by the enforced gratuities of the traveling man. Perhaps he found it pleasanter to contribute to the expenses of the administration in this way rather than by income or luxury tax, for it gives one a false feeling of generosity and an unwarranted sense of superiority to bestow a tip. But it is not a nice thing to think about that some 20,000 public servants are reduced to beggary to secure from half to four-fifths of their wages. In Newark 500 barbers are on strike for the abolition of the tipping system. No strike is more deserving of public support.



# The Story of the Week

## Harding on the League

THE long awaited declaration of Senator Harding's policy in regard to the League of Nations was delivered from his front porch at Marion on August 28 to an Indiana delegation. He began by rejoicing that the Treaty had not been ratified for if it had been America would now be called upon to bear the brunt of the Bolshevik attack on Poland. Congress would be in honor bound to provide munitions and men to defend the territorial integrity of Poland "against external aggression," as provided in Article X of the Covenant. Senator Harding voted to accept the League Covenant with reservations "most reluctantly and with grave misgivings."

But the conditions have changed. Experience has brought enlightenment. We know now that the League constituted at Versailles is utterly impotent as a preventive of wars. It is so obviously impotent that it has not even been tried. It could not survive a single test. The original League, mistakenly conceived and unreasonably insisted upon, has undoubtedly passed beyond the possibility of restoration. The maturer judgment of the world will be that it deserved to pass for the very simple reason that, contrary to all of the tendencies developed by the civilizing processes of the world, it rested upon the power of might, not right.

Passing from the critical to the constructive the Republican presidential candidate forecast his own policy as follows:

There are distinctly two types of international relationship. One is an offensive and defensive alliance of great powers, like that created at Versailles, to impose their will upon the helpless peoples of the world. Frankly, I am opposed to such a scheme as that, and I speak knowingly when I say that the associated powers, with whom we fought the war, were reluctant to accept such a proposition.

I am opposed to the very thought of our Republic becoming a party to so great an outrage upon other peoples, who have as good a right to seek their political freedom as we had in 1776 and have the same right to developing eminence under the inspiration of nationality as we held for ourselves.

The other type is a society of free nations, or an association of free nations, or a league of free nations, animated by con-

siderations of right and justice, instead of might and self-interest, and not merely proclaimed an agency in pursuit of peace, but so organized and so participated in as to make the actual attainment of peace a reasonable possibility. Such an association I favor with all my heart, and I would make no fine distinction as to whom credit is due. One need not care what it is called. Let it be an association, a society, or a league, or what not. Our concern is solely with the substance, not the form thereof.

This is proposing no new thing. This country is already a member of such a society—the Hague tribunal, which, unlike the League of Versailles, is still functioning, and within a few weeks will resume its committee sessions under the chairmanship of an American representative.

In that body we have the framework of a really effective instrumentality of enduring peace. The fact that the tribunal did not prevent the great war is, of course, manifest, but the cause of the failure is no less apparent. Germany, already secretly determined upon a ruthless invasion, was able to prevent the adoption of measures which might have proved effectual.

The condition now is wholly different. Not only Germany, but the entire world, has profited to the extent of an awful object lesson, the impressions of which cannot be erased from the human mind for generations to come. The horrors of war and the eagerness for peace have become universal. What once seemed at the Hague to be a mere academic discussion has become a positive, outstanding need of facing terrifying actualities. This makes vastly easier the task of so strengthening the Hague tribunal as to render its just decrees either acceptable or enforceable. It is not uncommon for the advocates of the League of Versailles to contrast unfavorably the Hague tribunal upon the ground that the tribunal "lacks teeth."

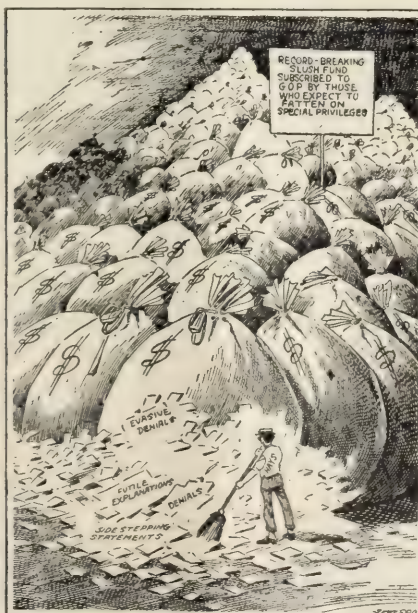
Very well, then, let's put teeth into it. If, in the failed League of Versailles there can be found machinery which the tribunal can use properly and advantageously, by all means let it be appropriated. I would even go further. I would take and combine all that is good and excise all that is bad from both organizations. This statement is broad enough to include the suggestion that if the League, which has heretofore riveted our considerations and apprehensions, has been so entwined and interwoven into the peace of Europe, that its good must be preserved in order to stabilize the peace of that continent, then it can be amended or revised so that we may still have a remnant of world aspirations in 1918 build into the world's highest conception of helpful coöperation in the ultimate realization.

I believe humanity would welcome the creation of an international association for conference and a world court with verdicts upon justiciable questions this country in common with

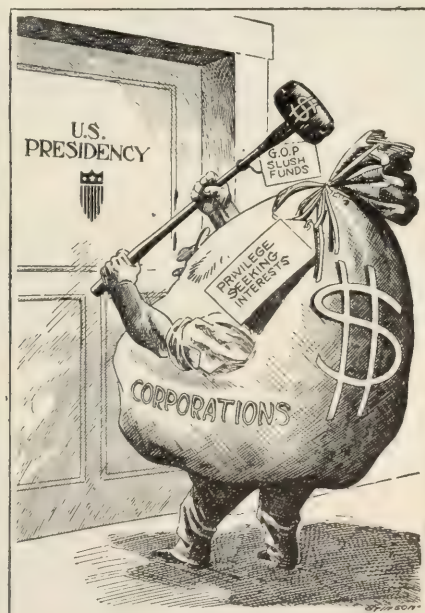


Stinson in Dayton Daily News

PULLING AGAINST THE TIDE



TOO BIG TO HIDE OR CAMOUFLAGE



IN DESPERATION

These three cartoons from Governor Cox's own newspaper illustrate the trend that his campaign against Senator Harding is taking. But as yet his charges have been in the nature of bird shot rather than bullets



all nations would be both willing and able to uphold. The decision of such a court or the recommendations of such a conference could be accepted without sacrificing on our part or asking any other power to sacrifice one iota of its nationality.

Senator Harding quoted with approval the suggestion of Viscount Grey, former British ambassador to Washington, that "the Americans should be entrusted with the task of drafting a reconstruction scheme," for the League "which would be consonant with the feeling not of one but of all parties in America." This, Senator Harding said, "comprehends substantially what I propose to do if elected President." It would not involve reconvening the entire convention or require any material delay. Mr. Harding would as President urge prompt passage of the resolution "declaring at an end the technical war when we are actually at peace." He has "no expectation whatever of finding it necessary or advisable to negotiate a separate peace with Germany."

## Root's World Court

THE new feature injected into the campaign is the adoption by Senator Harding of the idea of a World Court as a basis for international coöperation. In this policy the Republican candidate is following the lead of ex-Secretary of State Root, who wrote the League of Nations plank for the Republican platform and who has just returned from Europe where he has participated in planning the judicial machinery of the League of Nations.

The Advisory Commission of Jurists was selected by the Council of the League of Nations to plan the organization of the judicial body of the League. The scope of the Court's powers of interpretation and arbitration are defined in Article XIII of the Covenant, which article was drawn up by Mr. Root in consultation with Viscount Bryce. The Advisory Committee was composed of eminent authorities in international law from various countries chosen without regard to nationality. The Commission held its sessions at The Hague in June and July and reported its plan to the Council of the League of Nations meeting at San Sebastian.

According to the report of the Commission the Permanent Court of International Justice is to be "composed of a body of independent judges, elected regardless of their

nationality, from among persons of high moral character, who possess the qualifications required, in their respective countries, for appointment to the highest judicial offices, or are jurisconsults of recognized ability in international law."

By abandoning altogether the idea of national representatives the new plan dodges one of the main difficulties of the old Hague Court. The big powers were never willing to submit themselves to the ruling of a majority composed of minor nationalities and on the other hand the small nations insisted upon equal representation as a matter of right and dignity. The members of the Court are to be elected by the Assembly and Council of the League from a list composed of nominations made by national groups in consultation with their highest courts of justice, schools of law and national law organizations. The candidates will be nominated without regard to their nationality, but no two of the same nationality may sit in the Court. It is stipulated "also that the whole body should represent the main forms of civilization and the principal legal systems of the world." The Court will consist of eleven judges and four deputy judges elected for nine years. No member of the Court can be dismissed "unless in the unanimous opinion of the other members he has ceased to fulfil the required conditions."

The Court will meet regularly every year at The Hague. The official language is French. The judges of the nationality of each contesting party shall retain their rights to sit in the case before the Court. If in any particular case the bench contains a judge of the nationality of one of the parties only, the other party may select a judge of its nationality to be added to the bench.

The scope of the Court is defined in the following articles:

*Article 33*—When a dispute having arisen between states, it has been found impossible to settle it by diplomatic means, and no agreement has been made to choose another jurisdiction, the party claiming to have been wronged may bring the case before the Court. The Court shall, first of all, decide whether the preceding conditions have been complied with; if so, it shall deliver judgment according to the terms and within the limits of the Article which follows.

*Article 34*—In the absence of any special convention, the Court shall be competent to hear and determine cases of a legal nature, between states which are members of the League of Nations, concerning:

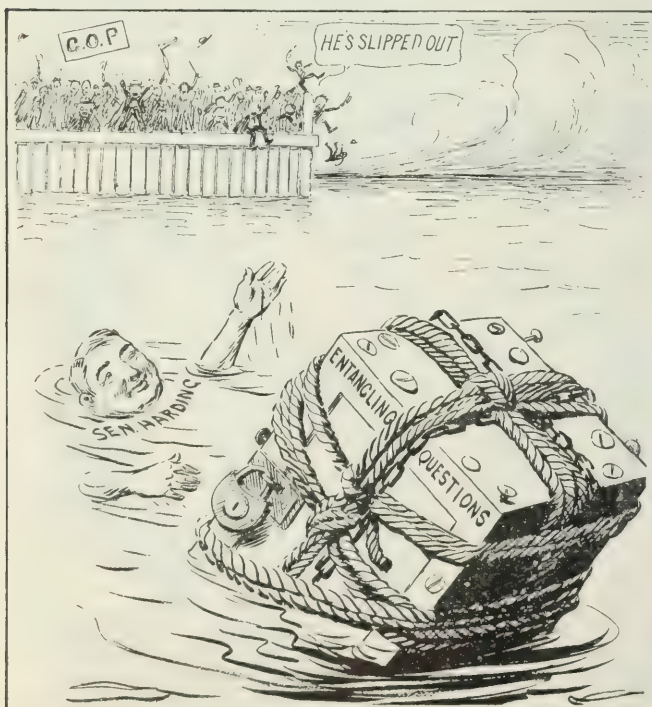
- (a) The interpretation of a Treaty.
  - (b) Any question of international law
  - (c) The existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation.
  - (d) The nature or extent of reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation.
  - (e) The interpretation of a sentence passed by the Court.
- The Court shall also take cognizance of all disputes of any kind which are submitted to its jurisdiction by a general or special convention between the parties.

In the event of a dispute as to whether a certain case comes within the categories defined above, the Court shall decide.

The Court is also authorized to "give an advisory opinion upon any question or dispute of an international nature referred to it by the Council or Assembly."

The Court hearings shall be public unless otherwise decided by the Court at the reasonable request of one of the parties. This clause was inserted by the Italians because the issues might involve high diplomatic secrets. If a party refuses to appear before the Court, the Court may pronounce upon the case if it finds the evidence submitted by the other party is well founded in fact and law. "Decisions of the Court shall be taken by a majority of the judges present." "The sentence shall state the reasons on which it is based," but no reasons shall be given for dissent or reservations. "This sentence is final and without appeal." An appeal for revision based upon the discovery of new decisive facts may be entertained by the Court within five years.

In the deliberations of the Commission of Jurists, Mr. Root took a very active part and some of its most important features are credited to him. He was aided by James Brown



Harding in Brooklyn Daily Eagle

HARDING

A Democratic comment on Senator Harding's campaign speeches. With apologies to the Handcuff King





© Underwood & Underwood

American sympathizers with the Irish rebellion picketed the dock as the British liner "Aquitania" left New York last week and displayed placards denouncing the "British" Government's treatment of Archbishop Mannix and Mayor MacSwiney of Cork

Scott and other American experts. It will be seen that the proposed Permanent Court of International Justice is so closely entwined that the League of Nations has hardly to be separable from it.

## Republican Campaign Fund

**W**ILL H. Hays, chairman of the Republican National Committee, has issued a flat and comprehensive denial of the charges of Governor Cox that certain interests had banded together to buy the Presidency and that a corruption fund of \$15,000,000 was being collected, much of it in large amounts, for the Republican campaign. In refutation of these allegations he presented the following figures to the Senatorial investigating committee at Chicago:

Since the 1920 convention there has been raised by the national committee for its own use \$618,013.54 up to August 26. During this period there has been raised by the states, where we have a joint working arrangement, for their own use \$399,241.78.

From June 14 to August 26, 1920, the national committee has expended \$843,009.50, which has been spent for headquarters expenses, including Washington, New York, Boston, Chicago, Denver and San Francisco; administration, mailing department, telephone, telegraph, furniture, additional fixtures, supplies, postage, envelopes, traveling expenses; also speakers' bureau, including salaries and expense of publicity incident to particular meetings, speakers traveling and other expenses; rent of all headquarters; general publicity, including news and cartoon service to Republican papers, pamphlets, booklets, lithographs, campaign buttons and general expense of all bureaus.

During this period from June 14, 1920, to August 26, 1920, there were 12,389 men and women contributors to both the national committee and to state committees through the joint collecting organization, an average of \$82.11. Of these none has been over the one thousand dollar rule except eight, which eight have given a total of \$13,500—an average of \$1,687.50. The highest of these was \$2500.

Mr. Hays says that the budget on estimate of the total amount to be spent for the Republican campaign was \$3,079,037.20.

Mr. Cummings, chairman of the Democratic National Committee for 1916, testified that his committee spent in that campaign about \$2,300,000, not counting the state funds.

## Brooklyn Strike

**C**OMMUNICATION between Manhattan and Brooklyn is largely cut off by a strike of the employees on the elevated, subway and surface lines August 29. The transportation companies and the public were taken by surprise and unprepared, for the vote to strike was taken spontaneously and suddenly in opposition to the union officers at a meeting of a section of the men held at 3 o'clock on Sunday morning. Negotiations had been going on for a month between the union and the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company and it was thought that an agreement was in sight, for the men had withdrawn the demands most diffi-

cult to concede, the insistence upon the "closed shop." The increase in wages demanded averages 40 per cent. Motor-men and conductors on surface lines now getting 52 to 62 cents ask for 84 to 92 an hour. The men on the subway and elevated lines now getting 49 to 57 cents ask for 70 to 90. The strikers number nearly 12,000, comprizing 4500 on the surface, 2900 on the elevated and subways and 3900 in shop and power house.

The Brooklyn Rapid Transit system is in the hands of a receiver, Lindley M. Garrison, acting under Judge J. M. Mayer of the Federal Court. The receiver says that the increase asked for would raise the payroll from \$25,000,000 to \$40,000,000, which is all the company earns. The judge refuses the mayor's request to submit the whole dispute to arbitration on the ground that it would be illegal for him to consent in advance to unknown terms that may be ruinous to the company.

The company has made no attempt to run the surface cars because they are subject to attack by a mob, and only about five per cent of the subway and surface trains were kept running. Consequently hundreds of thousands of people, who had to make their way between the twin cities, jammed the bridges, streets and stations night and day. At the Atlantic Avenue junction, where all routes run together, the crowd numbered 250,000 and extended for five blocks in all directions, pushing and fighting for a chance at a conveyance. Commissioner Whalen put five hundred municipal busses into the service and free ferries were run across East River. All sorts of vehicles entered the transportation business, charging all that the traffic would bear.

## The Starving of MacSwiney

**T**ERENCE MacSwiney, the Sinn Fein Lord Mayor of Cork, who was convicted of sedition by court martial and sent to Brixton prison, London, has refused to eat ever since his imprisonment. Pressure of all sorts has been brought to bear upon the Government for his release and appeals have been sent to foreign powers for intervention, but with no effect. Premier Lloyd George in reply to a petition from Mary MacSwiney, the mayor's sister, telegraphed:

It is with profound regret that I hear of the pain inflicted upon you by the determination of your brother to starve himself. It is impossible for the Government to make an exception in his case. Were they to do so it would break down the administration of the law in the United Kingdom, for all prisoners would claim the same privilege.

In a public statement the Premier said:

A law which is a respecter of persons is no law. If the Cabinet departed from its decision a complete breakdown of the whole machinery of law and government in Ireland inevitably would follow. The release some weeks ago of hunger strikers in Ireland was followed by an outburst of cruel murder and outrage.

Personal appeals to the King for pardon were denied on the grounds explained by Lord Stamfordham, the



King's private secretary, in a letter to Horatio Bottomley:

You aim at the release of the Lord Mayor, but even if the King were in favor of such a course it would only be effected by the sovereign's personal action in face of the advice of his Ministers, and with the presumable result of their resignation and also the further risk that the country at large might regard the price paid as too high for the object attained and blame his Majesty for creating a grave political crisis at a time of special national stress and anxiety.

The Council of Action, established by the labor unions to prevent participation in the Polish war by threat of a general strike, sent the following message to the Premier:

The whole organized British labor asks you to consider Government's decision to allow the Lord Mayor of Cork to die rather than release him. His suffering is greater than lengthy imprisonment. His death would make an Irish solution more remote.

## Riots in Belfast

**A** WEEK'S fighting between the Sinn Feiners and Orangemen in the streets of Belfast totaled up twenty-one persons killed and some 250 injured. There have been 172 buildings set on fire.

The rioting originated in the erroneous report that the Nationalists had stoned the children going home from a suburban school. At the rumor and threat of reprisals mobs gathered on both sides, and beginning with stones passed on to revolvers and finally to rifles and machine guns. During the first days or rather nights of fighting the Nationalists had the best of it, being better armed and more venturesome, but later Unionists organized with the definite purpose of wiping out the Catholic quarter. They set fire to the grocery stores and public houses of the Shankhill district and stoned the fire brigades that tried to put them out. The military used armored cars to clear the streets before them, but suffered much from snipers on the roof.

In Dundalk the Sinn Feiners set fire to a milliner's shop in which thirteen assistants were sleeping. Two girls and a boy were burned to death. The handsome country house of Deputy Lieutenant Pike of Cork County was burned. Major Johnstone, a justice of the peace of County Donegal, was shot while at supper by men who fired thru the window.

Cardinal Logue, Primate of Ireland, in a letter read in the churches condemns the shooting of Constable Brennan as he was going home from the Protestant church and also condemns the brutality of the British authorities and the reprisals of both sides. He says of Brennan:

The poor victim I know to have been a quiet, upright man who never gave offense to any one in the discharge of his duty.



© Paul Thompson

### SELF-MARTYRED FOR IRELAND

Twenty-one days of hunger strike in Brixton prison had not shaken the decision of Terence MacSwiney, Lord Mayor of Cork, to starve himself to death if he were not released by the British authorities. His spectacular self-sacrifice roused bitter feeling among extremists on both sides of the Irish question

Am I to be told that this is an act of war: that it is lawful to shoot at sight any one wearing a policeman's uniform and honestly discharging a policeman's duty? I prefer to call it by its true name—cold, deliberate, willful murder. Hence, any one who plans, encourages, abets or even sympathizes with such an act participates in the guilt before God!

I know we are living under the harsh, tyrannical régime of militarism and brute force, which invites and stimulates crime: that all pretense of discipline has been thrown to the winds; that those professing to be the guardians of law and order have become most ardent votaries of lawlessness and disorder; that they have been overrunning the country and making the night hideous by raids, rifle fire, burnings and the destruction of valuable property; that towns have been sacked as in the rude warfare of the earlier ages and that those who run from fear are shot at sight and that reckless firing in crowded places has made many innocent victims.

All this professes to be done by way of reprisals, but reprisals are generally unjust and often fall on the innocent. Crime does not excuse crime.

## Wrangle Over Wrangel

**T**HE French Government in extending recognition and support to Baron Wrangel acted without the knowledge and in opposition to the judgment of the British Government. This brings to an open break a long developing divergence of policy in regard to the operations against the Bolsheviki in southern Russia. The British were the backers of General Denikin in his drive toward Moscow. They supplied him with millions of dollars' worth of arms, ammunition and uniforms. British officers organized his army and advised his staff. King George created him a Knight of the Bath, a very unusual honor for a man in his position.

Besides the Volunteer Army, composed largely of former officers of the Czar, Denikin had at first the support of the Cossacks of the Don and Kuban. With these he swept over the Ukraine and it seemed for a time that he would succeed in capturing the Soviet capital and also making connection with Admiral Kolchak of the Siberian Government, to whom Denikin professed allegiance.

But at the height of his triumphant advance came a swift reversal of fortune, due not so much to the valor of the Bolsheviki as to the dissensions that arose in his rear. Absorbed in his military measures he neglected to cultivate the good will of the people whose territory he overran. He refused the demand of the Ukrainians for national independence. He ignored the desire of the peasantry for land. He infringed upon the historic liberties of the Cossacks. He dispersed the Kuban Rada or National Assembly by force, imprisoning or hanging the members who opposed him. His troops ravaged the country they professed to liberate with about as little regard to life and property as the Bolsheviki.

Consequently he was harassed by peasant risings and partizan bands in his



Whitlaw in London Passing Show

IT'S A PROBLEM!

John Bull: "For heaven's sake, give that infant what he wants."

Nurse David: "I would if I only knew what it was!"



rear. Ukrainian towns set up soviets and the Cossacks deserted by wholesale or went over to the enemy. At this unfortunate crisis he quarreled with his ablest officer, Baron Wrangel, who had led the army in the capture of Tsaritsin, one of the most brilliant exploits of the campaign. Denikin accused Wrangel of being pro-German, probably on account of his Teutonic blood, and of conspiring to restore the Czar. Wrangel was forced to resign and retired to Sevastopol. But the British admiral at that port ordered him to leave Russia on account of his disagreement with Denikin.

In his letter of resignation Wrangel charges Denikin with incompetence and treachery toward Kolchak. A few of Wrangel's accusations of his late chief may be quoted:

Having tasted power, poisoned by ambition and surrounded by dishonest hangers-on, the struggle so brilliantly started by you and so unworthily lost is coming to an end. Into it have been thrown hundreds of thousands of Russia's best sons, innocent of your mistakes.

An army taught to loot and drink and the example of whose leaders demoralized the troops—such an army could not save Russia.

Not having an organized rear, not having prepared a single fortified position behind the lines and not a single point of resistance, retreating in a territory where the civil population had learned to hate it, the Volunteer Army, having begun its retreat, fell back and nothing could stop it. As the enemy's successes developed the pooriness of our strategy and policy became evident.

After Denikin's fall the officers of the defeated army elected Wrangel to the command. As the Bolsheviks had recovered the entire Ukraine, gained control of the Don and Kuban region and advanced beyond the Caucasus mountains, the remnants of Denikin's force sought refuge in the Crimean peninsula. The Bolsheviks would have followed them here and doubtless captured them as in a trap but the British interposed and saved them. British warships stationed on both sides of the narrow neck of the peninsula bombarded the Bolsheviks and kept them out of the Crimea. Sheltered here during the winter Wrangel reorganized his army and prepared a new offensive.

When Premier Lloyd George opened negotiations with the Bolsheviks the Soviet Commissioner of Foreign Affairs, Tchitcherin, on July 24, demanded as a preliminary to peace that the British withdraw their protection from Wrangel and that the latter surrender his army and all the territory under his control. This Lloyd George refused to do, but he declared his disapproval of Denikin's advance into Russia and warned him that he undertook it on his own responsibility. British aid to Wrangel was stopped last February when it was perceived that he was intent upon another invasion of Russia.

But as the British dropped Wrangel the French took him up. Premier Millerand some time ago announced to the Chamber of Deputies that he would recognize Wrangel's government whenever it would acknowledge Russia's previous engagements toward foreign powers. This means the repayment of the vast loans made by France to the Czar's Government and the extensive investments of French citizens in Russia before the war. Of course Wrangel was glad to promise this, so his South Russian Government receives French recognition. Washington correspondents report that our Government is likely to take the same action, but the British Government still distrusts Wrangel.

## Who Is Wrangel?

THE latest champion to enter the lists against Lenin is Baron Peter Wrangel. The outlaw knight of the blood-red shield has successively unhorsed Kaledin, Kornilov, Kolchak, Denikin and Yudenitch, but there is a sixth Richmond in the field. A young cavalryman who last year was routed by the Bolsheviks, was suspected of treachery



*Courtesy of New York Times*

General Baron Peter Wrangel, cavalryman, engineer, leader of the armies fighting the Bolsheviks, and head of the new government of South Russia. His success has been in part due to his skill in obtaining the co-operation of all foes of the Bolshevik government. "My slogan," General Wrangel is reported to have said, "is: *with whomsoever you please, but for Russia*"

to the Allies and his chief, was dismissed in disgrace by Denikin, was exiled to Constantinople and was brought to death's door by typhus, is now the head of a government recognized by France and in command of a formidable force that is making rapid inroads into Russia's richest province. The seat of the new "Government of South Russia," which aspires to become the Government of All the Russias, is the port of Sevastopol, which was captured by the combined French, British and Turkish armies in 1855 after a year-long siege. Here under the protection of the British fleet General Wrangel on his return from Constantinople last April set about the reorganization of the defeated and discouraged troops and refugees who had fled to the Crimea to escape the Bolshevik wave sweeping down from the north.

Peter Wrangel is not a Russian by blood or a soldier by profession. He is, like our Hoover, a mining engineer. He was born in St. Petersburg, the son of Baron Nikolai Wrangel, who having lost his fortune, had become a bank manager. The family belongs to the Baltic nobility and has contributed great names to the history of three countries, Germany, Sweden and Russia. Count Gustav Wrangel served in the Swedish army under Gustavus Adolphus in 1627. Count Friedrich Wrangel served in the Prussian army against Napoleon. Baron Ferdinand Wrangel, Governor of Alaska, gave his name to an island and a town which later, much to his disgust, passed into American possession.

Peter Wrangel was educated in the Petersburg College of Engineering and, after serving his year in the army, went to Siberia to engage in mining. When the war with



Japan broke out rejoined the army and was twice promoted for bravery. He entered the Great War as a non-commissioned officer in the Imperial Guards, but within a few weeks distinguished himself by a gallant feat that turned a rout into a victory. The Russian cavalry had fallen into the same trap as the British Light Brigade in the Crimean War. In charging a German battery they were drawn into an ambush and the Germans opened fire on them from both sides with machine guns. The troop was in danger of annihilation and retreat was sounded, but Wrangel, seeing that the only way out was straight ahead, collected such men as he could and charged the guns. The German gunners were sabered where they stood and the machine guns also taken. For this exploit Wrangel was promoted to a captaincy on the spot. He later became Major General of Cossack cavalry and after the revolution, when Kerensky attempted to renew the fighting on the Galician front, he saved the army from disaster. When the Bolsheviks overthrew Kerensky he fought against them in the volunteer army until his quarrel with its leader, Denikin.

## Wrangel's Policies

**W**HETHER Wrangel can accomplish what Denikin failed to do remains to be seen, for his present advance into the Ukraine can be explained by the fact that the Bolsheviks have now more than they can attend to on the Polish front. But he is evidently trying to avoid the mistakes of his predecessor by winning over the factions whom Denikin antagonized. Instead of striving to restore the old régime he has recognized that the economic revolution is irreversible, so he has announced that the peasants shall keep the land they have seized but must pay for it by turning over to the Government one-fifth of their harvests or the money equivalent. Out of this fund the landlords are to be compensated. This, says Professor Peter Struve, the South Russian representative in Paris, "should be regarded as the initial stage of an important agrarian reform tending to secure full possession of the land by those peasants who cultivate it by their personal efforts." Wrangel has set an example by dividing up among the peasants the 60,000 acre estate which came under his control thru his marriage in 1915 with the daughter of Ivenko, a rich Ukrainian landlord.

The Kuban Cossacks owed Wrangel a grudge because while in the service of Denikin he had suppress their Rada (parliament) with his troops. But now he has won over both the Kuban and Don Cossacks by promising not to interfere with their internal affairs or infringe upon their historic rights. He has even made an ally out of Makno, the Red bandit, who has been the terror of all parties in the Ukraine. Wrangel's slogan is: "With whomsoever you please, but for Russia."

To provide funds he has had a stack of paper money printed for him in London. This adds another currency to those of half a dozen defunct Russian governments, but



Brown in Chicago Daily News

ANOTHER CONVERT?

unlike his fore-runners Wrangel is not relying altogether upon the printing press to finance his campaign. He has made arrangements with an international trading company of British, French and Russians to obtain funds in exchange for the stores that will come under his control in his advance northward. Within three months he has gained possession of the country lying between the Dnieper River on the west and the Sea of Azov on the east, that is the whole province of Taurida. This puts him in command of the harvests and mineral wealth of the most productive part of Russia and the British and French shipping is already in the Black Sea to carry them off.

## Poles Refuse to Halt

**T**HE Poles, flushed with their tremendous victory, show no disposition to comply with the advice of their friends not to attempt a second invasion of Russia. France, England and the United States have definitely warned them against advancing beyond the boundary drawn by the Paris Peace Conference. But Marshal Pilsudski, chief of state, declares that to halt on the Entente line "would be to affirm by deed that this illusory eastern boundary corresponds to our aspirations." This is a frank confession of the intention of the Poles not to confine themselves to their ethnographical limits as President Wilson stipulated in his Fourteen Points and recent note. Pilsudski also argues that it is impossible for military reasons:

Our friends wish us to halt on the eastern front and maintain a solely defensive attitude. In my opinion that cannot be done. How is it possible for a small army not technically well equipped to create a defensive line on a front of hundreds of kilometers? There are only two solutions, either to advance to complete destruction of the enemy or else to halt on our illusory frontiers to conclude peace as quickly as possible. Even if we sign peace in such circumstances we shall always be the object of Russian aggression.

On the other hand the French generals are emphatic in their denial of any military necessity for an advance into Russia.

It is possible that the Poles may not have to decide the question after all for the Bolsheviks are rallying their scattered forces and have at some points recovered a little of their lost ground. The German Government has notified Poland that 70,000 fugitives from the Soviet army have escaped over the border into East Prussia. The permission of Poland is asked to send them across the Polish corridor into the interior of Germany.

The Polish peace delegates, finding conditions at Minsk intolerable on account of their confinement, lack of food and interrupted communications, have insisted upon the transference of the conference to Riga in Latvia and the Bolsheviks have consented. The Soviet Government has also agreed to withdraw the clause in their peace proposals to which Lloyd George protested, that is, the formation of an armed militia of Polish workingmen. The other terms are substantially the same as received the previous approval of the British Government, but the Polish delegation has declared them totally unacceptable.



## Where the Workers Own the Stock

(Continued from page 301)

pany requires the exercise of managing ability and control over methods of manufacturing and marketing, such as any executive, department head, principal foreman, chief clerk, branch manager, or principal salesman; or whose work shows the use of a high degree of imagination, tact or business judgment—those qualities upon which we believe the constant earning of profits to depend. To the directors is left the application of this rule, but the industrial partnership stockholders may from year to year pass votes further defining the directors' methods of choosing.

In 1913 there were 167 principal employees. In 1919 the number had risen to 320, about one-ninth of the total force. One-ninth are employees with creative imagination. They are the real industrial descendants of the great-grandfather of the Dennisons. It is they who "produce" the profits, and keep the concern going. The other eight-ninths produce wages.

Profits are in the future. It requires imagination to see them. Wages are paid every week in cash. These are paid for jobs which need but little imagination. Many of the employees are girls whose industrial life is soon over—two or three years in the factory after schooling time is past, in which to put by something for family or for self, with imagination more bound up with anticipations of romance than devoting itself to solving the perplexities of production.

For them, and all the others whom it has been thought advisable to keep on the other side of the industrial partnership line, weekly wages are deemed the full measure of their value to the company. They are paid mostly by the piece. Their performance can be seen and measured as they go along. Theirs is not the field of the creative imagination, of profit creation, nor should theirs be the reward.

Having discovered the one-ninth whose imagination creates the unseen profits, how shall they be put in control of the profits which they expect to create?

The absentees own the property. The absentees simply must be bought off. How much will they take to get out and in what currency will they accept payment. A simple matter, once it has been done. But it was a big imagination that conceived it and did it.

Induce the absentees to turn over their common stock *with* voting power to the imaginative workers and accept preferred stock *without* voting power. Clever enough. But the imaginative workers had to pay. They paid \$4,500,000 in preferred stock at 8 per cent—a permanent charge on the business of \$360,000 a year, where the dividends on the common stock had been running something like \$200,000 to \$250,000.

The preferred stock is doubly secure. If the workers fail to pay that full \$360,000 a year for a period of four years, then the preferred stock auto-

## McCutcheon's Fall and Winter Catalogue is ready



**Thirty-two pages of  
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from "The Linen Store"  
—all selected with  
utmost care from our  
comprehensive stocks**



Reg. Trade Mark

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Pages of New Neckwear, Sweaters, Lingerie, Negligees, Knit Underwear, Hosiery, Laces and Embroidery, Dress Fabrics and for the little folks, Underwear, Dresses and Suits.

Then, finally, a page of Haberdashery, especially selected for the very particular man.

**Send for the New Catalogue No. 14 today.  
It will solve many shopping problems.  
Mailed, free of course, at your request.**

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Fifth Avenue, 34th and 33d Streets, N. Y.



## This Wonderful Range With Two Ovens



**Bakes Bread, Pies, Biscuits  
Broils, Roasts, and Cooks  
Nine Different Vegetables  
All At One Time.**

Although it is less than four feet long it can do every kind of cooking for any ordinary family by gas in warm weather, or by coal or wood when the kitchen needs heating.

The Coal section and the Gas section are just as separate as though you had two ranges in your kitchen.

## Gold Medal Glenwood

Note the two gas ovens above—one for baking, glass paneled and one for broiling, with white enamel door.

The large oven below has the Indicator and is heated by coal or wood.

See the cooking surface when you want to rush things—five burners for gas and four covers for coal.

When in a hurry both coal and gas ovens can be operated at the same time, using one for baking bread or roasting meats and the other for pastry baking—It

## "Makes Cooking Easy"

Write for handsome free booklet 177 that tells all about it.

Weir Stove Co., Taunton, Mass.

Makers of the Celebrated Glenwood Coal, Wood and Gas Ranges, Heating Stoves and Furnaces.

## Ro-San Rolling Bath Tub With Heater

Full size white enamel tub, nickel-plated 12-gal. tank. Closes up in space 3 ft. square. On castors—roll it anywhere. Heater attachment for kerosene, gasoline or gas. Water heats quickly, waste drains through hose attachment to temporary or permanent outlet. Simple. Guaranteed. Write for catalog and price.

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Ask about  
Ro-San Indoor  
Closets and Wash-  
stands. No  
Plumbing Required.

30 DAYS TRIAL

matically gets back its voting power and the absentee owners step into control. The preferred stockholders are virtually bondholders but without the trouble of foreclosure if interest is defaulted.

Now about the common stock. They call it "industrial partnership stock." Where does it come from? By March, 1913, 15,122 shares had been issued to the 167 principal employees. The issue amounted to about one-third of the total salary-roll of the principal employees. Thirty-three and one-third per cent profit for imagination!

But it was not cash, of course. It was just that amount of profits put back into the machinery and buildings and business. In 1919, thirty thousand shares of industrial partnership stock were issued—45 per cent of the payroll of 320 principal employees—all of it going back into the business. A good depreciation account and several reserve funds have been built up for lean years and emergencies.

Besides, the industrial partnership stock has been getting dividends in cash—as high as 15 per cent in 1919. This dividend must always amount to at least five per cent before any additional stock can be issued.

Finally, another clever thing—in fact the heart of the whole thing—an industrial partner cannot sell, or give away, or bequeath, or even take away his industrial partnership stock, for every share of it is a reward for the continual exercise of creative imagination on the job in the interest of an ever expanding and improving Dennison industry. Not the investment it represents but its conferring of power on one who has been selected to help keep alight the Dennison imagination, this is the real significance of a share of industrial partnership stock.

If an individual partner severs his connections with the concern the reward for the use of imagination in the past is, of course, made secure. The company may pay immediately for his stock either at par or cash or by the issuance of a second preferred stock of equal face value which can be sold, given away, bequeathed, and taken away, but which has no voting power. On some other Dennison worker will descend in time the mantle of power as a reward for imagination, which this new absorbed industrial partnership stock used to hold.

That is the reason why every member of the board of directors is a worker.

The president of the board is president of the company. The vice-president exercises general supervision over the retail stores. The treasurer watches over manufacturing, warehousing, and shipping. The other members of the board are in charge, respectively, of foreign sales, purchasing and merchandizing, and selling personnel.

Not even a banker, or financier, or dummy director, or absentee of any kind on the board! All of them workers with the Dennison imagination!

What does it mean for the 320 industrial partners? Take an illustra-

tion: Suppose John Doe is head of a department with \$4,000 salary. Here is what it would have meant for him during the past three years, even though his salary had not been increased:

Year	Salary	I. P. Stock Issued % of Salary	Amount	Total Stk. held before
1916	\$4,000	25%	\$1,000	.....
1917	4,000	75%	3,000	\$1,000
1918	4,000	30%	1,333	4,000
1919	4,000	45%	1,800	5,333

Dividends on previously held stock none	Total Income
(10%) \$100	4,100
(10%) 400	4,400
(15%) 800	4,800

Suppose he were to remain in the service of the company for another ten years even without an increase in salary, and that each year the stock dividend should amount to only 25 per cent of his salary, which is the smallest issue to date, and that the dividends on already issued stock would amount to only 10 per cent, the situation of John Doe in 1929 would be like this:

Salary	I. P. Stock Issued % of salary	Amount	Total I. P. Stock Earn- ing Dividends
\$4,000	25%	\$1,000	\$16,133

Dividends on Stock (10%)	Total Income
\$1,613	\$5,613

At the end of seven more years, a total service of not more than twenty-seven years, John Doe would hold industrial partnership stock to the amount of \$23,133. Should he at that time decide to leave the employ of the company his income on the second preferred stock taken in exchange would amount to something over \$1,600 per year. Thus, even though he had saved not a penny of his salary or dividends in all his years of service, John Doe would be assured an income on which to retire.

Surely this looks promising for the workers with imagination! No absentee can ever get control if they continue to make the profits. The control is secure against the speculation of the manipulator, the financier.

But how about the 2700 wage workers? Is it not just as bad to be governed by industrial imagination in the shop as by financial imagination on Wall street? The Dennison people have not yet answered this question—completely. We have heard rumors that the non-stock-sharing workers are restless. We should expect they would be.

The Dennison management are at work on this question. They have asked the 2700 to propose something. The 2700 have appointed a committee of sixty and the committee is now at work also.

We know that the Dennison Company has been an outstanding pioneer in regularizing employment. We know, moreover, that by 1919 they had set aside \$100,000 as a starter for "unemployment insurance," and thereby made an important beginning in the direction of making the Dennison workers' future secure. But all of us live for the present as well as the future. We like to see the ounces of en-



ergy, mental and physical, which we are expanding transform themselves visibly into the reward which makes possible a higher standard of comfort. Such a reward the industrial partners know and the employees undoubtedly yearn after.

If by their industry, and let us also add their imagination, they can increase their production beyond the level which the imagination and judgment of the industrial partners have deemed satisfactory for them to attain, by all means with good grace let them be given the full reward of their striving. It is to evolve some concrete expression of this general purpose of paying a collective reward for a collective effort that the committee of sixty, with the hearty say-so of the industrial partners, is busying itself.

Madison, Wisconsin

## The Call of the Offshore Wind

(Continued from page 296)

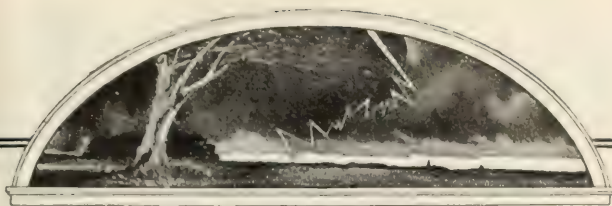
10 per cent of the men below the grade of officers placed on our ships by our New York office, were Americans. During the last six months the average has been 55.7 per cent.

It was necessary during the war to give wide employment in the merchant marine to nationals of the countries allied with the United States. Most valuable service was rendered by these men and theirs was a great contribution toward the winning of the war. But now the time has come to replace these men with Americans.

Every village is being reached by the Shipping Board in its effort to get boys from the interior to see life from a shipping point of view. We want boys of vision to see the life as it is on board ship and to know what fine training for future material happiness lies in store for them in the service of our merchant ships. It is easy work to get men to man the ships, but it is quite another matter to get men who are ship-minded and who enter the ranks with the hope and ambition to succeed as ship operators. Many of those who are now serving are rousing our hope that they are in this class. The future will tell.

The American boy at sea is no new thing to me. When one has put in forty-five years of the hardest kind of service he may be expected to write with some authority about the men who sail our ships. They are a splendid class, big in heart, strong of body and keen-witted at all times, especially in the face of danger. No better type of American manhood can be shown than that developed in the right sea service.

I became chief of naval operations in May, 1915, after forty years in the service of the American navy. During these two score years I personally saw our navy develop thousands of American boys who came to us as raw recruits. As chief of naval operations during the war there were under my direction hundreds of merchant ships



## Crack o' doom any day in the year

Midday—the sky suddenly overcast—a storm breaks in darkened fury—click, click go the electric switches all over town—lights twinkle cheerily in office, shop and home.

A scenario you'll recognize. It's being played somewhere every day. The storm is the villain, threatening inconvenience and danger, while in the nick of time the Electric Light Company steps in and saves the day.

But it is not by chance that this public servant can take care of the abrupt daytime demand, rising in a few minutes from almost nothing to full capacity. Such an emergency was anticipated in the very design and construction of your Electric Light Company's plant.

There are boilers specially devised to meet sudden calls for steam—stations interconnected by a network of wires, so that one can help another—generators built at great cost to carry an overload for hours.

Meanwhile to report the approach of trouble, the Electric Light Company keeps in constant touch with the weather bureau and maintains its own lookout.

Thus there is ample warning to stir the fires into new life and to bring extra generators and transmission lines into action, so that we may have light when and where and how we want it.

But if the engineers did not make ready before the actual need, a storm would be a time of darkness and fear. The stoppage of business might prove the least of the harm resulting.

Or if, on the other hand, the method of being prepared was to keep the entire plant going at full blast at all times without regard to demand, the waste in operation would lead to increased costs and ultimately to increased rates.

It is by applying economy to the solution of emergency demand that the central station protects the subscriber's dollar at the same time that it safeguards his service.

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the interest of Elec-  
trical Development by  
an Institution that will  
be helped by what-  
ever helps the  
Industry.

# Western Electric Company

No. 17 Visualize a catalog seven inches by ten, with each of its 1100 pages devoted to listings and information on electrical devices and materials. This will give you some idea of the many-sided activity of this Company in serving the public's electrical needs.



# To Soften Your Beard

## To Shave Easier, Quicker, Better

Shavaid, a new scientific preparation, will make your daily shave a pleasure. Use Shavaid before lathering. It softens the beard instantly. No Rubbing in. No hot water.

Home shaving is being revolutionized by this new way of softening the beard. It means an easier, quicker, more comfortable shave.

Shavaid, applied to the dry beard, softens it instantly. It makes the razor "take hold." It does away with all "pull." And it soothes the tender skin.

Simply apply a thin coating of Shavaid to the dry beard. Then apply your favorite lather. The lather stays moist and creamy.

Shave as close as you like. The old drawn, burning sensation is gone.

Shavaid makes your face feel cool and comfortable.

The daily use of Shavaid will keep your skin smooth and firm, free from the tenderness and excessive dryness which are caused by hot water and rubbing in.

Minor skin eruptions and abrasions yield quickly to Shavaid's soothing, healing influence.

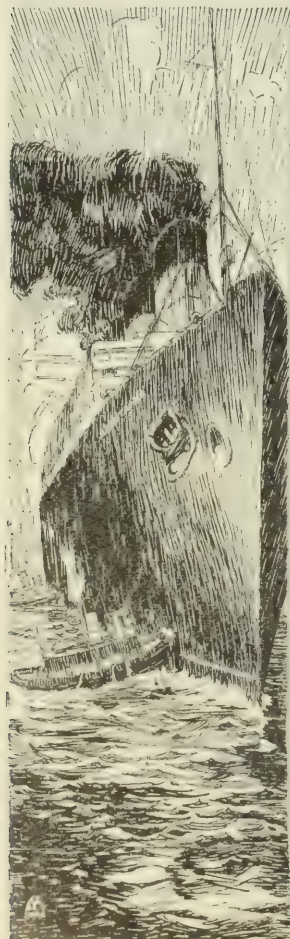
**B&B**

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IT was Sir Samuel Cunard and his associate founders of the Cunard Line who really gave the first impetus to systematic transatlantic travel, eliminating its discomforts and making ocean travel an allurements to countless thousands who now speed upon their way of business or enjoyment with a feeling of comfort and luxury.

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engaged in overseas service, manned by American boys, many of them trained by the recruiting service of the Shipping Board.

Hundreds of our ships sailed thru the submarine zone with remarkably small losses of life or property. They were manned by Americans, who with few exceptions, had never before served at sea. If this performance of transporting American soldiers and their supplies and equipment could be accomplished in times of national stress, establishing a record never before equaled, there is no reason why our merchant ships cannot be manned by Americans in times of peace.

Our experience since the signing of the armistice has shown, in fact, that the American boy will go to sea and stick if he is given the right kind of treatment on shipboard.

When our ships are manned and officered entirely by Americans foreign nations will know, and we, ourselves, can feel assured that we have solved our shipping problem and that our merchant marine is destined to live and to grow in the competition for the world's trade. All of the other problems that now seem to bulk so large will disappear when the American boy takes again to the sea. Then we will have a ship-minded nation.

Washington, D. C.

## Entering the Promised Land

(Continued from page 300)

ger than in the West, for instance."

"Then, by smashing precedents?" I asked Mrs. Annette Abbott Adams, the first woman—a California woman—to serve as an Assistant U. S. Attorney General.

"Precedents?" she pondered, with nice discrimination, "or conventionalities?"

"Well, isn't it true," I countered, "that when club women find a club constitution in the way they write a new constitution—every year if necessary?"

She merely smiled.

"Then," she was asked, "how shall women exactly express themselves?"

"Why, by the use of the ballot, of course," she answered. "That's the interesting thing—the ballot gives women the power given men."

"But aren't women at a disadvantage, when men have had control of the parties all these years?"

"Yes," she granted, "we are hampered by these long years in which the nation has neglected to make use of its woman-power. There is no use to deny that, but," she added cheerfully, "I think we will soon qualify."

And now, in the matter of entering public office: Should women strive behind the counters too?

Miss Martin answered decisively, in an interview. "It is necessary for the welfare of women and of the nation that women's viewpoint should be expressed in government. And why? Because women are not as men; theirs is a 'social motherhood' men cannot know."



And how? "I believe," Miss Martin answered, "that women should be candidates for state legislatures and for both branches of Congress."

And should they serve in office in the executive departments?

Without question. Scores already are in executive positions in Washington and elsewhere, in the executive departments. And why not? Would not a new state justly share in such responsibilities? One woman, Mrs. Frances C. Axtell, one of the three commissioners of the United States Employees' Compensation Commission and for two years its chairman, has without question, one of her associates said, been able better to understand and judge of injuries received by women, and other ills and their cure, than a man could do. Again, Mrs. Helen H. Gardener, now one of the three civil service commissioners, whose rank is just short of Cabinet positions, and the first woman to hold that high office, indicated in an interview that she is amazed by the enormous complexities confronting anyone who attempts to get order and equality of conditions, pay and promotion, between grades, between men and women, up and down the great ranks of the 700,000 federal employees, a very large percentage of whom are women. One can see, then, that aside from the question of the rightfulness of fair representation of women's natural interests in government, there are reasons enough why women should hold executive positions in the governmental departments.

"Why in the world shouldn't women as well as men occupy governmental positions for which their experience qualifies them?" the Assistant Attorney General, Mrs. Adams, inquired.

"I confess," I replied very hastily, "that for the life of me I can't see why they shouldn't!"

She added again that she couldn't see that women's interests in good government are different from men's.

She was assured that since in fact the Canaanites had at last entered Canaan I for one was for calling them in numbers from where they dwelt to be given places in the land for which they had labored.

"That," she answered, "should be a question of personal qualification."

"With women?"

"Yes—and with men!"

"And if the qualifications are the same?"

"Then there's an obligation for equal representation. As I said, it shouldn't be a question of sex but of personal qualification. And I should like to add that the women who go into governmental positions ought to give their best efforts to their jobs."

"And why, particularly?"

"Because there are still many men who doubt. Circumstances are such that there are many men who are slow to give women credit even when—"

"Yes, even when—?"

"Even when they have actually done good work."

Washington, D. C.



Puffed Wheat

## More Bubble Grains

### Millions of dishes coming

Direct from the harvest fields we get the choicest wheat that grows. Then we seal the grains in guns, apply a fearful heat and explode them. They come out as bubble grains, flimsy and flaky—puffed to eight times normal size. Yet the grains remain shaped as they grew.

Every night of the coming year millions of children will enjoy this Puffed Wheat in their bowls of milk.

### Three grains now exploded

Three grains are now puffed by Prof. Anderson's process, and each has its own delights.

Puffed Wheat and Puffed Rice are whole grains. Corn Puffs are corn hearts puffed.

All are thin and airy—all have exquisite flavor. And every food cell is blasted for easy, complete digestion.

Serve all of them in all the ways you can, for no other form of grain food can compare with these.

**Puffed Wheat**

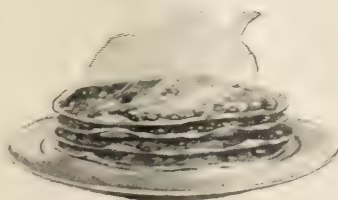
**Puffed Rice**

**Corn Puffs**

**Also Puffed Rice Pancake  
Flour**

### For nutty, fluffy pancakes

Now we make a pancake flour mixed with ground Puffed Rice. It makes nut-like, fluffy pancakes—the finest ever tasted. The flour is self-raising, so the batter is made in a moment. Try this new dainty. Ask for Puffed Rice Pancake Flour.



**The Quaker Oats Company**

Sole Makers



# Here are Books—and Books

## Across Three Continents

If you can't get away whenever the wanderlust calls you buy Kipling's *Letters of Travel* instead and divide your time between Japan, Egypt and Canada, with short runs into the United States. The book really transports you, as all volumes of travel are, most erroneously, supposed to do. The letters, or essays, or whatever you choose to call them, cover a period of twenty-odd years before the war. They are Kipling at his very best, beauty, color and romance, solid facts and sound thinking blended so skilfully that, whichever you are looking for, you take the other in your stride. Kipling observes so clearly and sanely that, without argument, he convinces you of what Katharine Fullerton Gerould calls the "extraordinary rightness" of his opinions, and he writes the English language so cleanly, strongly, easily and beautifully that it is a pure joy to read him. The pictures of Japan are full of color; the pictures of Egypt are full of age and mystery; the pictures of Canada are full of strength and freshness, but the very best of all is the winter scene "In Sight of Monadnock":

The night was as keen as the edge of a newly ground sword. . . . all the sheeted hills round about were as dumb as death. Only the Connecticut River kept up its heart and a lane of black water thru the packed ice; we could hear the stream worrying round the heels of its small bergs. Elsewhere there was nothing but snow under the moon—snow drifted to the level of the stone fences or curling over their tops in a lip of frosted silver; snow banked high on either side of the road, or lying heavy on the pines and the hemlocks in the woods, where the air seemed, by comparison, as warm as a conservatory. It was beautiful beyond expression, nature's boldest sketch in black and white, done with a Japanese disregard of perspective, and daringly altered from time to time by the restless pencils of the moon.

*Letters of Travel*, by Rudyard Kipling. Doubleday, Page & Co.

## Ape and Superape

Did you ever reflect how significant is the fact that man descended not only from the lower animals but from a particular type of lower animal—the Primate, the Ape, the Bandarlog, the Yahoo (to use in turn the names given our kinsmen by science, common life, Kipling and Swift)? Well, Clarence Day thought of it and has embodied his thoughts in the most amusing little essay of the year, *This Simian World*. He finds that the human traits are but the monkey traits—sublimated. The aimless curiosity, the busy hand, the roving eye, the chattering tongue of the ape become in the course of ages the mind-stuff of our human civilization with its elaborate and ingenious industry, its passion for gathering knowledge and hoarding it in museums and libraries, its gregariousness and sociability, its vulgarity and fondness for ridicule, its vanity, its credulousness, its cult of sex love, its hatred of snakes, and all other human

qualities, good, bad and indifferent. Suppose the world were ruled by super-ants or super-cats or super-elephants, creatures as superior to their ancestors as we are to the apes, would not a civilization equal in degree but different in type have developed? Can we not picture the rustic dignity of the elephant *Kultur* or the hard-working industrialism of the ants? Mr. Day can.

We like best his picture of the cat civilization. It is even finer than Swift's immortal description of a country governed by the super-horse. These descendants of the cats would be civilized; they would have tools, houses and clothes as we do. But their civilization would be more individualistic than our own, more austere, more graceful. In a word, more aristocratic. On the other hand it would be cruel; there would be no Red Cross for the wounded, no poorhouse for the destitute. The cats would not band together to fight wars, they are not gregarious enough, but they would resort frequently to the duel. Their keen intelligence would be more devoted to the struggle for existence and less to scientific research; the purposeful cunning of the cat would replace the impersonal curiosity of the ape.

*This Simian World*, by Clarence Day, Jr. A. A. Knopf.

## The Church Tomorrow

When the great war first burst over the earth men said, Christianity has failed; since the armistice was signed they have been saying instead, the churches have failed. We have had talk and writing, discussion, denunciation and destructive criticism from inside and from outside of the church. Men have said much about the need for reform and the reasons for that need but they have only just begun to offer suggestions for the lines which the reform might take. The suggestions run all the way from the revision of the Book of Common Prayer to the establishment of a community church. Anyone who is interested in the question will be interested in one or more of a half dozen recent books which treat the problem from various angles.

*Old Truths and New Facts and What the War has Taught Us*, two collections of sermons by Dr. Charles E. Jefferson of the Broadway Tabernacle, present religious truths and lessons in the new, strong light thrown by the war. They deal with principles rather than with the practical difficulties the church is confronting and are more suggestive than convincing.

The attitude of the Episcopal church towards changing conditions is set forth in *The Church and Its American Opportunity*, a volume made up of papers read at the Church of Congress in the



Drawn by Clarence Day, Jr., in "This Simian World"

The first thinker (after Rodin)

spring of 1919. They treat the relation of the church to the League of Nations, an American labor party and other national questions; and they treat also the necessity for readjustments in the training of the ministry, revision of the prayer book, the use of the Old Testament and similar internal questions. The papers reflect the general feeling that something must be done without offering any very drastic suggestions.

Interdominational federation of Christian churches is one of the most definite and concrete suggestions which is now being discussed and experimented with. Some very practical and informing light on the subject is thrown by Charles Otis Gill and Gifford Pinchot, in *6000 Country Churches*, a detailed statistical study of rural Ohio where some appalling conditions prevail many of which have been corrected by exceedingly interesting and successful experiments in church union, church federation and the establishment of community churches. The theoretical aspect of the federation question is discussed in *The Road to Unity Among the Christian Churches*, an illuminating address by ex-President Eliot of Harvard, in which he sets forth clearly and convincingly the various factors which are making for and against the church unity which he believes desirable and possible.

But more concretely and definitely constructive than any of these is the answer given in *The Community Church* by Henry E. Jackson who is attached as a Special Agent in Community Organization to the United States Bureau of Education. The first part of his book is unfortunately devoted to an attempt to explain why he left his church and ministry. A man attempting to justify himself, even with reason, is bound to be a somewhat pitiable object and the account of a quarrel in general terms makes very dull reading, but skip to Chapter V, or better still Chapter VII, and the book becomes definite and stimulating whether you agree with it or not.

The community center is the American church, the only national church which America has.

I believe that the time is coming when the community center will be the only church needed anywhere and even now I give to it the chief place in my affections. But nevertheless, I believe that for the present a private or volunteer church is needed to do what the community center is not yet able to do.

Statements like this are based on actual experiments and bulwarked by definite suggestions for the constitution, organization, management and program of a community church.

*Old Truths and New Facts, What the War*



*Has Taught Us*, by Charles E. Jefferson. Fleming H. Revell Co. *The Church and Its American Opportunity*, edited by Charles Lewis Slattery. Macmillan Co. *Our Country Churches*, by Charles Otis Gill and Gifford Pinchot. Macmillan Co. *The Road to Unity Among the Christian Churches*, by Charles W. Eliot. Beacon Press. *The Community Church*, by Henry E. Jackson. Houghton Mifflin Co.

## The Labor Puzzle

If our bookshelf is any indication, the question of industrial labor eclipses all others in the present mind of the reading public. If a solution has not been found (and no one can say that it has) for the problem of obtaining more and better industrial output in this period of reconstruction, at least the whole pack of sociologists, both amateur and professional, are hot on the trail.

Perhaps the best introduction to the whole field is Ray Stannard Baker's *The New Industrial Unrest*. Combining the lucidity of the trained writer, the quick eye of the reporter and the orderly reflectiveness of the born philosopher Mr. Baker's birdseye view of what is wrong with American industry is the best book of its kind which has yet appeared. It begins with a discussion of the steel strike at Gary and the issues involved and from that concrete instance branches off to the industrial problem in general: the inadequacies of welfare work, the Labor Party, the organization of shop committees and arbitration councils, the attitude of the labor unions and the factions within them, the attempts at Americanization and all the sound and all the ill-digested proposals brought forward by the leaders of labor and capital. In *The Social Unrest*, Dr. Lyman Powell has diligently collected a symposium of essays on economic topics of the times by such men as President Wilson, Matthew Woll, Dr. Butler, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Talcott Williams, Paul Kellogg, Professor Taussig, J. A. Hobson, Herbert Hoover and a score of other statesmen, economists, business men, labor leaders and publicists. *Labor's Challenge to the Social Order*, by John Graham Brooks, is especially to be recommended as a clear account and discriminating criticism of the labor movement, especially in its more radical or Socialist phases.

All of the books thus far mentioned are designed to summarize the views of many men rather than present the personal opinions of the author. But we must have able advocates as well as able judges, and these are not lacking. Three idealistic and "inspirational" books on the industrial question, not without sympathetic leanings toward Socialism, are *The Unfinished Programme of Democracy*, by Richard Roberts, *The New Social Order*, by Professor Ward of the Union Theological Seminary, and *Is Violence the Way Out?* by Rev. John Haynes Holmes. A more critical attitude toward Socialism, with strong emphasis on the importance of thrift and a keen analysis of the real nature of "capital," may be found in *Why Men Strike*, by Samuel Crowther, and *The Unsolved Riddle of*

# BOOKS to Remember

THERE was a time when simply because a book was a book its purchase was in the nature of an event. In those days the possessor of a library of fifty volumes was a marked man in his community—but times have changed. Every day new books of all kinds and of all quality fall from the nation's presses in their countless thousands—at prices that are within the reach of all. We are no longer judged by the quantity of our volumes but by the matter that they contain.

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*Social Justice*, by Stephen Leacock. But all of these men are friendly to conservative labor unionism and social reform; as is also Ole Hanson in *Americanism versus Bolshevism*. Mr. Hanson opens his book with an account of the famous general strike which he did so much to suppress at Seattle, but soon ventures boldly into the general fields of history, politics and social theory to demonstrate the superiority of democracy to proletarianism. To find an extreme and unapologetic partizan of *laissez-faire* and capitalism it is necessary to turn to a striking book by the late Professor Sumner of Yale, *What Social Classes Owe to Each Other*, recently reprinted by Professor Keller. Here is the pure milk of the gospel, according to Herbert Spencer and the Manchester economists; here is a man with the courage (or rashness) to deny that the State "owes anything to anybody except peace, order, and the guarantees of rights." The whole fabric of social legislation is hewed down with one mighty blow of Professor Sumner's keen-edged ax. A weaker but almost equally extreme statement of the case against labor unionism is James Day's *My Neighbor the Workingman*.

There are also good books of the textbook and manual type: *Labor and Reconstruction in Europe*, by Elisha M. Friedman, giving concrete and compact information as to programs of industrial reform now projected in foreign countries; *An Introduction to Social Ethics*, by Professor Mecklin of Pittsburgh University; *Organized Labor in American History*, an historical essay by Professor Carlton of De Pauw University; *American Social Problems*, by Dr. Burch and Mr. Patterson, and *Problems of Labor*, compiled by Daniel Bloomfield for the Debater's Handbook Series.

Finally, there is a considerable group of books dealing intensively with industry and "getting right down to cases" on profit-sharing, factory management and welfare work: *When the Workmen Help You Manage*, by William Basset; *Industrial Administration*, consisting of an important series of lectures delivered at the University of Manchester by British economists and "efficiency engineers"; *The Six-Hour Shift*, by Lord Leverhulme, the British manufacturer who championed the six-hour work day by both preaching and practice; *The Industrial Republic*, by Paul Litchfield, giving an account of the Goodyear Rubber Company's experiment in shop self-government, and *Humanizing Industry*, a lecture on factory welfare work sugar-coated as fiction by R. C. Feld.

*The New Industrial Unrest*, by Ray Stannard Baker, Doubleday, Page & Co. *The Social Unrest*, 2 vols., by Dr. Lyman P. Powell. Review of Reviews Co. *Labor's Challenge to the Social Order*, by John Graham Brooks. Macmillan. *The Unfinished Programme of Democracy*, by Richard Roberts. Huebsch. *The New Social Order, by Harry F. Ward. Macmillan. Is Violence the Way Out?* by John Haynes Holmes. Dodd, Mead & Co. *The Unsolved Riddle of Social Justice*, by Prof. Stephen Leacock. John Lane Co. *Why Men Strike*, by Samuel Crowther. Doubleday, Page & Co. *Americanism versus Bolshevism*, by Ole Hanson. Doubleday, Page & Co. *What Social Classes Owe to Each Other*, by

William Graham Sumner. Harpers. *My Neighbor the Workingman*, by James Roscoe Day. Abingdon Press. *Labor and Reconstruction in Europe*, by Elisha M. Friedman. Dutton. *Introduction to Social Ethics*, by John M. Mecklin. Harcourt, Brace & Howe. *Organized Labor in American History*, by Frank Tracy Carlton. Appleton. *American Social Problems*, by Henry Reed Burch and S. Howard Patterson. Macmillan. *Problems of Labor*, by Daniel Bloomfield. Handbook Series. H. W. Wilson Co. *When the Workmen Help You Manage*, by W. R. Basset. Century. *Industrial Administration*. Manchester University lectures. Longmans. Green & Co. *The Six-Hour Shift*, by Lord Leverhulme. Henry Holt. *The Industrial Republic*, by Paul Litchfield. Houghton Mifflin. *Humanizing Industry*, by R. C. Feld. Dutton.

## A New Novelist

*Invincible Minnie* is an astounding person. It is no use to say that she is impossible; that is one of the most terrifying things about her, she isn't. Her creator, Elizabeth Sanxay Holding, calls her pure woman, woman unadulterated. Perhaps the idea is more clearly expressed if one says female. She is also the apotheosis of the terrible power of complacency, the worst of sins. Oh, no, you won't like Minnie, not in the least, but you will be thoroly fascinated by her; she is, with all her individuality, suggestive of so many people you know.

Then there is the weak and charming Lionel, whose destruction, as comprehensible as it is pitiful, is an extremely skilful piece of character drawing. There is Minnie's sister, Frankie, who strengthens Minnie's character by proving to you that the author isn't cynical after all, and there are Mr. Petersen and Horace and Julie and Miss Eppendorfer, all clear cut, definite, intensely interesting individuals. If you insist on plot in your novels there is plenty of that, quite unusual but perfectly convincing. Miss Holding knows how to write.

*Invincible Minnie*, by Elizabeth Sanxay Holding. Doran.

## The Critic Finds a Fortune

It is much more difficult to criticize a book you like enormously than one you dislike or enjoy mildly, just as it is easier to describe a casual acquaintance than your best friend. There is something about friendship which, while it does not blind you to faults, makes them appear relatively unimportant; and there is something illogical about friendship which makes it frequently impossible to explain just why you like the other person so much. You describe him to a third person by saying, "I like him and I think you will," which is just about the way we feel about Douglas Goldring's *The Fortune*. However, it is possible to be a little more explicit; there are several excellent reasons for liking it.

The story follows the usual lines of a modern English novel, public school, Oxford, the war; but in this case it ends in Ireland and has in addition the sanest, clearest, most convincing exposition of the conscientious objector's point of view that any writer of fiction has yet set forth. It ought to be read by the many people who have condemned the C. O., unheard, to outer darkness. It propounds, likewise an interesting theory that it was the "na-



tional cult of the gentleman" which was responsible for the war.

There may be plenty of people who do not like Douglas Goldring's novel, "The Fortune," because it deals with two of the questions on which we think with the most heat and the least reason: Ireland and the conscientious objector to war. But even tho you object violently to the author's attitude on these points you cannot fail to be impressed by his ability and skill, particularly in the drawing of unusual but very real and vivid characters. Consequently you will welcome with open arms *Margot's Progress*, in which you find the same skill without the dangerous problems. Maggie Carter started life behind the counter of a grocery store in Montreal. By dint of beauty, force of character, unlimited nerve and the happy expedient of changing her name to Margot Cartier she became a wealthy London hostess to whom duchesses said, "my dear." But she wasn't satisfied even then; she was too much of a person. She is an enormously interesting individual, and even the most New England conscience can't help rejoicing over the success of her utter ruthlessness and self-seeking. It is the kind of story which might easily be preposterous but is convincingly inevitable, and Margot isn't the only person in its pages who is worth meeting.

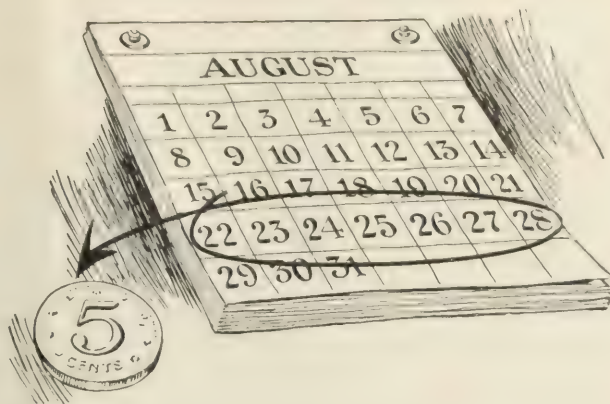
*The Fortune*, by Douglas Goldring. Scott & Seltzer. *Margot's Progress*, by Douglas Goldring. Seltzer.

### Cavaliers of the Steppe

*The Cossacks*, whose history is entertainingly related by Captain W. P. Cresson, former Secretary of the American Embassy at Petrograd, are a people little understood and, indeed, not easy to understand. Altho among themselves the most democratic of peoples, cherishing their ancient liberties with a tenacity that won important concessions from Russian Tsarism, they became the willing agents of autocracy for the oppression of others. Sprung from the submissive peasantry of southern Russia they constitute a class of warriors and adventurers comparable to the Norsemen of the Viking age. Barely civilized themselves, they brought civilization to the vast empire of Siberia.

So brief a history of a thousand years in the life of eastern Europe can make but little addition to the information of the special student, but Captain Cresson's work rests on the standard researches of French historians and the general reader can peruse it with confidence as well as with interest. A good English account of the Cossacks from the earliest times to the present has hitherto been lacking and should find a ready welcome with the American public.

Captain Cresson's book makes clear the important historical role of this indomitable race of Centaurs. By their revolt from Polish rule under Bogdan Hmelnitski, familiar to all readers of Sienkiewicz, they transferred the seat of power in eastern Europe from Warsaw to Moscow. Under Mazeppa they sustained the failing fortunes of King



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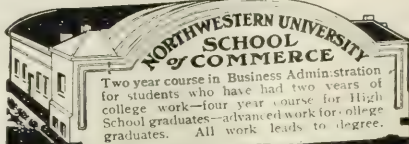
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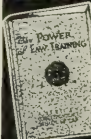
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Charles of Sweden in his war with Peter the Great. Today the Cossacks are the military backbone of the Republic of the Ukraine and the bulwark of resistance to Bolshevism in southern Russia and western Siberia.

The book contains a map of Cossack settlements and some well selected illustrations. We like best the frontispiece showing the Cossack chieftains composing their letter of defiance to the Sultan. We cannot forbear the pleasure of quoting this letter, as a model of a certain type of diplomatic correspondence:

Thou Turkish Devil!

Brother and Companion of Lucifer himself! Who dares call himself Lord of the Christians—but is not! Babylonish cook! Brewer of Jerusalem! Goat-Keeper of the herds of Alexandria! Swineherd of Great and Lesser Egypt! Armenian Sow and Tartar Goat! Insolent Unbeliever!

May the Devil take you! The Cossacks refuse every demand and petition that you now make to them—or that you may in future invent.

Thank us for condescending to answer you!

*The Cossacks, Their History and Country,*  
by W. P. Cresson. Brentano.

### Black Magic

Could you imagine an explanation which would account at one fell swoop for the great war, psychic phenomena, bolshevism, anarchy and the influenza? That is what Robert W. Chambers has done in *The Slayer of Souls*. It is a marvelous bit of invention and it makes a story full of mystery and excitement and thrills, tho you are never thoroly breathless, you are too sure in each struggle that the right woman will win. There is plenty of the exotic, luxurious atmosphere, devil worship and gold-clad temple girls, that Mr. Chambers always spreads thickly over his tales. It is a well told story, but Mr. Chambers, our most shining example of a debased talent, can write better than he does here.

*The Slayer of Souls*, by Robert W. Chambers.  
George H. Doran Co.

### German Spies—And Others

Many prophecies have been made and theories advanced about the effect of the great war on literature, but there is one field in which its quickening influence cannot possibly be disputed, what a boon the German spy has been to the insatiable reader and the weary inventor of mystery stories. Melville Davisson Post is responsible for certain very subtle German spies whose activities are recorded in some of the excellent stories in *The Mystery at the Blue Villa*. There are a lot of other people in the book; strong Englishmen, with a flavor of Kipling about them, who adventure in Egypt and India; wicked and beautiful ladies; Americans of various castes and shades. The stories are well told and the people have much more character and individuality than is usual among inhabitants of mystery tales.

Prussian spies and British noblemen and New York society folk weave the tangled plot of a more than ordinarily

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entertaining detective story in *Pollyoos Dances*, by Edgar Jepson. Pollyoos herself is a dangerously fascinating young dancer with red hair, who is as clever as she is beautiful—and that, the author would have us believe, is praise indeed!

*The Mystery at the Blue Villa*, by Melville Davison Post, D. Appleton & Co. *Pollyoos Dances*, by Edgar Jepson. Duffield & Co.

## Good Stories

**KATHLEEN**, by Christopher Morley (Doubleday, Page & Co.). A gentle farce, impossible but entertaining.

**JOY IN THE MORNING**, by Mary Raymond Shipman Andrews, (Scribner's Sons.) Sentimental war stories well told.

**ON THE MAKALOA MAY**, by Jack London (Macmillan Co.). Some hitherto unpublished stories overflowing with the rich local color of Hawaii.

**BENJY**, by George Stevenson (John Lane Co.). A calm tale; the story of a Victorian couple and their numerous offspring; interesting incident and fairly interesting characters, but no particular point.

**THE LADY FROM LONG ACRE**, by Victor Bridges (G. P. Putnam's Sons). A lively romance of a runaway queen, an English millionaire; a musical comedy actress and several villains in an imaginary kingdom.

**HIS FRIEND AND HIS WIFE**, by Cosmo Hamilton (Little, Brown & Co.). A society tragedy-comedy set in a wealthy commuting colony in Connecticut. The background, cleverly and entertainingly sketched, is very much better than the overdrawn story.

**UNCLE SAM OF FREEDOM RIDGE**, by Margaret P. Montague (Doubleday, Page & Co.). The short story which President Wilson wished every American to read if he would understand the meaning of the League of Nations in terms of the honor of America.

**TRIMMED WITH RED**, by Wallace Irwin (George H. Doran Co.). Most people wail and gnash their teeth over Bolshevism; Wallace Irwin laughs uproariously at it. His tale of parlor Bolsheviki in Greenwich Village and on Long Island is pure farce, but most of it is really funny.

**PEACE IN FRIENDSHIP VILLAGE**, by Zona Gale. (Macmillan Co.) Americanization and after-the-war-what stories, plus a few others, all set in a typical small town; sentimental, but sincere, amusing and endowed with a good deal of shrewd psychology and good character drawing.

**THE SKELETON KEY**, by Bernard Capes (George H. Doran Co.). A murder mystery by a man who, as G. K. Chesterton says in his introduction, "always gave a touch of distinction to a detective story or a tale of adventure; and so gave it where it was not valued because it was not expected."

**THIS MARRYING**, by Margaret Culkin Banning (George H. Doran Co.). A good average modern story about an attractive average modern girl who comes out of college with plenty of youthful enthusiasm and a wholesome desire for romance. She finds it in her job, in her friends, in her lovers.

**AT FAME'S GATEWAY**, by Jennie Irene Mix (Henry Holt & Co.). The story of Josephine Prescott, whom Parksburg, Ohio, sent to New York to become a great pianist. A moral tale but interesting, it has a lot of musical good sense and is highly to be recommended to the concert-stage struck girl.

**LADYFINGERS**, by Jackson Gregory (Charles Scribner's Sons). All the world loves a crook if he is also an artist and a gentleman and Ladyfingers is a very charming specimen, but, alas, he begins to reform far too near the beginning of the story and becomes so noble that he is a little hard to bear.

**TUTT AND MR. TUTT**, by Arthur Train (Charles Scribner's Sons). Mr. Tutt is the successful result of an attempt to do that dangerous thing, create a character. Arthur Train's stories of the lean, lank lawyer and the things he did to the law in the conduct of his curious cases are good reading.

**THE CRUISE OF THE "SCANDAL"** AND OTHER STORIES, by Victor Bridges (Putnam). Those who think the art of writing short stories is peculiarly American should read Victor Bridges' *The Cruise of the "Scandal"*. Here is an English author who is satirical, keenly observant and above all humorous. "Squarky-Woo" is a funny little story, the tale of a mouse, penned with so light a touch as to almost conceal its moral.

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G. D. MILNE, Treasurer.

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Secretary and Treasurer.

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THE INDEPENDENT

311 Sixth Avenue

New York

## The Poison of Bolshevism

(Continued from page 297)

It is necessary for us, the intelligentsia, to go voluntarily and in all sincerity wherever the Soviet Government would send us, and to serve in that capacity to the best of our ability. It is necessary to do what Brusilov asks the officers to do. There is no doubt that the officers will enter the service wholeheartedly. It is necessary that we, the educated people of Russia, the Russian intelligentsia, should do in the rear, on the front of labor, what the officers are doing on the battle front. The Russian officers have found a place for themselves in the present-day Soviet Russia, and it is necessary for the intelligentsia to do the same thing.

It is not known what effect Professor Gredeskul's appeal has had upon the intelligentsia in Russia. It is doubtful, however, that it should meet with anything like a complete approval on the part of the majority of the intelligentsia. What Professor Gredeskul asks the intelligentsia to do now, is to forget all the insults and persecutions and tortures with which it has been terrorized by the Soviet régime in the course of the past two and a half years, and to begin to serve this régime for the purpose of establishing in Russia a Socialist state. He asks the Russian intelligentsia to do for the cause of what he considers the Socialist ideal, a thing which not a single Socialist group in Russia is willing to do, viz., to lend its prestige and its support to a realization of the Communist program which is so unmistakably doomed to failure.

When the Russian Mensheviks, despite everything, still consider that Bolshevism is impossible and that what it brings with it is anything but socialism, it would, indeed, be strange to expect the intelligentsia to lend its support in the name of the Socialist cause to what the Communists are doing. At one of the last Menshevik Congresses, Leo Deutch, the veteran leader of the Russian social democracy, said:

As long as there remains in me but one drop of common sense, I cannot go hand in hand with the Soviet ideologists, for according to my deep conviction the transition from the capitalistic system to a communistic order is absolutely impossible at the present time.

There is no doubt that as far as the Polish invasion was concerned many of the Russian intelligentsia have forgotten everything that had gone before and have done their share in saving Russia from the danger which threatened her. But as for the complete capitulation to the Soviet régime, such as is proposed by Professor Gredeskul, it is not likely that his appeal will find a very cordial response.

The Bolsheviks realized long ago that they would not be able to organize anything in Russia, unless they obtain the support and the services of the intelligentsia, of the educated men and women and of the specialists in the various fields. They have been doing everything to cajole or compel the intelligentsia to come to them. But their success has not been very great.

It is very characteristic of the supreme arrogance which the Bolsheviks still maintain that they want of the intelligentsia not collaboration, but submission. They do not admit the intelligentsia on a footing of equality in the political and economic life of the country. They still preserve in its entirety the system of party dictatorship which they continue to call the dictatorship of the proletariat. They have crushed the intelligentsia, and now they demand its moral surrender.

The position of the officers is different. Whether or not Brusilov and the other generals were actuated by any ulterior motives, it is impossible to tell. But whether they were or not, their work requires of them to serve that Government which makes at least an attempt at protecting the country when threatened by foreign military danger. For them a revolution that still leaves them to do their patriotic duty is merely a change of masters.

Not so with the intelligentsia. It has fought for generations against the injustices and the iniquities of the imperial régime. It refused to accept the imperial régime and to submit to it, and it swelled the ranks of the revolutionary movement. It is inconceivable that it should now submit to the Soviet régime, which has restored all the evils of its imperial predecessor in an infinitely worse form.

A very interesting reply to Professor Gredeskul has been given by Vladimir Bourtssev, the veteran revolutionary, now a bitter opponent of the Soviet régime, in an article published in his Paris newspaper, *The Common Cause*, entitled, "If You Are Slaves, Do Not at Least Become Lackeys!" Bourtssev says:

Gredeskul's letter proves to us that he and those like him have now gone far beyond that to which they are compelled by their involuntary enslavement; they now voluntarily transform themselves into lackeys of the Bolsheviks.

In introducing the subject matter of his article, Bourtssev quotes the words of an intellectual who had escaped from Soviet Russia, and in speaking of the boundless cynicism which the Bolshevik régime had introduced in Russian life, he said of the intelligentsia:

The worst is not that the Bolsheviks force starvation upon us; not that they make us freeze almost to death. The worst is that they have made such scoundrels out of us.

Some of the intelligentsia will, undoubtedly, accept Bourtssev's bitter argument; some will, doubtless, follow Professor Gredeskul; the majority will, most probably, remain as at present: crushed and humiliated, but still in more or less passive opposition to the régime that has ruined Russia and them. The Bolsheviks have made the most of the grave national crisis for the purpose of advancing their propaganda. Whether there are any appreciable results, and in what direction, remains to be seen.

New York City



# The Independent

FOUNDED 1848

## Pebbles

They had hash on Monday for dinner,  
after a roast of beef on Sunday, as hap-  
pens in all well-regulated families. Father  
had said grace, when Bobbie said:

"I don't see why you asked another  
blessing this evening, father. You did it  
yesterday over this. It's the same old stuff."  
—*Ladies' Home Journal*.

It was midnight on the ocean,  
Not a street car was in sight;  
The sun was shining brightly,  
For it rained all day that night.

We walked along a country road  
In a city dry and dusty,  
And piling thru the awful mud  
Sure made our axles rusty.

We came upon a farmer's house,  
No dwelling could we see;  
The busy farmer plowed his field,  
An idle man was he.

'Twas a zero day in summer,  
The rain felt just like glass,  
A barefoot boy with shoes on  
Stood sitting in the grass.

We asked him for some water,  
He brought us wine instead;  
"Miracles will never cease."  
The deaf and dumb boy said.  
—*Sun Dial*.

## Dad to Daisy

DAISY DEAR—It is wonderfully gratify-  
ing to see you finding yourself as you are.

I sent you the subscription to The Inde-  
pendent because, while I think your brother's  
interest in the questions of the day  
quite natural, I am just old-fashioned  
enough to take great pride in having a  
daughter who can discuss politics, baseball  
and Irish home rule as ably as you can.

The Independent is a healthy mental  
tonic because it presents the facts and news  
on the doings of the day, not simply as  
news, but in their relation to the history  
of the past that we have all studied or are  
studying.

Be sure to follow particularly the Mes-  
sages of Five Nations to the American Peo-  
ple because the prominent men of our na-  
tional neighbors who write these messages  
present their side of the international ques-  
tions that affect us all, in a way that no  
American could.

Did you notice Preston Slosson's article  
in the July 3 issue entitled "Great Men  
and Great Work"? It is a little eight para-  
graph classic that explains why some nota-  
bles are taken up in history, biography and  
fable so much more extensively than others.  
If you missed it be sure to look it up. It  
is one of those rare gems of thought that  
go to make The Independent, The Inde-  
pendent.

Your reading should either give you a  
thought or prompt a thought and from that  
standpoint I find The Independent an ideal  
publication, and I am very glad that you  
like the magazine so much. See to it that  
you always find time to read it, girlie.

Affectionately,

DAD

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## Remarkable Remarks

W. L. GEORGE—Divorce is often a rather  
decent thing.

MADAME NAZIMOVA—Every night I read  
before I sleep.

REV. GEORGE CHALMERS RICHMOND—  
God bless you, Gene Debs.

ROSCOE GILMORE STOTT—Most red-  
blooded lads hate the classics.

GOVERNOR COX—I thank God that as  
your president I will be a free man.

CLINTON W. GILBERT—Cox does not  
follow genteel traditions in politics.

CHARLES E. HUGHES—The world can-  
not survive unless America survives.

QUEEN MARIE OF ROUMANIA—As a  
child I was taught to live for others.

ROY K. MOULTON—I never read letters  
that come in open faced isinglass envelopes.

DAVID W. GRIFFITH—Love of appro-  
bation is next to the law of self-preservation.

BERTRAND RUSSELL—Men hate the pain  
of thinking more than they hate the pain  
of death.

CARDINAL GIBBONS—I regret very much  
that the women have taken the plunge  
into the deep.

LADY DUFF-GORDON—What is the sense  
of being slaves to fashions that only reveal  
your ugliness?

BERNARD SHAW—The Lord Mayor is  
the sort of a martyr who burns with a  
bright, very fiery flame.

E. H. MOORE, DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE-  
MAN FROM OHIO—Cox has nailed the  
Republicans to the cross.

CANON E. A. BURROUGHS—The human  
soul is forming the conviction that the  
whole war was a gigantic mistake.

F. L. MULFORD—It is important that  
the home should be carefully arranged so  
as to give the most helpful influences.

H. W. NEVINSON—Outside Russia I  
have never seen a people so unpunctual,  
so indifferent to time, as the Americans.

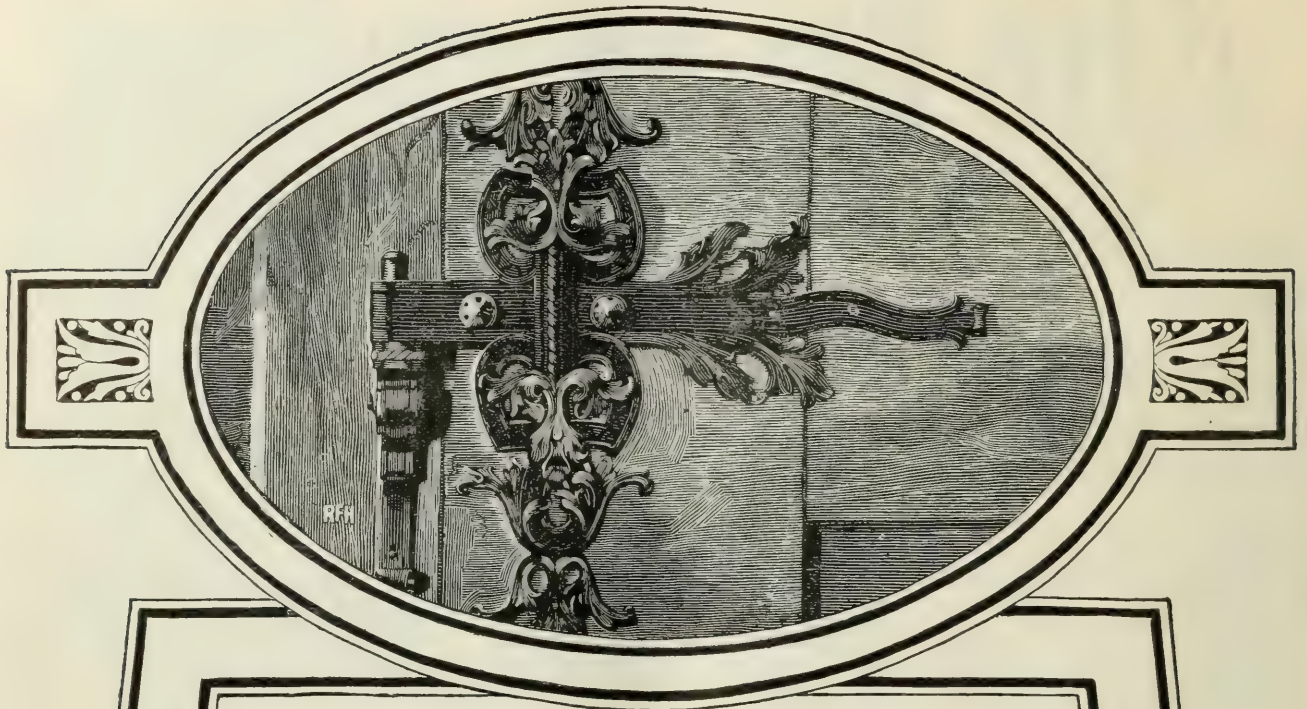
JOHN CHAPMAN HILDER—One of the  
most difficult problems a man is called  
upon to solve is the kind of collar to  
wear.

BEATRICE FORBES-ROBERTSON HALE—  
The modern woman is very largely still  
nothing but a shop window for her hus-  
band's success in life.

COMMISSIONER WALLIS—I've been try-  
ing for five weeks to find a girl to do  
general housework in my home and a boy  
to clip the hedges in the home of a friend,  
and haven't succeeded.

GEORGE LANSBURY—There is not a  
single minister of religion remotely ac-  
quainted with public affairs but is well  
aware of the fact that the Socialist Re-  
public of Russia in its dealings with other  
nations in the most pacific and Christian  
of all Governments, either in Europe or  
America.





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# The Independent

September 18, 1920



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James M. Cox

## By Their Laws We May Know Them

A Careful Comparison of  
Governor Cox and Senator  
Harding in Their Careers  
as Legislators

By Susan Brown Bristol



© Underwood & Underwood

Warren G. Harding

WITH campaign propaganda confusing and bemuddling the issues, the facts concerning the candidates are not easy to obtain. A man's position in the past may logically be regarded as an index to the future. Therefore to arrive at any conclusion or even guess as to what may be expected of Governor Cox or Senator Harding as President, it may be well to study the history of each as revealed thru official records.

What has each candidate done? On important issues, what is his attitude? Is he a party man, or independent? Has he initiated constructive measures? Has he defended important legislation? On international matters, has he given evidence of his realization of the existence of a world as well as of a nation? In a word, is he reactionary? Is he progressive?

In the following paragraphs, the Republican and Democratic presidential candidates speak for themselves on important issues, thru their recorded votes in Congress and thru excerpts from speeches delivered both before and after each had accepted the nomination for the presidency.

James M. Cox entered the House of Representatives on March 4, 1909. He resigned on January 8, 1913, to become Governor of Ohio. During his term of practically four years as Congressman he introduced in the House 930 bills and joint resolutions.

Warren G. Harding entered the United States Senate on March 4, 1915. From that date until the adjournment of Congress, June 5, 1920, five years, he introduced in the Senate 136 bills and joint resolutions.

These measures are classifiable as follows:

	Governor Cox (House)	Senator Harding (Senate)
Pensions .....	871	88
General pension bills .....	2	..
Relief of organizations or individuals..	22	27

Public buildings .....	6	..
Miscellaneous local bills .....	..	3
Remove charges of desertion .....	21	..
Change names of vessels .....	..	5
Restore to active list of the army.....	1	..
Perpetuate site of fort .....	1	..
Medical Corp appointment .....	..	1
Public .....	6	12

Total number bills and joint resolutions introduced .....	930	136
---	-----	-----

Of the 930 measures presented in the House by Cox Governor Cox, 871, 93.6 per cent, are pension bills. (This total does not include the two general pension measures.)

Of the total number of measures presented aside from these, only six, or 0.64 per cent, could be classified as public, as distinguished from private or local—an average of 1.5 public bills per year.

Public measures introduced in the House by Governor Cox included bills or joint resolutions as follows:

To make trade agreements with foreign nations.

To create a commission to inquire into the subject of old age civil pensions.

To regulate employment of minor children in the District of Columbia.

To prevent the desecration of the flag of the United States. (He introduced two bills relating to this subject.)

To distribute the surplus in the United States Treasury for the improvement of public roads.

(The two general pension bills mentioned in the table above have a certain claim to classification as public bills. These provide for the determination of length of service rendered by soldiers and sailors of the Civil War, and for granting pensions to certain classes of persons who served in the Civil War and in the war with Mexico.)





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Senator Harding looks much more aggressive in this campaign photograph than is evident from his Congressional record. During his five years in the Senate he has been a follower, a consistent follower, of Senator Lodge

Of the 136 measures presented in the Senate by Senator Harding, 88, 64.7 per cent, are pension bills.

Of the total number of other measures presented only 12, or 8.8 per cent, could be classified as public, as distinguished from private or local—an average of 2.4 public bills per year.

Public measures introduced in the Senate by Senator Harding included bills or joint resolutions as follows:

To encourage teaching of Spanish in the United States.

To provide for the free use, for military drill, of any discarded rifles to duly accredited camps of the Sons of Veterans Reserve.

To amend the act providing for the prevention of the extermination of fur-bearing animals in Alaska. (He introduced two bills relating to this subject.)

To authorize the appointment of an American Battle-field Commission.

To adjudicate the claims of Cherokee, Creek and Seminole Indians.

To provide for payment of members of local draft boards serving also as clerks of such boards.

To provide for the investigation of influenza and allied diseases.

To amend the National McKinley Memorial Birthplace Association Act.

To provide for a celebration of the anniversary of the Pilgrims.

To provide for the loaning of tents during the summer months of 1920 to relieve the housing situation.

To provide suitable memorials for persons who lost their lives while in the military or naval forces of the United States during the war with Germany.

#### LEAGUE OF NATIONS

On the great international question of the League of Nations, Governor Cox said in a signed article that appeared in the *New York Times* of May 23, 1920:

"No one contends that it [the Covenant] is a perfect document, but it is a step in the right direction. It would put the loose ends of civilization together now and do more toward the restoration of normal conditions in six months' time than can the powers of

the earth, acting independently, in ten years' time."

In his speech of acceptance, referring to a possible separate peace with Germany, Governor Cox said:

"This would be the most disheartening event in civilization since the Russians made their separate peace with Germany, and infinitely more unworthy on our part than it was on that of the Russians. . . .

"In short, America, refusing to enter the League of Nations (now already established by twenty-nine nations) and bearing and deserving the contempt of the world, would submit an entirely new project. This act would either be regarded as arrant madness, or attempted international bossism. . . .

"These are fateful times. Organized government has a definite duty all over the world. The house of civilization is to be put in order. The supreme issue of the century is before us and the nation that halts and delays is playing with fire. The finest impulses of humanity, rising above national lines, merely seek to make another war impossible."

Quoting the position of his party, as expressed in the platform, Governor Cox continued:

"We advocate immediate ratification of the treaty without reservations which would impair its essential integrity, but do not oppose the acceptance of any reservation making clearer or more specific the obligations of the United States to the League associates."

He then quoted two paragraphs from his signed article in the *New York Times* giving his interpretation of the Covenant:

"In giving its assent to this treaty the Senate has in mind the fact that the League of Nations, which it embodies, was devised for the sole purpose of maintaining peace and comity among the nations of the earth and preventing the recurrence of such destructive conflicts as that thru which the world has just passed. The coöperation of the United States with the League and its continuance as a member thereof will naturally depend upon the adherence of the League to that fundamental purpose. . . .

"It will of course be understood that in carrying out the purpose of the League the Government of the United States must at all times act in strict harmony with the terms and intent of the United States Constitution, which cannot in any way be altered by the treaty-making power."

Continuing, he said:

"The first duty of the new administration clearly will be the ratification of the treaty. The matter should be approached without thought of the bitterness of the past. The public verdict will have been rendered, and I am confident that the friends of world peace as it will be promoted by the League will have in numbers the constitutional requisite to favorable senatorial action."

Concerning any changes which would affect the vital principle of the League, Governor Cox said:

"Unquestioned friends of the League have made other proposals. Our



Clinedinst

As a Congressman Governor Cox is described as the facile politician inclined to an interest in progressive policies. As Governor of Ohio, however, he has comprehended the problems of the people and has provided solutions for them





© Keystone View

Governor Cox believes in taking the bull by the horns. In the four years that he was a member of the House of Representatives he introduced 930 bills and joint resolutions, as against 163 sponsored by Senator Harding during five years in the Senate

platform clearly lays no bar against any additions that will be helpful, but it speaks in a firm resolution to stand against anything that disturbs the vital principle.

"We hear it said that interpretations are necessary. That may be true, but they will at least be reassuring to many of our citizens, who feel that in signing the treaty there should be no mental reservations that are not expressed in plain words, as a matter of good faith to our associates. Such interpretations possess the further virtue of supplying a base upon which agreement can be reached, and agreement, without injury to the Covenant, is now of pressing importance."

Senator Harding's record in the Senate shows him as voting, whenever he voted on the subject of the Treaty, with Senator Lodge and his group. On November 19, 1919, he voted for the Lodge reservations. On March 19, 1920, when the Lodge reservations were again voted upon, Senator Harding is recorded as not voting. With Senator Lodge, he voted in favor of the Knox resolution declaring peace with Germany at an end.

Explaining his vote in favor of ratification with the Lodge reservations, he said:

"I have not liked this Treaty; I think, as originally negotiated, it is the colossal blunder of all time; but recognizing the aspirations of our own people and the people of the world to do something toward international coöperation for the promotion and preservation of peace and a more intimate and better understanding between nations, I have wished to make it possible to accept this Covenant. . . .

"If this ratification is made with the reservations which have been adopted, there remains the skeleton of a league on which the United States can, if it deems it prudent, proceed in deliberation and calm reflection toward the building of an international relationship which shall be effective in the future. . . .

"We have traded away America's freedom of action in order to establish a supergovernment of the world, and it was never intended to be any less. I speak for one who is old-fashioned enough to believe that the Government of the United States of America is good enough for me."

As presidential candidate, in his speech of acceptance, on July 22, Senator Harding said:

"Our party means to hold the heritage of American nationality unimpaired and unsundered."

"The world will not misconstrue. We do not mean to hold aloof. We do not mean to shun a single responsibility of this republic to world civilization."

Earlier, however, referring to aid for Armenia, Senator Harding had said in the Senate:

"I am not insensible to the sufferings of Armenia. . . . But I am thinking of America first. Safety, as well as charity, begins at home. Selfishness? No. It is self-preservation. Measureless as our resources are . . . we are not strong enough to assume sponsorship for all the oppressed of the world. . . . We in America have the republic to preserve."

Realizing that there is an "insistent voice" for peace which refuses to be silenced, and that this demand must be met, Senator Harding, in his speech of acceptance, proposes, in these words, an unexplained "Association of Nations":

"Heeding this call and knowing as I do the disposition of Congress, I promise you formal and effective peace so quickly as a Republican Congress can pass its declaration for a Democratic executive to sign. . . .

"I can speak unreservedly of the American aspirations and the Republican committal for an association of nations, coöperating in sublime accord, to attain and preserve peace thru justice rather than force, determined to add security thru international law, so clarified that no misconstruction can be possible without affronting world honor. . . .

"It is better to be the free and disinterested agent of international justice and advancing civilization, with the covenant of conscience, than be shackled by a written compact which surrenders our freedom of action and gives a military alliance the right to proclaim America's duty to the world. . . .

"... With a Senate advising as the Constitution contemplates, I would hopefully approach the nations of Europe and of the earth, proposing that understanding which makes us a willing participant in the consecra-

tion of nations to a new relationship, to commit the moral forces of the world, America included, to peace and international justice, still leaving America free, independent and self-reliant, but offering friendship to all the world."

On August 28, in a "front-porch" speech, Senator Harding made a public pronouncement concerning the League, and stated his *latest* position on the "Association of Nations":

"It is not uncommon," said he, "for the advocates of the League of Versailles to contrast unfavorably The Hague tribunal upon the ground that the tribunal 'lacks teeth.'"

"Very well, then, let's put teeth into it. If, in the failed League of Versailles there can be found machinery which the tri-



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Senator Harding is not thrilled by such issues as Prohibition and Woman Suffrage. Toward them his attitude has wavered. But there is one thing on which his mind is quite made up—he is for America first, foremost and all the time

[Continued on page 355]



# Go North, Young Man!

A Message from the United States Government to the American People

By John Barton Payne

Secretary of the Interior

**A**LASKA'S imports and her exports, the measure of her trade with the world outside, have fallen off. Her white population has dropped from 50,000 in 1915 to 36,000 in 1920. These are not the signs of a healthy Alaskan development. What is the matter with Alaska?

I had been asked the question so often that I decided to go to Alaska and search for the answer. It is, there is nothing the matter with Alaska. Alaska has gold, coal, copper, oil, lumber and food products in abundance. The United States needs these things—needs them badly. The Alaskan storehouse is there waiting to be unlocked. It cannot unlock itself. Only the United States can turn the key.

What does Alaska need to make its riches available for our use? Principally it needs men—men of the right kind who will go to Alaska and stay there and work for the upbuilding of the country. And men need women. The thirty-six thousand whites now there—no more than the population of a small American city—are not equal to the task of developing a territory one-fifth the area of the entire United States.

The war took from Alaska 3000 of her best—her youngest and her hardiest—men to fight in the armies of the United States. Other thousands were attracted back to the states by the high wages being paid in the Pacific Coast shipyards and other war industries. The shortage of labor boosted wages in Alaska and gold could not be mined with the same profit as before. Copper mining took up the men who could no longer find employment in the gold fields, but with the ending of the war and the fall in copper prices these operations slackened. The war was not good for Alaska. War never helps in the development of frontier territory.

Alaska needs an understanding of her present problems by the people and the Government of the United States. When the men and women of this country understand her problems and know her opportunities, Alaska will not want for development.

The romantic picture that has been painted of Alaska, showing it as a land



*Underwood & Underwood*

Red top grass which in the United States grows to a height of eighteen inches, in Alaska often attains a growth of six feet and three inches.

I gathered this sheaf myself



*International*

Lest Alaska forget their visit, sailors from the Destroyer "McCawley" swung from the high cliff at the entrance of Skagway Harbor and painted the name of their ship on the cliff's sides

of ice and snow where only the hardest gold hunters can survive, has done incalculable injury to Alaska and greatly retarded its development. America needs a new picture of this half-forgotten land. A trip to Alaska is a revelation. Alaska is a picture.

Less than two days out of Seattle the destroyer upon which I traveled with Secretary Daniels put in at Ketchikan. From there we followed the narrow strip of coast belonging to the United States a distance of some five hundred miles to Yakutat Bay, stopping on the way at Juneau, one of the oldest of the coast towns and the capital of Alaska. We saw a most unusual coast line, indented with hundreds of bays whose waters were deep and filled with fish. The mountains we could see were covered up to the timber line with a luxuriant growth of spruce, with some hemlock and a little cedar mixed in. In the low places there was birch and cottonwood.

In Yakutat Bay there was a little ice, broken off from the glaciers that line its shores, but elsewhere none. There was snow only on the tops of the mountains. The valleys were filled with wild flowers. We watched the amazing Malaspina glacier for hours. It comes right down to the water and extends in an unbroken line for sixty miles along the coast.

From the deck of the destroyer one morning when the mist cleared we got our first view of Mount St. Elias, rearing its snow covered head into the heavens, 18,000 feet above the level of the sea. From this peak the Alaskan-Canadian border runs straight north to the Arctic Ocean. Superlatives are inadequate to describe its beauty. Unlike the peaks of the Rocky Mountains, which are viewed from an elevation of 5000 to 6000 feet, Mount St. Elias rises straight from the sea, and its grandeur is thereby enhanced. Were there no others, this sight alone would amply repay the tourist for the journey.

Alaska lies in about the same latitude as the Scandinavian peninsula, but no greater mistake could be made



than to judge its climate by the map. What the Gulf Stream does for Great Britain and Ireland and Norway, the Japan current does for the Pacific coast of Alaska. The ice is out of the rivers by the end of May. The days are very long so that the growing season, while short in months, is relatively long in hours.

There are two well developed farming areas, the Matanuska region near Anchorage and the territory tributary to Fairbanks. It is of these sections and the "sour dough" farmers who inhabit them that I am thinking principally when I speak of Alaska's need for women. These men in most instances did not go to Alaska to farm. They went to dig gold and make a quick get-away. Tho they were unsuccessful as prospectors they liked Alaska and settled down to farming there. The most of them are unmarried. They need wives.

The most of the produce of Alaskan farms is used for home consumption. The soil is very rich. In the valleys and on the hillsides wheat, oats, barley, buckwheat and vegetables thrive. Potatoes are raised in particularly large quantities. I gathered and was photographed with a sheaf of red top grass. In the United States this forage crop grows to a height of eighteen inches. In Alaska it attains a growth of six feet three inches.

The mineral resources awaiting exploitation in Alaska are enormous. There has been intensive development only in the gold fields. Traveling on the Government railroad up from Seward, Secretary Daniels and I inspected several coal mining properties in the Matanuska region.

We were particularly interested in the Chickaloon project, where a Congressional appropriation of \$1,000,000 is being used to dig coal for the navy. The coal is equal in quality to the Pocahontas variety of West Virginia, tho much of it has to be washed. In the Nenana field, north of this, there is a vein of lignite thirty feet thick. A railroad car can be run into the mine and the coal taken out with a steam shovel.

The establishment of a coaling station in the Aleutian Islands for naval and merchant vessels is feasible. Alaska's mines will be able with further development it is believed to supply the coal needed for shipping on the Pacific coast. By coaling at the Aleutian Islands each 8800 ton vessel sailing to or from the Orient can add more than 1000 tons to its space available for cargo. Approximately \$40,000 would be added to the earnings

of each such vessel on every round trip, and with five round trips a year, the increased earnings for each vessel per year would amount to some \$200,000.

One of Alaska's most pressing needs is additional transportation facilities. Freight and passenger rates have been greatly increased by the two American and one Canadian steamship companies serving Alaska since 1914. Lower ocean rates and a more regular and efficient service are essential to Alaska's further development. To this end the American steamship lines should at once be consolidated into one, since there is no competition, and the Shipping Board should give attention to providing additional vessels in the spring and fall when traffic is heavy. With improvements in water transportation there will come an improvement in the mail service to and from Alaska, which is of the greatest importance in connection with its further industrial development.

Another urgent need is the immediate construction of additional wagon roads and trails, in order that the products of the interior regions may be brought in increased volume to the Govern- [Continued on page 353]



International

Traveling on the Government railroad up from Seward, Secretary Daniels (left) and I inspected several coal mining properties in the Matanuska region. In one of the mines coal could be taken out with a steam shovel



International

Alaska has gold, coal, copper, oil, lumber and food products in abundance—all waiting additional transportation facilities. Congress would be justified in making an appropriation of \$1,000,000 for road construction in Alaska



# Master Workshops of America

A Series of Monthly Articles Written from a First Hand Survey of Big Business Enterprises That Have Given the United States the Name of the Foremost Industrial Nation of the World

## A Billion Dollar Bank

By Edward Earle Purinton

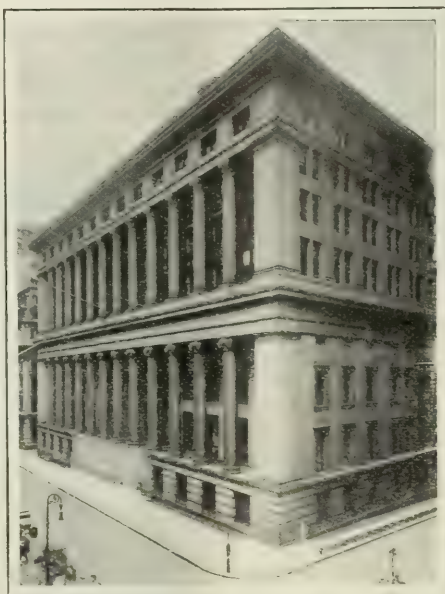
**W**HAT is your bank good for? Do you bank *on* it, or just *in* it? Have you formed the wise habit of consulting your banker, in crises or concerning problems of business finance and personal fortune? When you need authentic facts of a commercial nature, do you look to your bank for them? Did you ever undertake to find in how many respects the closer coöperation of your bank might be valuable to you?

These questions are born of experience. Having been called upon to advise many classes of people on many kinds of business problems, we have been amazed to discover how few people know what a bank is really for, and how it can serve them to best advantage. The only solid base for any man's career is the right use of the right banking connection; so the matter is vital, and universal. The modern bank is no longer just a bank. It is also a bureau of commercial information, professional service, community activity and trade expansion. Some way or other, everybody needs the help it can offer.

This new type of bank is exclusively American. Founded and perfected in New York, it is regarded both an ideal conception and a working model of banking operations by thousands of astute financiers in all parts of the globe. Due chiefly to this example, the growing power of the American banker is to be one of the main factors in the reconstruction of the world.

A social financier is a banker who capitalizes his experience for the joint benefit of society as a whole and his bank in particular. He is the new combination of statesman and business man, with a moral and a financial vision equally powerful. The bank of this type of banker is the coming bulwark of business.

Founders and exemplars of the new science of social financing, the heads of The National City Bank of New York are now bankers to the world. The bank, together with the International Banking Corporation (which it owns), has a total of eighty-four foreign branches, and the combined deposits of the two organizations were, at the time the last statement of conditions was published, slightly less than \$890,000,000. The total number of men and women required to conduct the business of The National City Bank, the International Banking Corporation and The National City Company is no less than 6500.



The National City Bank—"one of the most human business institutions in New York"

The National City Bank's total resources of more than one billion dollars show an increase in excess of 6000 per cent in the past forty years, and now exceed those of any other bank in the Western Hemisphere.

A picture of the world-wide organization of The National City Bank may be had thus: Imagine all the buildings occupied by the branches of the bank and the offices of The National City Company set side by side along Wall Street with the head office of the bank, and you would find the street filled on both sides from Trinity Church to the East River, a distance of about a third of a mile. As for branches, they are located all the way from Spain to South Africa, from India to France, from Panama to China. Last year thirty-two new branches were opened in foreign countries to assist the world-wide expansion

being made in American trade.

Features of note in the construction of the building were disclosed by a personal visit to the bank. The floor space occupied for banking purposes is nearly 150,000 square feet. The approach is formed by sixteen solid granite columns weighing over forty tons each, and the entrance to the banking room is guarded by two solid bronze doors weighing 3300 pounds each. The marble walls, bronze trimmings and mahogany furnishings produce an effect singularly harmonious, beautiful and restful—as unlike Wall Street as could be imagined.

Practically every piece of furniture was specially designed, when the bank moved into its new quarters, to meet the special requirements of the department using it. The entire floor is left clear, no desk or counter being less than ten inches above the floor. The sanitary cove at the rear of all standing desks and counters prevents the accumulation of dust, and the loss of checks or papers falling behind the desk. No roll-top desks are used in the working quarters of the bank.

A total of 432 telephones puts any official or department in immediate touch with any other. Checks, drafts and small papers, carried by a pneumatic tube system of the vacuum type, reach in a few seconds any one from any other of thirty-two departments equipped thus for instantaneous transfer of communications. The bank employs telegraph and cable operators, who take, on wires leased from the Western Union and Postal Telegraph Companies, all messages reaching New York from any part of the world between 9 a. m. and 5 p. m., thus



saving much valuable time in important transactions.

The main vault contains 400 tons of steel and seventy-five tons of fireproofing, the entrance to each compartment being a sixteen-ton circular door swung on perfectly adjusted two-ton hinges. The vault is built of steel armor plate, interspersed with wire-mesh cloth, which forms complete insulation for electric protection. The vault is raised several feet on piers of brick and cement, covered with white enameled tile, the view underneath being unobstructed, and the space enclosed by a grille. A steam pipe with nozzles at frequent intervals lies under a grating surrounding the vault; in case of attack, superheated steam from distant parts of the building would be turned on and completely envelop the vault in a few moments.

A financial and statistical library, considered by authorities the most practical and comprehensive of its kind, occupies 2,000 square feet, and puts all items of essential information at the immediate disposal of Bank officials. A card index of 24 trays gives references to magazine articles on various commodities, and facts of interest on all countries of the world—their finances, economic phases, natural resources, industrial developments, transportation facilities. A card catalog of 60 trays, referring to books and pamphlets, furnishes not only a guide to authors and topics but a synopsis of treatment often down to a paragraph, so keen is the analysis. Material available on about 90,000 corporations, domestic and foreign, covers balance sheets, indentures, circulars, listing statements and newspaper clippings, also magazine articles from other countries.

The general impression is that only factories keep a double shift of employees working day and night, but this Bank, like a factory, needs a regular night force of more than 100 people to handle checks between midnight and 8 a. m., as a large proportion of the many thousands of checks received during the twenty-four hours come at night. The checks are not endorsed by hand, but are put through a machine which stamps endorsements noiselessly, and so rapidly that all checks are ready for the Clearing House the next morning.



The National City Bank resembles a college as well as a business. These men, for instance, are working in its research laboratory which puts the material of actual economics and finance at the disposal of the student

The Bank resembles a college too. In its own structure it maintains a laboratory and study rooms, for the benefit of college students who, nominated by American college heads because of unusual ability, come to the Bank during summer vacations, rotate through various departments, and are, upon graduation, assigned to positions in the foreign branches. Members of this College Training Class may be seen working out in the laboratory the identical problems in finance, economics, and business procedure that they will have to face ultimately as members of the Bank's regular staff.

The institution is probably the most human of any banking house in the world. It is a living demonstration of the fact that a concern, or a man, can be dignified without being distant, and stable without being stolid. The current delusion that a financier is a cold, hard, mathematical machine was never more quickly routed than by a scrutiny of this organization.

A small, but eloquent, incident. While we were talking with a department-head, one of the vice-presidents came in, smiling, to ask for a special stenographer. The department head, also smiling, turned to a young lady typist nearby, and said: "Miss A., will you please work with Mr. B. for a little while?" Get that. "Please work with" the Vice-President. Not "Go and take dictation from" the Vice-President. The way to have your employees courteous to your patrons is to be courteous to your employees. The messenger boys of the Bank are little gentlemen—wonder of wonders;—and they move instantly and eagerly to obey orders—miraculous but true. The highest officials are always ready to serve you; and, while doing it, they forget to impress you with a sense of their own importance. The world's largest banking house had the reputation of being the most obliging long before it was the largest. The connection is obvious. The corporation that expects to grow must first get over being grumpy, haughty, mercenary.

The treatment of employees compels attention first, partly because it is most unusual, partly because the essentials of the system are available to any large business house, located anywhere, doing any kind of work. The best products of the world's business leaders are not the goods they sell, or even the services they offer, but are the demonstrations they give to other business men of the most valuable ways to use applied psychology, sociology, research, ethics and economics in the solution of the problems affecting employees. What a man makes or does is relatively unimportant; how he makes it or does it helps or hinders the whole world. Because every superior [Continued on page 349]



These are some of the homes owned by employees of the National City Bank thru the bank's housing plan, which permits men to pay for their homes at easy rates



# What Shape Shall the League Take?

By Talcott Williams

THE concept of a Union of Nations has in five years won a place and prospect no one deemed possible when a small group, a little over a hundred strong, met at Independence Hall, in June, 1915, and organized the League to Enforce Peace, in order to educate American public opinion to be ready for a new world order based on nations organized and allied for peace instead of for war.

Press, public and Government then treated the step as desirable, but visionary. Today, five years later, a League of Nations in Europe is in being, functioning, but it has not been effective in stopping war between Poland and Russia. In this country both leading political parties and both their candidates are committed to a permanent "society of free nations or an association of free nations or a league of free nations, animated by considerations of right and justice," to quote the utterance of Senator Harding, candidate of the Republican party, of the two parties least favoring the League so far as its present leaders are concerned, yet steadily forced by events and opinion to present a plan for a League by the manifest pressure of public opinion and the peril of defeat.

Some organization of nations is today the paramount issue, as was the disappearance of slavery three-score years ago. Suppose by mid-September, 1860, all parties and candidates were for the abolition of slavery in principle but differed as to the steps, how much more wisely could freedom have come, how much safer, saner and surer the steps toward the ultimate result, how much better our race problem today than after war and the loss of 1,000,000 lives!

The issue is no longer League or no League, as the supporters of world peace above any party success feared. The question is what shape the League shall take. On every member of either dominant party rests the responsibility of making certain that his party stands for an effective League. Steadily the two plans approach each other. Those who are for some League hold the balance of power. Their task and duty is to cast their votes for the party which presents the better plan. Neither party has reached its final position and every candidate, President, Senator or Representative, must be brought to a record.

When the Wilson League was the only League, no path was open but its support. The Versailles Covenant is certain to be amended. Europe agrees to that. If Governor Cox is elected, he cannot secure ratification without concessions to Republican senators. If Senator Harding becomes President his "creation of an international association for conference and a world court whose verdicts upon justiciable questions, this country, in common with all nations, would be both able and willing to uphold," would need Democratic votes to go into effect.

The old isolation of America in 1914 cannot return. Senator Harding explicitly denies in his speech of August 28 that he has "any expectation of finding it necessary or advisable to negotiate a separate peace with Germany." The Versailles Treaty as to peace will therefore stand, whoever is elected President. The issue is whether the Versailles Covenant shall shift from emphasis on a council, executive in its functions, to a court judicial in its action. Either affords a basis for world peace and world organization, and the issue is over amendment and not elimination.

The practical difficulty with the Wilson League is that its Council has broken down in action during the past year, because even the Entente Allies could not agree and so secure a unanimous vote. As Lloyd George said in Parliament within a month, the League Council could not prevent

war between Poland and Russia because it could not agree and its members had to agree unanimously in order to act at all. France wanted Poland to attack. England did not. Nothing doing. Suppose in 1914 the same League and the same Council had been in existence, with Germany, Austria-Hungary and Russia as members. No vote could have been secured to advise the members of the League to protect Serbia against Austria. Germany would have blocked action. The only issues on which a majority of the Council can act are questions of procedure, making a report on a difference between members of the League, and adding new members to the Council on the majority action of the Assembly, and some treaty issues. All other action must be unanimous to be effective—Articles IV, V, XV.

The articles drawn by the League Commission, of which Mr. Elihu Root is the head, for a new international court are practically an amendment to the Covenant. They have taken the Hague Court, given it a permanent membership, stated sessions, defined its jurisdiction, and given it all the powers needed, except explicit provision for "upholding" its decisions. Senator Harding proposes to put force behind this Court. The Covenant of Versailles does not do this for the court it proposes. England is probably opposed to such action because, on the maritime rights of peaceful traders at sea, the British Empire is opposed to the rest of the world and to the decisions that any international court is likely to reach as to the rights of neutral ships at sea during war. Other great powers have their doubts. The lesser powers over the world, even in Latin-America, feel safer with a court than with a council.

THIS is for the same reason that a great body of public opinion in this country prefers a court as the pivot of the League instead of a Council. Lawyers are apt to feel that way. The drift of our public law, constitutional and statute, favors courts. In England, the ministry and Parliament have final power. With us the courts have the last word, "to the end that this may be a government of laws and not of men." Every journalist learns the respect that exists in this country for the laws, the Constitution and the courts, and all three are in their turn responsive to the people.

A council is, however, indispensable as a clearing-house of opinion and policy between the five great nations that now rule the world—the seven, when Germany and Russia take their place in it after it is clear that both are representative republics. Besides this clearing house of power and policy, it is as indispensable that any "league, association or agreement" shall also furnish a clearing-house for progress in international law and its adjudication, as well as in international reforms and the relations which call for common action between the nations.

The conferences, organizations and commissions provided by the Covenant, which have already begun to deal with armaments, labor, finance, colonies, sanitation, marine affairs, international rivers and canals, children, the suppression of international prostitution (the white slave trade), traffic in arms, alcohol and opium with backward lands, and much else, are as important as either the Council or the Court. The votes in the Republican Senate and House against the Labor Conference in the League are blunders, born of the scheme, policy and action of the American and English labor unions, blunderers also. Votes are being gained every hour by the Republican platform plank for free labor, by the smiling and triumphant reminders of railroad conductors to passengers that travelers



must pay more for ticket and berth, because the railroad unions propose to work less and get more pay. This is cited from personal experience in a trip of 3000 miles just as the last advance took place.

Nothing is worse for labor than this attitude, but it must not be allowed to postpone or prevent the international treatment of disarmament, labor and the subjects just named. American children can never be protected from exploited child labor until no child the world around works before fourteen. The only effective Christian, Christlike way to avoid the competition of cheap labor is to make it our national aim to have no such labor anywhere. This can only be gained by international action, conducted on a permanent basis.

Labor to make this coming organization perfect by getting League and other organizations to put questions to candidates for President, Representatives and Senators. Write yourself, if you can get no one to act with you, particularly if your state or district is close.

Senator Harding must define what he means by "upholding" the international court he proposes. Governor Cox cannot be silent as to whether he favors such a court, proposed by but not in the Covenant. What compromises will he offer on the Covenant, or will he defeat it, as President Wilson did, by refusing any substantive change, bringing another deadlock? How does he stand on the League Labor Commission? Does he want its American representatives chosen by labor unions or by Federal officers chosen by the people? How does Senator Harding stand on these various commissions, and particularly on the Military Commission for reducing armaments?

He is wholly wrong in proposing that the United States shall cease preparing Hayti and Santo Domingo for self-government as it did Cuba, so successfully that England is following our example in Cuba for Egypt.

## White Collars and Red Choler

THE Reign of Terror in Russia came to an end when the laundry workers went on strike. There were thenceforth no more "white collar men" to be put to death.

## A Simple Problem in Finance

IF a man owes a debt that he cannot pay, cannot even keep up the interest on account of financial embarrassment—and if the man owned a large tract of undeveloped land that he had to pay taxes on but could not work for lack of men and money—would it not be good sense for him to sell, or if he did not want to part with it, to lease the land to his creditor who was well able to work it and could so recover his loan and relieve the debtor?

That anyhow is the way the problem would be solved by one of the foremost economists of the world, Professor Charles Gide of the Faculty of Law, University of Paris. He points out (in *France extérieure* of June 6, 1920) that it would be "the wisest of policies" and "a master stroke of finance" for France to dispose of some of her surplus colonial possessions to the United States or England, which could profit by them and could cancel a corresponding part of the French debt. He forestalls the objection that the alienation of territory would be derogatory to French pride by suggesting that the mandate plan be brought into play, that the French flag continue to fly over the territory while the creditor be given a mandate to administer and develop it.

France owes the United States over \$3,000,000,000, for loans made to her during the war. We feel too much sympathy for her undeserved misfortune to press her for payment even if we should never get it. But France owns one of the Guianas, Cayenne; as large as New York State and much more fertile; largely uninhabited, uncultivated,

undeveloped, unexplored; utilized merely as a convict colony and costing the French Government \$1,000,000 a year to keep up.

But Guiana is nearer to the United States than France. It produces what we need most, rubber and sugar, lumber and rice. With American capital and American enterprise it would be productive and profitable, greatly to the relief of France, greatly to the advantage of America, greatly to the benefit of the sparse and poverty-stricken populations. Why should not Uncle Sam offer to buy the land or lease it on shares?

## The Senate Despotism

By Norman Hapgood

THROWING dust in the eyes of the public is not difficult. The Republicans in this campaign, having no issue at all except the desire to get into office, have been compelled to take every stand, no matter how unworthy, that would gather together the disaffected groups: those Irish who wish to entangle us in controversies with Great Britain; those Germans who think the best way for Germany to get out of her obligations, just and unjust, is to upset the League of Nations; those negroes in our northern cities who would like to have the tragic race problem again made part of politics, as in the days of carpet-bagging and the famous Lodge Force Bill; those few big special interests that hope again to rule in Washington as they ruled in the days before Wilson cleaned out their lobby, banished them from the White House, and drove thru Congress the Federal Reserve Act and the purified tariff law; and lastly the bitter-end group of Senators, who think that a noble follow-up to our part in the war is to stand off and caterwaul about our "Americanism," while the nations of South America and Europe try painfully to work out the principles for which we used to say the war was fought.

A motley throng, and yet it is easy to understand the psychology of any one of these groups. It is also not difficult to understand the psychology of the stereotyped voter who, whenever he falls on evil times, be it grasshoppers or world war, promptly seeks a solution by voting against the party in power. What is hard to understand is the man trained to thinking, yet voting always with his party, however big the issue, however wrong his party on what is paramount in the campaign. In an intellectual magazine like the Independent there is no use in writing for low brows. The person to appeal to is the man, and particularly, perhaps the woman, who takes questions seriously; particularly, the woman, I say, because she has not quite so much become hardened into party habits, and because coming fresh to public questions she may put more reality into what it means to vote for a man who favors war with Mexico, who puts partizan subserviency ahead of the attempt to prevent another world war, who puts the cost of living for the ordinary family aside as of no account, saying that cheap prices mean cheap life, while he studies how he can strengthen the hold and increase the earnings of the armament trust, the sugar trust, the wool trust, and all the other favored machines that have created a system by which the householder pays several times the actual, necessary cost of production. How any person capable of thinking for himself or herself about these matters can work for the admitted tool of the predatory Senate oligarchy is the most difficult thing in the campaign to understand.

Are those words about the Senate machine too severe? Let anybody who knows the long and distinguished service of that outstanding Republican, Samuel W. McCall, former governor of Massachusetts, seek the answer in his article in the September issue of the *Atlantic Monthly*. Nothing





Wide World

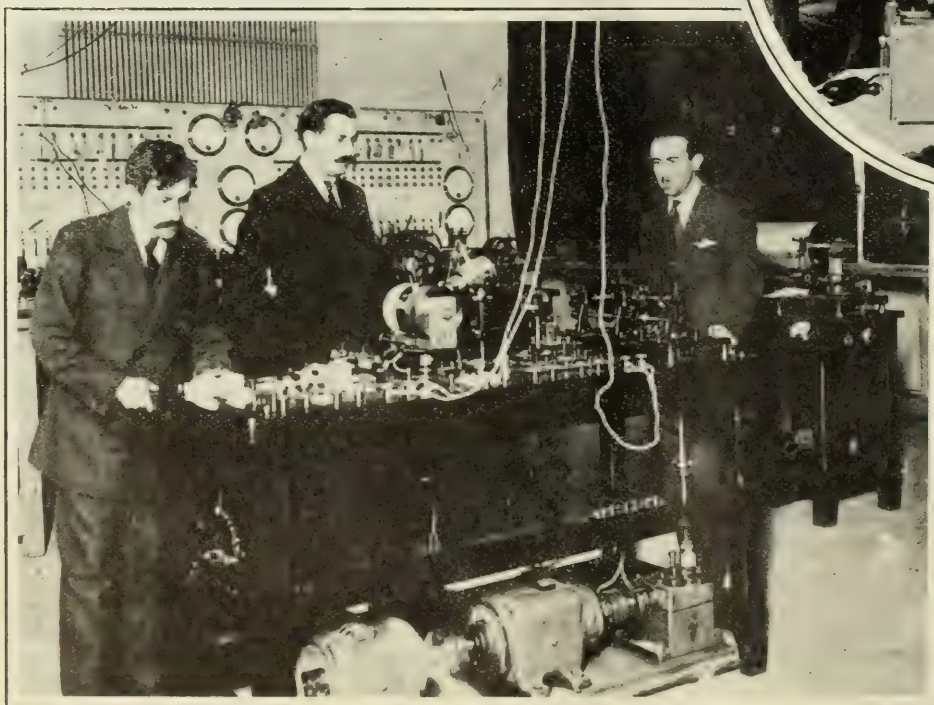
## A Photograph Sent by Telephone

By means of a new invention this picture of Swedish women athletes marching in the Olympic games at Antwerp was transmitted over the telephone to Paris, 200 miles away, in eight minutes. The photograph appears here just as it was received by telephone. The process still needs perfecting to attain clarity of outline and definition but the very fact that a photograph can be sent over long distances as quickly as a verbal message opens enormous new possibilities, especially in the field of news reporting. The instrument is shown below



Wide World

M. Edouard Belin, the French engineer who invented the process of telephoning pictures, is shown above in the very act of sending a photograph of the Olympic games from Antwerp to Paris. The instrument used is based on the same principle as that of the Edison phonograph, but instead of giving sound waves the variation of intensity in the electric current is recorded on a mirror. By means of lenses and a transparent screen of graded tints the light reflected from the mirror falls on a revolving cylinder covered with photographic paper and the image is formed by successive projections of light corresponding to the variations in the surface of the transmitting photograph





that I can say about the usurpation, venality, partizanship, degeneracy, and danger of Mr. Harding's Senate oligarchy can surpass in thoroughness the indictment of Governor McCall. In usurping the powers of the President and the House of Representatives the Senators have been "like little foxes." They have "deprived the country of that safeguard of vast importance which comes from the independent action of two branches of the Government." Their methods have been "piratical." The body is run by "an inner ruling ring which differs in nothing from an oligarchy." This band of usurpers can openly boast, as Lodge does, that they will pay no attention to the mandate of the people at the polls, because it takes three elections, two years apart, or six years altogether, to get them all out of office, whereas the President and the Representatives have to answer squarely to the people. Talk about the solid south! This controlling Senate despotism grows out of a system by which less than one-fifth of the population sends to Washington Senators enough to control the whole Government of the United States. As the wise and far-seeing Benjamin Franklin objected to having any Senate, now McCall, one of the few free-minded and educated Republican statesmen, favors taking away its power to ruin the President's functions and also its power to control the people's money, which was supposed to belong to the popular house until the Senate seized that power also. Governor McCall shows how that seizure has been used for the welfare not of the people but of the big special interests. Penrose and Lodge are not up for re-election, under our system of special protection for the Senate; but Smoot and Brandegee and others are; and above all the Republican candidate for the Presidency was chosen by the Senate ring and boasts himself their darling and obedient child.

### The Irish Carrie Nation

THE Orangemen of Belfast have smashed up all the Sinn Fein public houses. Now if the Sinn Feiners will only return the favor and smash up all the Orange public houses the first step toward Irish freedom will be taken.

## Lo the Rich Indian

By Edwin E. Slosson

ACCORDING to the last report of Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior, the American Indians now own property amounting in value to more than \$1,500,000,000. Since there are only about 265,000 Indians in the United States this means that they are worth on the average \$5,600 apiece, every man, woman and child of them.

The race is increasing. Mr. Lane assures us that "there are now a greater number than in Lincoln's day, perhaps as many as in Washington's." But their wealth is increasing more rapidly than their numbers, not thru their own exertions for the most part, but chiefly from the incidental increase in the value of their lands and mineral deposits due to the enterprize of their white neighbors. This billion and a half of property is mostly what the single-taxers call "the unearned increment" which automatically accrues to the land owner whether or not he does anything to earn or to deserve it. The Indians have not earned it all and they deserved it only in the sense that the needy, improvident and incompetent always deserve the support and protection of the community in which they live. And if in our liberality we have overendowed them, if we have enabled them to accumulate more than we have ourselves, we should not regret it nor envy them their easy fortune for it is better to be over-generous than unjust.

The American Indians are the wealthiest people in the world, the wealthiest that ever lived. No other race, however industrious, brilliant and economical, ever has become

half so rich as they. The white Americans with a per capita wealth of about \$2,000 are not half so well off as the red Americans. The Britisher, lord of a quarter of the globe, had acquired only \$1800 before the war. The thrifty Frenchman had not saved so much and is now very hard up. The enterprising German is \$800 in debt. And lo! the poor Russian whose untutored mind sees God in Lenin had only \$250 to his name before the war and has not much of that left even if communism meant common-wealth which it does not.

Not only are the Indians richer than any other people but their holdings and the automatic increase of these are more secure than any other property in the world for they are secured by the good faith of the Government of the United States. While white folks are being cheated out of their coal and oil rights the Indian is protected. "Out of tens of thousands of leases, contracts and agreements made during these seven years there has developed not one case of scandal," says Secretary Lane. This guarantee is being gradually withdrawn and "within those seven years 17,241 Indians have been released from all forms of governmental control." Eventually the Indians will have to look out for themselves like other folks. This will be better for them tho they will not be so well off. The Indian has been a ward long enough. It is time he became a citizen. During the period of his immaturity he has been carefully cared for by a paternal government, trained in habits of industry, protected from imposition, well fed, clothed and housed, safeguarded against disease and immorality, set up in business and liberally endowed. Uncle Sam has looked after his wards much better than his own children—as is quite proper since they needed it more. He protected his wards against alcohol while his own children were getting drunk. He provided industrial schools for the red children while white children had to get along without such advantages.

When I was a boy I used to wonder at the partiality of Uncle Sam as I saw on the Oto Reservation in Nebraska rich lands uncultivated and fine two-story frame houses built by the Government, and the Indians receiving regular rations and clothing and stock without having to work for them, while just across the line the white settlers were living in dug-outs and sod-houses, trying unaided to raise enough to live on and if they failed there was nobody to stop them from starving. But this governmental generosity, tho sometimes excessive and more often misapplied, proved in the long run to be the best policy. It was cheaper to feed the Indians than to fight them and they have in many cases showed themselves capable of acquiring the virtues as well as the vices of civilization. Many of them are wealthy and some of them work. Dowried by Uncle Sam the Indian heiresses have attracted suitors from the white race and it is not mere Caucasian conceit to assume that the red race has thereby been raised. The Indians seem destined rather to absorption than extinction.

Whether or not the Indians are more numerous than when Columbus discovered America they certainly live better, have greater freedom of movement, action and development, and possess more property; acquire more education, and receive more protection; in short, they have been raised from savages to civilians. It is a curious delusion afloat that the invading white man has robbed the Indian of his land. The Indian never owned any land, he never pretended to, not even the little plots of ground on which his squaw raised corn whenever the tribe stopped long enough in one place. His hunting grounds were only his to hunt in and only so long as he could kill off others who wanted to hunt there. He possessed no real estate and his personal property consisted of his hunting gear, his scanty skins, his dog and his squaw. The iron and gold, the coal and oil, which were to enrich his descendants, he did not discover and has not developed. The Indians who sold Manhattan Island for \$24 were unscrupulous profiteers for they sold



property to which they had no title in law or equity and for a price far in excess of any land values in America from the creation down to that date. If this parcel of real estate has enhanced in value since they certainly cannot lay claim to the increase.

As for the blood debt, that must be about even. The poet who wrote, "The savage here the settler slew," set a puzzle that has caused lots of unnecessary argument among students of grammar, unnecessary because the line is equally true whichever way it is read. Anyhow it is time to bury the tomahawk since eight thousand young Indian braves served in the American army in the Great War.

Uncle Sam has been often unintentionally clumsy but never intentionally cruel. With all our failings in the handling of the Indians it remains a fact that no other nation has ever devoted so much money and attention to the care and elevation of a subject race nor have the aborigines of any other land been so richly recompensed.

### The Germans and the Germs

IN 1918 the British lost 105,205 men fighting in France. During the same year 112,329 of the folks at home in England died from the influenza epidemic. Peace hath her casualties no less severe than those of war.

## The Strong Man Panacea

By Preston Slosson

IT is somewhat too easily assumed that the disordered countries of the earth, such as Russia or Mexico, owe their misfortunes to the absence of "a strong man to boss them." Perhaps the trouble is less with the phrase itself than with certain implications which lie behind it. If a "strong man" is used in the sense of a wise and tactful statesman who is resolute as well as shrewd there are, indeed, few limitations save death to what he can achieve for a nation. Too frequently it is assumed that what is needed is simply a strenuous and ruthless dictator "with no nonsense about him" who can bark out his orders and shoot "at sunrise" all who oppose him.

So long as there is only one efficient and ambitious man in a country the dictatorship is a workable form of government. Such was Paraguay under Francia, the man whom Carlyle admired above all other Latin American statesmen. The hard man ruling a soft country needs no other quality than his hardness. But let there be another man of the same type and temper within the boundaries of the nation and there is civil war. Let there be a third and there is anarchy. We are told that Kerensky lost control of Russia because he was irresolute and merciful. But what has become of the procession of strong men who sought to take his place: Yudenitch, Kolchak, Semenoff, Denikin and the rest? Have they succeeded better in crushing Bolshevism? Have they failed because their methods were too gentle? Is Lenin more successful? He has clung to power but the country has rotted to decay beneath him and all his great projects are still unachieved. Russia could afford to trade all of her "strong men" for a little civic common sense.

Mexico is not suffering from the lack of "another Diaz" but from the presence of too many would-be Diazes. Let it be granted that Madero was not sufficiently drastic in his methods. But his administration was a success compared to the chaos invoked by that pseudo-strong-man Huerta, or the energetic bandit Villa, or the not very scrupulous Carranza, or the military Obregon or any of the other fifty or sixty "liberators" and "restorers" who were quite as ruthless as Carlyle himself could have wished. Shooting people down in the streets is very easy, if you have the guns on your side. But it is not the whole art of government, even among a backward people.

But the Russian generals and Mexican dictators are not

the most impressive examples of the inefficiency of mere unscrupulousness. Germany alone has given a fair trial to the theory of government by the "strong man," because in Germany there was discipline in the mass and an adequate development of the technique of administration. Carranza and Korniloff might complain that they never had a fair opportunity to show what they could do; Ludendorff and Tirpitz cannot. The German General Staff brushed aside the entire civil administration from the posturing figurehead of a Kaiser to the timid clerks who called themselves Chancellors and Foreign Ministers. Never perhaps in human history had anyone such power as the military dictators of Germany enjoyed; certainly never in history did any rulers use power with less restraint. Bismarck and Moltke might have envied their gigantic opportunities. But spiked helmets and mailed fists are not a complete substitute for supple brains.

There is a deep fallacy in the cult of the superman. If you find him, let him govern as he likes, say the Carlyleans. But how are you to find him? If you let the people elect him you have simple representative democracy with a popular politician at the top. If you try to get him by heredity you will find a weak Napoleon the Third trying vainly to occupy the big shoes of a Napoleon the First or a lunatic Kaiser imagining he is Frederick the Great. If you let the superman select himself your nation will be torn by the wars of several supermen or persons who think themselves to be such. Neither ambition nor ruthless energy nor both combined is a self-evident proof that the right man has been found. Democracy is a possible form of government, for it rests on the right of a recognized majority. Aristocracy is a possible form of government, for it rests on the right of a recognized minority. But the "rule of the strong man" is, save by accident, not a possible form of government since it rests on the right of an undiscovered minority; a right to which any minority can, and probably will, lay claim. In other words it is anarchy. Anarchy is simply government by rival strong men, each of which claims the sole power; it is not the absence of government, but the presence of too many governments.

### Young Women Take the Lead

WHILE politicians of the sex that has hitherto monopolized public affairs are mostly still mulling over the old issues and mumbling over the old shibboleths, a fresh force in thought and action is coming to the front, the Young Women's Christian Association. The national convention at Cleveland last April showed not merely the zeal and devotion that was to be expected, but a courage and practicality in dealing with vital questions of the day that have not always been accredited to their sex and age. Probably the most radical convention that has been held in the United States was the International Conference of Women Physicians held under the auspices of the National Y. W. C. A., the proceedings of which have just been published by The Woman's Press, New York. Radical, we say, not revolutionary, for radical means getting at the root of a thing while revolutionary means merely turning it upside down. For plain speaking it was unprecedented and the views that were voiced by the seventy or eighty speakers varied from the most conservative to the most unconventional. The motto of the conference might well have been the remark of one of the speakers: "Mrs. Grundy is a goddess whose worship does not advance the human race." They discussed the health of women and children and how to get it. They considered marriage and how to get it and how to get along without it. Evidently the new woman is determined to eradicate the oldest of social evils and she is looking about open-eyed for some new way of solving the problem on which man has failed. The discussions were as a whole remarkably free from the visionary, fanatical or sentimental element.



# Who's Who This Week



Wide World

## THE GRAND OLD MAN OF GREECE

This is the first photograph of Premier Venizelos taken since the recent attempt upon his life by a Parisian assassin. The Premier was badly wounded but is making a comparatively fast recovery

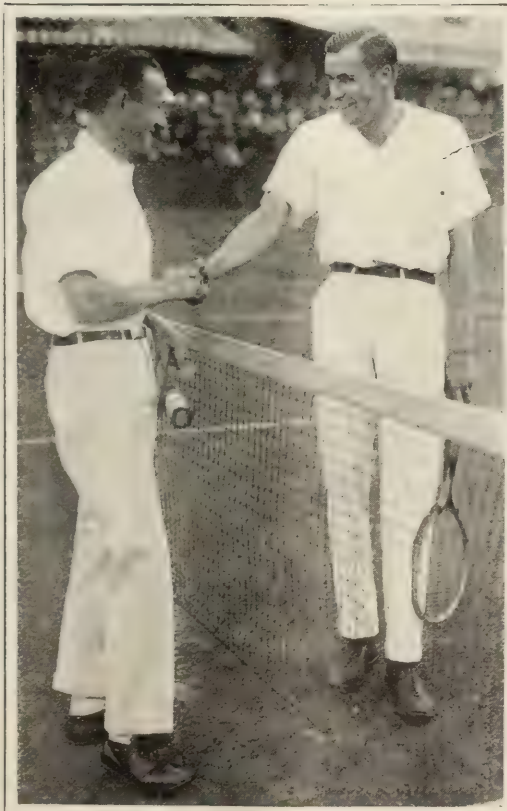


International

## TENNIS CHAMPIONS OF THE WORLD

Mlle. Lenglen, of France, won the title of world's champion woman player in the tennis tournament at Wimbledon, England, this summer and retained it against all comers in the Olympic games at Antwerp. But Mlle. Lenglen has yet to meet some of the best American women players. It is probable that she will play here next season

At the right are the two men who have earned the honor of being called the greatest tennis players in the world: William T. Tilden (right), who won this year the world's championship at Wimbledon and the American championship at Forest Hills, New York; and William F. Johnston, former American champion



© Goodyear News, from International

## AT A MILE AND A THIRD PER MINUTE

Ralph De Palma at the wheel of this French car won the big automobile race at Elgin, Illinois, this fall in faster time than any previous record. He drove the 250 miles, without stopping, at an average speed of 79.5 miles an hour



© Paul Thompson

These cheerful girl scouts are three of the shipload of Russian refugee children brought thru the United States by the American Red Cross on their way home



© Underwood & Underwood

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, suffragist, faces crowds cheering the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment



# The Story of the Week

## The Mystery of the Polish Note

IT is hard to follow the course of our diplomatic intervention in the Polish question from the information given out at Washington. On August 10, when the Bolshevik wave threatened to engulf Poland and the fall of Warsaw was reported imminent, Secretary Colby delivered to the Italian ambassador a note in which he expressed the fixed determination of the United States never to treat with Soviet Russia and promised all possible aid to maintain the independence and integrity of Poland within her ethnographic boundaries. This timely encouragement stimulated the Polish resistance to the Bolshevik armies in the field and to the Bolshevik peace terms at the Minsk conference. Being communicated in advance to the French and British Governments it apparently precipitated the action of Premier Millerand in recognizing General Wrangel's South Russia Government, but Premier Lloyd George regarded it as thwarting his hopes of Polish peace and he accused President Wilson of having gone back on the policy he advocated at Paris of getting all the Russian factions, including the Soviet, to confer at Prinkipo.

On August 21, when the Poles had inflicted a crushing defeat on the Bolsheviks and seemed likely again to undertake the invasion of Russia in pursuit of the flying enemy, Secretary Colby took occasion to warn them against a revival of the imperialistic spirit. The essential passages of this note are:

The United States applauds the steadfast gallantry of the Polish Army in its defense of Warsaw and is sympathetic with all necessary measures which Poland may take to preserve its political and territorial integrity. This Government, however, urges that every reasonable effort be made to terminate the present bloodshed. It could not approve of the adoption of an offensive war program against Russia by the Polish Government.

The American Government is of the opinion that the Polish advance into Russia tended to create a national sentiment in that country which ignored the tyranny and oppression from which the people suffer and afforded an undeserved support to the Bolshevik régime, which enabled its leaders to embark upon the invasion of Polish territory.

To prevent a recurrence of the present situation the United States Government believes that the Polish Government might well take the opportunity afforded by the favorable turn of events to declare its intention to abstain from any aggressions against Russian territorial integrity; to state that its policy is not directed against the restoration of a strong and united Russia, and that, pending a direct agreement as to its Eastern frontier, Poland will remain within the boundary indicated by the Peace Conference.

This was very unwelcome advice to Poland and to France. Pilsudski, the Polish Chief of State, declared publicly that the Polish armies would not respect the boundary drawn by the Paris Conference because that would imply acceptance of it by Poland. The French Government countered on Colby by giving Poland the opposite advice, and to make clear the disagreement between the French and American policies the French Foreign Ministry on August 27 gave out an announcement to the press:

that France has counseled Poland to attain the best strategical military position possible until peace is signed, regardless of her ethnographical frontier, because the military situation will influence the peace terms.

But while all the European news indicated that Poland had no intention of being limited in her military operations by what Pilsudski calls "the illusory line" laid down by the Paris Conference, the Washington correspondents reported day by day that the State Department was receiving assurance of Poland's willingness to comply with

American advice. On August 26 it was announced that the Polish reply was received and that the Polish Government had, according to the *Tribune* correspondent, stated "its intentions to confine its military operations within the ethnographic frontier laid down by the peace treaty." According to the *Times* correspondent "the statement was authorized that the note so far as could be ascertained did not appear to contain anything that might be construed as disappointing to this Government." Secretary Colby said that "he had not had the opportunity to examine the note completely," but that it would probably be published next day.

Next day it was still thought inadvisable to make the note public, but the State Department officials were cited as saying that it was not a disappointment. In fact the Polish note was not given out by our State Department until September 2 and then it was found to be a flat refusal to comply with the Colby request. In it the Polish Government called attention to the fact that:

In spite of the diplomatic intervention of our allies, the Red Army has for a whole month advanced and ravaged territory which is admitted by all as being ethnographically Polish.

Notwithstanding the sympathetic attitude of our allies, the Polish nation had to face the danger alone, and political events proved that it must in the first place rely upon its own military strength. If military operations necessitated the measures to prevent a renewed invasion of Poland, it could hardly be considered fair that artificial boundaries that do not bind our opponent should interfere with the military operations of the other.

The curious thing about it is that this note was not delivered to the State Department until August 31. How then did the Washington correspondents all get the impression that a note of the opposite tenor had been received five days before?

## Lithuanian Polish War

LITHUANIAN troops trained and armed by the British are now fighting Polish troops trained and armed by the French. There are Americans in both the opposing armies.

The Lithuanians demand complete independence from Poland as well as Russia, but the Poles claim that the ancient union of the two kingdoms in 1386, when Prince Jagiello of Lithuania married Queen Yadviga of Poland, has never been dissolved. Last year the Polish armies in their northeastern movement occupied considerable Lithuanian territory, including Vilna, the capital of Lithu-



© Kadel & Herbert

### IDOL OF THE POLES

General Weygand, who during the Great War was aide to Marshal Foch, has taken a leading part in directing the successful operations of the Polish troops against the Reds



ania. The Lithuanians complained to the Supreme Council of the Allies against the encroachments of the Poles and accused them of killing off or driving out the Lithuanian population and closing their schools and churches. But the Council took no action on the alleged atrocities and General Foch decided that the Poles had a right to use Vilna as a base in their campaign against the Bolsheviks.

This summer when the Bolsheviks got the upper hand and drove the Poles back to their own frontiers the Lithuanians received the Soviet troops as deliverers from foreign tyranny. An agreement was concluded on July 12 between the Soviet and Lithuanian Governments by which Lithuania was granted not only Vilna but also Grodno, Suwalki and Augustowo, cities southwest of Vilna, and a hundred miles nearer Warsaw. The Letts, the neighboring nation on the north of Lithuania and of kindred race, also concluded, August 11, a treaty with the Soviet by which the boundaries of Latvia were clearly defined and its independence recognized.

But now that the Poles have got the Russians on the run they are again occupying Lithuania. According to the Warsaw despatches the Polish troops that entered Augustowo "were enthusiastically received by the population" and the Lithuanian soldiers were friendly. But the Kovno despatches giving the Lithuanian version of events say that the people took up arms against the invaders and that the Lithuanian forces drove them out of the surrounding country, taking many prisoners and much material. Lithuania by her treaty with Soviet Russia is bound to maintain neutrality and the Lithuanian Government holds that the violation of her territories by the Polish armies is as indefensible as the German invasion of Belgium. The Poles on the other hand held that unless they occupy this corner of Lithuania their left flank will be perpetually exposed to attack by the Bolsheviks. A Polish delegation has been at Kovno negotiating an agreement with the Lithuanians as to the boundary line, but when the Polish army crossed the Lithuania frontier the Lithuanian Government charged Poland with treachery and packed the delegation off home.

Poland has now in turn appealed to the League of Nations against Lithuanian encroachments on her frontier and accused the Lithuanians of being allied with the Russian Reds to attack Poland thru Lithuanian territory.

The Bolsheviks do indeed retain a strip of Lithuanian territory north of the Nieman River in order to use the railroad to Grodno for military purposes. No valid objection could be raised against the Poles for making war on the Soviet forces in this region, but Poles, in sending their cavalry into the Suwalki and Seiny district northwest of this, were clearly trespassing on Lithuanian land, whatever may have been their strategic justification in so doing.

## Two Sides of the MacSwiney Case

A NUMBER of British labor leaders and members of Parliament sent the following protest to the British Government:

We are convinced that the Government's treatment of the Lord Mayor has already seriously jeopardized the hope of an early settlement of the Irish question on a basis of conciliation and appeasement, and has stained the name of Great Britain with dishonor in the eyes of the civilized world.

By its persecution in prison of the Lord Mayor of Cork, the Government has outraged public sentiment everywhere, and his death will bring about a terrible explosion of anger, which can only lead to further bloodshed in Ireland.

In reply to this appeal Bonar Law stated the Government's side of the case as follows:

The Lord Mayor was one of the leaders of the Irish Republican army, which has declared itself to be at war with the forces of the Crown, and according to his own written word, in one of the seditious documents for the possession of which he was con-



© Eastern View

These Polish children are being washed and fed and their clothing sterilized in the effort to stop the spread of typhus in Poland now. Americans are leading the fight against disease there, but against their relief work are the heavy odds of insufficient equipment and poverty and malnutrition among practically all the people

victed, he and his followers were determined to pursue their end, asking for no mercy and making no compromise.

He was arrested while actively conducting the affairs of a rebel organization under cover of a Mayoral court. Had he been taken at his word and dealt with as an avowed rebel, according to the universal practice of civilized nations he would, having regard to the circumstances of his capture, have been liable immediately to be shot. Instead, he was tried by a legally constituted tribunal, sentenced to a moderate term of imprisonment, and given at once all the privileges of a political prisoner.

From the moment of his arrest he sought to defeat the ends of justice and to reduce the forces of the Crown to impotence by refusing food, no doubt in the belief that that course would lead to his speedy release.

To release prisoners who, like the Lord Mayor, have been guilty of complicity in a movement which uses as one of its main instruments assassinations and outrage would be nothing short of betrayal of those loyal officers on whose devotion to duty the fabric of social order in Ireland rests. Since the arrest of the Lord Mayor fifteen officers have been brutally and treacherously done to death without even a chance of defending themselves. Surely the sympathy which has been given in such full measure to the Lord Mayor, whose condition has been brought about by his own deliberate act, is due rather to the bereaved widows and families of the murdered Irish policemen.

## Obregon Elected

GENERAL Alvaro Obregon was elected president of the Mexican republic on Sunday, September 5. The polling was peaceable and it was not necessary to call out the troops. The vote was light for the election was a foregone conclusion. The conservative candidate, Alfredo Dominguez, made a poorer showing than was anticipated. But the opponents of Obregon will carry their fight into congress on the ground that he is disqualified for election under Article 82 of the constitution which says that any candidate shall not have taken part, directly or indirectly, in any uprising, riot or military coup. Obregon was a leader in the revolt that started in Sonora and led to the overthrow of Carranza in the early part of the present year. But Obregon says that the constitutional provision does not apply to him since the anti-Carranza movement was not a rising but a revolution. Carranza owed his office to Obregon's defeat of Villa.

Obregon, like various other revolutionary leaders in Latin America, is of Irish descent on his father's side as might be surmized from his name. On his mother's side he is of Indian blood as was Diaz, Mexico's greatest president. He is now forty years old. He is friendly toward the United States and will favor the immediate industrial development of Mexico.



## Mexico Disarming

THE Provisional Government of President de la Huerta is rapidly reducing the armed forces of Mexico, both regular and revolutionary, by paying them off and providing them with farms.

Under Carranza the army cost 132,000,000 pesos a year, but the new budget is to be lowered to 50,000,000. The present army consists of 5000 generals, 18,000 other officers and 100,000 men. Of these 332 generals, 4000 other officers and 13,000 men are to be dismissed from the service. Among those discharged is Dr. Maximilian Keller, a prominent pro-German and anti-American agitator, who



© Underwood & Underwood

THE NEW PRESIDENT OF MEXICO

"I would rather teach the Mexican people to use a tooth brush than to handle a rifle," says Alvaro Obregon, the Irish-Indian who has just been elected to the Presidency of the Mexican republic. General Obregon is expected to develop friendly relations between Mexico and the United States; this photograph of him with his wife and children was taken during his visit to Nogales for a conference with Governor Campbell of Arizona.

had been placed upon the army list as colonel by Carranza. The revolutionary troops to be mustered out number 28,000.

Francisco Villa, the most persistent of the Mexican bandits, has retired from the profession and his 900 men have been pensioned off by the Government.

An intended imitator of Villa's career appeared in Jalisco in the person of Pedro Zamora, who started out with 400 men and only 500 rounds of ammunition, but soon gathered in considerable booty by the looting of Autlan. Among the booty were many women, but ten of the girls of the higher class are said to have escaped the clutches of the band by jumping over a precipice. Half a dozen foreigners were kidnapped and two of them held for ransom: W. A. Gardiner, the American superintendent of the Esperanza Mining Company, and W. B. Johnstone, a British ranchman. Zamora demanded 200,000 pesos ransom for the American and 50,000 for the Britisher. But the Minister of War, General Calles, promptly took the field against Zamora with 5000 men and he was forced to surrender his prisoners. His band was finally defeated and dispersed in a fight at Devisadero.

The rebellion in Lower California that last month seemed formidable and threatened to lead to secession, has quietly and completely collapsed. Governor Esteban Cantu of the northern district of Lower California has for the last ten years had things his own way in the peninsula. Under his protection the two border towns of Mexicali and Tia Juana have done a thriving business in catering to Americans who sought over the border the freedom to indulge

in drinking, gambling and other vices denied them in their own land. President de la Huerta endeavored to displace him by appointing Baldomero Almada of Los Angeles as governor in his stead, but Cantu refused to retire and set about organizing a force of 1200 men to defend Lower California against the Mexican Government. A number of American machine gunners and aviators joined Cantu's army. But the American Government declined to give any encouragement to the secession movement and on the contrary aided the Mexican Government by permitting free passage thru the Panama Canal to the warship "Progreso" carrying troops to the peninsula. Seeing that the Government was in earnest Cantu agreed to compromise and consented to the appointment of General Luis M. Salazar as his successor. The Mexican Government proposes to prohibit saloons, gambling houses and dance halls within a zone sixty-three miles wide along the United States border.

The Government is now turning its attention to rooting out Bolshevism, which has gained considerable headway among the industrial classes and landless laborers, as well as among the discharged soldiers and even in the army itself. A Soldiers' and Workmen's Soviet has been organized in Mexico City. Colonel Augustin Preve declared a Red republic in Campeche, but he was captured and brought to the capital to be tried as a traitor. One of the leaders in the Mexican Communist movement is an American, Lynn A. E. Gale, who fled to Mexico to escape the draft in 1917 and has published there a bitterly anti-American paper under the Carranza régime. The Mexican Government, acting under Article 33 of the new constitution, intends to deport Gale and his wife to the United States. One of his associates, C. F. Tabler, in charge of propaganda among the miners, is a German and he also will be sent home.

## Soviets in Italy

IN the industrial region of northern Italy the metallurgical plants have been seized by the workmen and are being run by their councils or soviets as in Russia. The movement arose in Milan where 280 industrial establishments were taken over on the first three days of September and other cities soon followed suit. In some cases the managers and superintendents were forcibly retained to direct operations or were kidnapped from their homes for that purpose. At the Lombard automobile factory at Milan six directors were imprisoned in the works as hostages to secure payment of wages. The workmen in the Fiat factory have announced that they will sell the automobiles they make on their own account. Red flags are hoisted over the soviet plants and pictures of Lenin are displayed on the walls. The factories have been fortified against attack by barricades and barbed wire. In some case bare wires carrying high voltage currents are strung around the building. Machine guns are mounted on the roofs and at the entrances. Abandoned munition plants have been seized and set to making arms for the insurgents. In Venice they have captured the arsenal. The workmen mostly live in the factories to serve as garrisons. They are under military discipline and allowed only a limited amount of liquor. At Genoa and Naples all the shipping in the harbor has been forced to raise the red flag by orders of the seamen and dockers committees.

The occupation of the plants by the employees has been accomplished with little bloodshed and little effort has been made to recover them. The Government remains neutral and inactive. The Minister of Labor, Signor Labriola, is a Socialist and holds that this is an industrial dispute in which the Government has no right to interfere so long as the movement does not take a political form. The General Federation of Labor has endorsed the action of the metal workers.



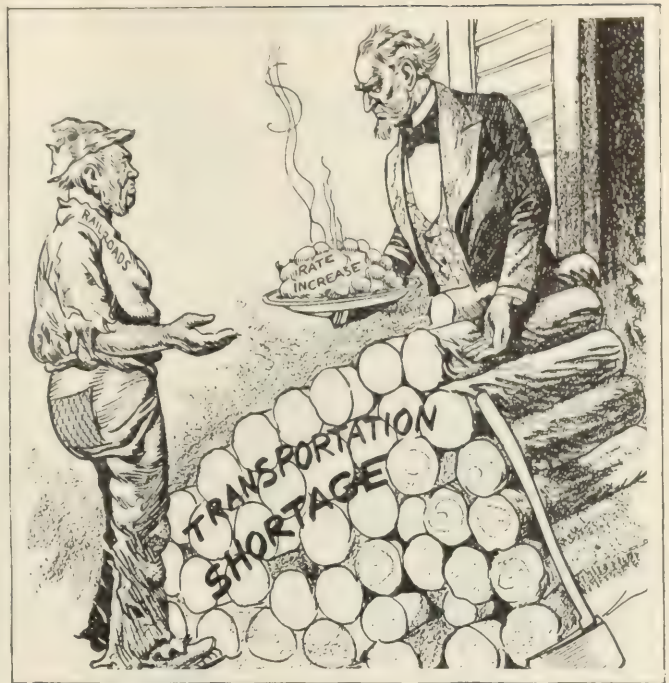
## Free Fiume

GABRIELE d'Annunzio, the flying poet of Fiume, celebrated on September 12 the anniversary of his dictatorship by declaring the independence of the city. The new state includes the harbor, the railroad and the two islands in the Gulf of Quernaro that guard the entrance to the port. The name given to the new state, the "Italian Regency of Quernaro," would indicate that d'Annunzio has not given up hope of ultimately turning over Fiume to the Italian crown. This is in open defiance of Great Britain and France, who had offered the Italians and Yugoslavs two alternative solutions to the problem, either to make Fiume a free city under the control of the League of Nations or to accept the Treaty of London, which gives Fiume to the Yugoslavs.

President Wilson, in his notes of February 10 and 25, 1920, holds both solutions bad and wants the question settled by direct agreement between Italy and Yugoslavia on the basis of his two fundamental principles of self-determination and of free access to the sea. The latter principle would give Fiume to the Yugoslavs, since it is their only convenient seaport. The application of the principle of self-determination would probably lead to the same result, for altho the city proper has a preponderance of Italians, the suburb, Sushak, and the surrounding territory is Slavic. Even the Italians of Fiume would very likely vote against annexation to Italy, for their financial interests are dependent upon the city serving as the outlet for the Yugoslav hinterland. The National Council of Fiume, which is the only body having any claim to represent the people, is out with d'Annunzio and anxious for him to leave.

The Yugoslav Government has declared its willingness to accept the vote of a plebiscite as to where the boundary should be drawn, but the Italian Government refuses to submit to that verdict.

The constitution which Dictator d'Annunzio has drawn up for Quernaro is a unique document, written in poetical style and containing all the latest political notions. It follows the Soviet in including the referendum and recall and in providing for the nourishment and medical care of the women and children of the proletariat, but differs from Russia in guaranteeing the right of freedom of speech, print and association and the inviolability of domicile. Women have equal rights with men in all respects and are equally liable to be called on for military service. A minimum wage is established and pensions provided for illness, old age or



Thomas in Detroit News

Don't overlook the wood pile!

unemployment. The legislature consists of two houses. This curious constitution contains a provision for its own suspension by the selection of a dictator "in time of extreme danger."

Commandante d'Annunzio is looking for the support of the Italians of America, especially thru the influence of President LaGuardia, of the New York Board of Aldermen. He has appointed Whitney Warren, a New York architect, as the official representative of Fiume in the United States.

But his latest act is not likely to ingratiate him with Americans. Among the ships that his fleet has seized in the Adriatic is the steamer "Coyne," which was conveying a cargo of automobiles worth 10,000,000 lire and consigned to the United States. Since Fiume has as yet no standing as a state it would be difficult to distinguish such acts from piracy.

## Harding on Labor

ON Labor Day Senator Harding expressed his views on the question of capital and labor. Some fragmentary quotations will show the drift of his remarks:

The menace of the present day is inefficient production. I hold that the slacker, the loafer on the job, is not only the greatest obstacle to labor's advancement, but he is cheating his fellows more than he does his employer. The workman who deliberately adds to cost robs a fellow workman who must buy, and impedes the way to that ideal condition where wage exceeds the cost of living.

There will be employers so long as there is leadership among men, and there will be employees until human progress is paralyzed and the development of human kind dies on one common altar of mediocrity. Our problem then is to find the highest order of employment, the ideal relationship, the conditions under which we may work to the highest attainment and the greatest common good for all concerned.

I do not believe in government ownership. The government must do many things, but it has enough to do without invading the field of private activity, not, at any rate, until government demonstrates its capacity for efficiency.

We cannot have compulsory arbitration, because all parties must consent to establish arbitration and enforce its conclusions. I think we can have, and ought to have, volitional arbitration.

I believe in unionism, I believe in collective bargaining, I believe the two have combined to speed labor toward its just rewards. But I do not believe in labor's domination of business or government any more than I believe that capital shall dominate. We had our time at that, and we learned the danger and ended it. We do not want to substitute one class for another; we want to put an end to classes.



International

Having looped the loop eighty-seven times and brought her aeroplane to a safe landing on Curtiss Field, Long Island, Miss Laura Bromwell's first concern was to see that her nose was properly powdered, and her second to hear the judges confirm her own impression that she had broken the world's record for a woman pilot. Miss Bromwell is only eighteen years old and she has been flying hardly more than a year.



# Echoes of the Campaign

## Harding on the League

THE Republican candidate for president has amplified his proposed policy in regard to a League of Nations as follows:

If I am elected to the Presidency I will become the negotiating agent of the United States, and will have the authority to undertake the negotiation of a new covenant, which I would promptly proceed to do, after first advising with the Senate, which has the Constitutional power to make any treaty effective.

I hold the international court to be a creation for one thing, namely, a decision on what we call justiciable questions. It is true, however, that causes which most frequently lead to war do not come under that title. For the consideration of such causes as are not justiciable I would suggest an association, or a society, or a League of Nations—it little matters what we call it—which shall constitute an international conference for the free and open discussion of international questions which may lead to conflict. It is not possible to say that this conference always is going to prove effective in the prevention of conflict, but such an association could bring to the world a complete



Thomas in Detroit News

The Vampires

revelation of the questions which are menacing peace and readily bring to bear the opinion of mankind against an offending nation in case it refused to yield to the recommendations of the conference.

I quite agree that there can be no league which approximates the character of super-government without something akin to Article X.

I have never been able to escape the impression that super-government was the thing aimed at, and I am sure that such a creation is a thing to which America will never consent.

One cannot have much patience with the contention that America will never be endangered because each member of the council of the League has the veto power. If one member of the council of the League has the veto power, if one member of the council can forestall action on the part of that body, it is evident it will never be able to exercise any authority. Moreover, if the cause of America itself were concerned, its member would not have any veto power.

In spite of all the fine arguments about it, the simple truth about the League covenant is that either it constitutes world government with power to enforce its decisions or it is going to prove the colossal disappointment of the ages. If it is only an international organization for conference, without power to act unless every member has agreed, then it is only a debating society designed to portray an international situation to all the world.

If this be true, I think we will be dealing with ourselves and the world more fairly if we understand that fact from the beginning.

Governor Coolidge, Republican candidate for Vice-President, says:

I believe humanity would welcome the creation of an international association for conference, and a world court whose verdicts upon justiciable questions this country, in common with all nations, would be willing and able to uphold. The decision of this court or the recommendations of such a conference could be accepted without sacrificing on our part or asking any other power to sacrifice one iota of its nationality.

## Liquor Men Support Cox

CHAIRMAN Hays of the Republican National Committee in testifying before the Senatorial committee investigating campaign funds produced a letter signed by George T. Carroll, president of the New Jersey Federation of Liquor Interests, and addressed to a saloonkeeper, which said:

Dear Sir and Brother—The organized liquor trade of New Jersey has set out to do its part toward the election of James M. Cox as the next President of the United States, and it becomes my duty to call upon you to help. . .

The nomination of Governor Cox for the Presidency by the Democrats is a big victory for our interests, and it can be attributed to a great degree to the activity of our trade organizations here in New Jersey and throughout the nation. Governor Cox is a pronounced wet, and he can be relied upon to approve an amendment to the Volstead act as suggested above.

We must have money at once to carry on the work that we have planned. Jump in and help us fight. Give as much as you can afford.

In reply to this Governor Cox says: "The wets have not contributed a dollar to our campaign fund and they will not."

## Hoover on the League

HERBERT Hoover speaking at the Lafayette-Marne Exercises at West Point, September 6, devoted most of his address to a eulogy of Roosevelt who had spoken on that occasion in 1918, and of whom he said:

I could not stand in the footprints of that great American who two years ago repeated the aspiration for a League of Nations to minimize war, that he was indeed the first to voice ten years before, without making a reference to it. I believe it is the hope of practically the whole of the American people that we may enter upon this great experiment in its broad sense.

Both our political parties advocate the great principle of common action that underlies it. Some thirty-five nations, comprising the governments of nearly 75 per cent of the entire people of the world, have joined the League. I have no fear but that some day we will compose our differences over the form and its obligations of the League, and in some manner join in this common effort, this necessity to a world groping but slowly from chaos.

## Cox on Ireland

WHILE talking about the League of Nations in the St. Paul auditorium a man rose in the rear of the hall and asked, "Governor Cox, if you are elected president will you recognize the Irish Republic?" The Governor asked "Are you an American?" and when his interlocutor said that he was and also from Ohio, Governor Cox answered:

There is no phase or feature of the whole plan of the League of Nations which is more explicit than that which deals with the self-determination of the peoples of the earth. Before the League of Nations was devised came the armistice. That was founded upon fourteen principles and major among them was the principle of self-determination.

The philosophy was that the League of Nations desired not only the peace of the world now but continuing peace. The provision in Article X against external aggression was to protect the smaller nations against the bullying attitude of the big nations. You can't take the mountains and rivers as boundary lines and try to break up the homogeneity of a people and expect them to be happy.

I am in favor of the application of the principle of self-determination in Japan, in China, in Turkey, in Ireland or anywhere else.



A Little of Everything

By W. J. Clarke

A black and white illustration of a man in a striped shirt and trousers standing on a rocky shore, looking out at a body of water. A small dog is sitting on the rocks near him. In the water, a person's head is visible above the surface. The background shows a dense forest on a hill. The illustration is signed '© C. C. C. C.' in the bottom right corner.

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celestial equator is also clearly marked in the interior of the sphere, and the ecliptic, or apparently yearly path of the sun among the stars is also plainly shown.

The impression gained by looking out at night upon a clear sky is that of a hemispherical dome of infinite size, studded with stars. The Celestial Sphere gives a miniature reproduction of this surface which we call the sky and in which the stars are commonly supposed to be placed. Necessarily, the sphere is of almost microscopic size, as compared with the universe. If the earth were represented in proportion, it would be an infinitesimal ball located in the center of the sphere, while an observer standing on this ball would be correspondingly tiny.

The earth, as we all know, looks flat to anyone standing on its surface, and we can see only one-half of the heavens at one time—the half which lies above the plane bounded by the horizon.

The same effect is gained in the Celestial Sphere by providing it with a so-called horizon table, which extends out from the inner surface of the sphere almost to its center, surrounding the observer and lying in the same plane as the center. There is thus exposed to a person standing in the center of the sphere a complete hemisphere, corresponding to the one we see above the surface of the earth, the other hemisphere being hidden by the horizon table, in just the same manner as the earth conceals the other celestial hemisphere.

Not only is the Celestial Sphere a perfect pattern of the firmament, but in every other respect, with the possible exception of shooting stars, the idea is carried out in detail. In it, the sun, moon and stars rise in the east and pass overhead, following certain definite paths, just as the real stars do in the real sky.

Fortunately for the observer, however, the effect is produced in exactly the opposite way, since, if this were not so, he would at times be put to the inconvenience of standing on his head. We know it is the rotation of the earth on its axis that causes the stars to move across the heavens, and that the sky itself does not move. In the Celestial Sphere the sky actually does rotate, being so mounted as to turn about the miniature earth, which we have imagined as being placed at its center.

Why not teach astronomy by this novel method?



Why give the birds all the benefits of high, cool, airy, quiet bedrooms? A man in California decided to stop envying the inhabitants of bird houses and imitate them instead. And now his neighbors are all talking of following his example

## High Living

How fortunate the little birdies who, on hot summer nights, sleep high up in the tops of trees, where they get the benefit of every breeze that blows and where they are not in danger of catching rheumatism when the ground vapors rise up on damp evenings!

So concluded Mr. L. H. Gregory, of Winters, California, after he had passed a number of sleepless nights tossing about on a hot bed in his stuffy bedroom. The result was that he decided to emulate the birds and roost high. But there were no trees in his yard large enough to hold a hammock up at the top, so he had to set his wits to work to devise another plan. Being an engineer, his thoughts naturally turned to an artificial tree, or something like it, and a few weeks later his neighbors were surprised to see in Mr. Gregory's backyard a steel tower

forty feet high at the top of which was a screened chamber about ten feet square.

Looking a little closer, they observed inside the chamber a bed and a couple of chairs, and then the secret was out; Mr. Gregory was using the chamber as a bedroom. But there were no steps or ladder reaching to the chamber from the ground, and everyone wondered how a middle-aged man could possibly shin up the steel supports forming a tower. The riddle was explained a short time later when a small elevator descended from the top of the tower and Mr. Gregory stepped out of the lift.

The elevator is operated by electricity and is made to just fit an opening in the bottom of the bed chamber, so that when it enters the chamber thru a trap door, which is used to keep out mosquitoes and flies, all the owner has to do is to step right out into the room.

Mr. Gregory has kept a careful record of temperatures which shows that up in the tower it averages ten degrees cooler than down on the ground. The air is also better at that height.

Not to mention the gentle zephyrs that play around!

## The Price of Success

*"You want success. Are you willing to pay the price for it?"*

*"How much discouragement can you stand?"*

*"How much bruising can you take?"*

*"How long can you hang on in the face of obstacles?"*

*"Have you the grit to try to do what others have failed to do?"*

*"Have you the nerve to attempt things that the average man would never dream of tackling?"*

*"Have you the persistence to keep on trying after repeated failures?"*

*"Can you cut out luxuries? Can you do without things that others consider necessities?"*

*"Can you go up against skepticism, ridicule, friendly advice to quit, without flinching?"*

*"Can you keep your mind steadily on the single object you are pursuing, resisting all temptations to divide your attention?"*

*"Have you the patience to plan all the work you attempt; the energy to wade thru masses of detail; the accuracy to overlook no point, however small, in planning or executing?"*

*"Are you strong on the finish as well as quick at the start?"*

*"Success is sold in the open market. You can buy it—I can buy it—any man can buy it who is willing to pay the price for it."*

## Cancer Millions of Years Ago

Among the most dreaded of all the afflictions to which, since the downfall of Adam and Eve, the human race is heir, is the curiously rapid growing tumor generally known as cancer. So little is known about the origin, cause and treatment of cancerous growths that this is one of the most important problems before the medical world today. There are several institutes devoted exclusively to the study of the causation and possible cures of cancers, their research output being contained in periodicals devoted exclusively to this disease.

It is a curious popular fallacy that diseases of all kinds are visited on the human race on account of the sins of their ancestors. One early writer closed his monographic study of the diseases of the old cave-bears of Europe in 1825 with the statement:

We have no historical data to prove how old disease is nor when it first attacked the poor, sinful human race. In every case disease is the fault of inheritance, and since they are visited upon the sons and daughters because of the sins of their fathers, they are the true sins of inheritance.

Rather somber philosophy, which





This cancerous growth existed millions of years ago in the tail of a large Mesozoic reptile. The tumor is shown by the large bulge seen in the middle of this segment

more recent studies have served to disprove.

We now know that disease existed before sin, since this latter seems to be an attribute only of the human race. Was it possible for a cave-bear to sin?

Cancer and tumor-like growths of many kinds are certainly not to be laid to this cause, since the gigantic land reptiles, the dinosaurs, which roamed the plains of the western part of the United States millions of years ago were afflicted with these uncomfortable growths. One of these tumors has been especially well studied and is known to have existed far back in the tail of one of those horrible creatures who in the Mesozoic stalked the earth with ponderous footsteps. Their tails dragged for a length of thirty feet on the ground and the afflicted individual possibly had his tail injured at the point where the cancerous growth appeared. We cannot be sure of this, however, but we do know that cancers develop more frequently today at a seat of injury than elsewhere.

The growth occupies the space between two backbones joints and has fixed them firmly together. It is a mass of solid bone or almost solid. On examination under the microscope, however, the growth is seen to be filled with many thousands of small blood spaces, exactly like some cancerous growths today which are known as haemangiomas. The bone is well preserved, after its millions of years in the shales of eastern Wyoming, and still retains the structure of bone similar to that seen in human bones. The specimen is not large, weighing only about twelve pounds in

its fossilized condition. The tumor probably was of little consequence to the dinosaur dragging it along the ground. A mass of only twelve pounds is a mighty small matter to an animal of twenty-five or thirty tons. Its chief value lies in proving to us that cancerous growths are a very ancient affair and were quite fashionable when birds were first learning to fly.

## Preserving the Tangled Web

Amateur entomologists will be interested in a suggestion made by Dr. Lutz for the preservation of all kinds of spiders' webs. The webs should be sprayed from an atomizer with artists' shellac, and then, if they are of the ordinary geometric form, pressed carefully against a glass plate, the supporting strands being at the same time severed. After the shellac is dried, the plates carrying the webs can be stored away in a cabinet. Even dome-shaped webs may be preserved, in their original form, by spraying them with shellac and then allowing them to dry before removal from their supports. Many spiders' webs are very beautiful, and all have interesting characteristics of the species to which they belong.

## Odds and Ends

Cigar ashes make good fertilizer.

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The Junior Red Cross has approximately 1,000,000 members.

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In the White House there are about 175 miles of electric wire.

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The deepest well in the world is near Fairmont, West Virginia. It is 7579 feet deep.

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Illinois has the largest membership of any state in the American Bankers' Association.

\*\*\*

One out of every 100 persons in the United States earns his livelihood by retail selling.

\*\*\*

The value of automobiles and accessories exported in the fiscal year 1920 is \$275,000,000.

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A woman has been named Collector of Customs at Salt Lake City. She is the first woman to receive such an appointment.

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The United States loaned \$11,800,000,000 to foreign nations during the war. Chief among the debtors are England, \$5,000,000,000, and France, \$3,300,000,000.

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Immigrants are now landing at Ellis Island at the rate of 5000 a day, which if it keeps up thruout the year will result in a third more arrivals than the highest record before the war, 1907, when 1,285,349 immigrants came in.

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The Forest Service estimates that 2,215,000,000,000 feet of timber now remain in American forests. This is only two-fifths of the amount which the country contained when the first colonists arrived, and we are now using timber four times as fast as we are growing it.



## Mr. Alligator Cleans Sewers

Consider the alligator! Generally he is supposed to be good for nothing except to furnish the makings of traveling bags—and he can only do that when years have added to his bulk. But Mr. Ben R. King, superintendent of waters and sewers at Fort Meade, Florida, has found a novel use for this ungainly creature. He trained one to aid in cleaning out 600 feet of clogged up twelve-inch sewer pipe after some \$1,500 had been spent without success on various sewer-cleaning contrivances, and when it seemed that the only thing left to do was to rip out the sewer pipe.

Mr. King happened to have a pet alligator by the name of "Dick" and noticing him crawling thru a piece of tile pipe out in the backyard one day, had an inspiration. Forthwith he seized "Dick," tied a rope about his body and sent him on several excursions thru the pipe. Dick learned readily enough to proceed on his way when the rope was given a slight jerk and the rest was easy. Attached to a stout rope he was lowered into the sewer manhole, and finding that he could not get out, finally proceeded to the next manhole, dragging the rope after him. This accomplished, it was a simple matter to fasten a chain to the rope and by dragging this back and forth remove the congested mass of sand and dirt.

Dick now has quite a reputation in South Florida and Mr. King is kept busy shipping him to various points where his services are in demand as a sewer crawler.



Central News

## THE LIGHT THAT LIES

An enterprising newspaper in Tunis recently borrowed a publicity stunt from the West and held a beauty contest. Among the thousands of contestants from all over that part of the world this little Arab girl was chosen as the most beautiful. Proving again, as Mr. Kipling subtly remarked, that "East is East, and West is West; and never the twain shall meet"



# Two Kinds of Walking

By Edwin E. Slosson

There are two kinds of walkers. Some walk to get somewhere; others walk for the walk. The former fix their eyes on their goal and steam ahead by the straightest route. The others stop on the way to look into the shop windows—or to pick flowers, as the case may be—and may even make a detour into inviting by-paths.

There are two ways of living. Some people spend their lives preparing to live. They are always looking forward to the time when they can begin to enjoy themselves, when they have got thru college, or when their children are grown up, or when they can retire from business or when they get all the money they need. Other people take their enjoyment as they go along, a weekly or daily pay-envelope containing such pleasures or satisfactions as may be within reach.

There are two sorts of readers. Some read to see how the story will come out. They rush thru the volume as tho it were a race course with a prize at the end, impatient of any delaying incidents, keeping close hold of the clue to the plot. If they miss the last chapter of a serial because somebody has thrown away the magazine before they get around to it—they are as irritated as tho the story were a riddle with a lost answer. Others read for the joy of reading. They know that life is not modeled after the "well-made play" of the school of Scribe. In real life there is no denouement, no simultaneous untying of all knots, no final harmonizing of all discords; there is no concluding curtain, only individual exits. Life just runs right on like an interminable motion picture film with more or less exciting episodes but no apparent plot. The person who loves reality in life and fiction will read the serial he finds in any stray copy of a magazine with the same interest that he watches the episodes he may observe on the street or in his circle of friends. If he gets the next chapter, so much the better, but if not, he is content with what he has already. On the other hand, the reader whose interest lies at the end of the book is invariably disappointed because when he reaches the end he finds only a blank page before him.

The reason I am making this classification is to warn the said parties of the first part, to wit, those who merely want to know how the story turns out, against reading *The Old Madhouse* by William De Morgan, or indeed any of his novels. The author had to leave before he finished the story. It is therefore even more true to life than his former books, and those who love life in the living of it will find it as

fascinating as "Somehow Good." His widow adds a chapter giving the explanation of the mysterious disappearance of Dr. Carteret, but it does not add to the interest of the volume to the true De Morgan lovers, for they got their money's worth in the preceding 555 pages. It might as well have been left unfinished like Dickens' "Mystery of Edwin Drood," which people are still puzzling over fifty years after. But if any one buys the volume on the recommendation of the orange-colored cover he will be entitled to a 33 1/3 per cent rebate, for the publisher guarantees that "there is a triple romance: Fred Carteret's with Nancy; the love affair of Nancy's sister, Cintra; and Charles Snaith's romance with Lucy." But the first romance exists only in the publisher's imagination. There was a love affair between Fred and Cintra and Fred and Lucy, and between Charles and Lucy and Charles and Nancy, but in all this crossing of the wires Fred and Nancy do not connect at any time. But advertisers do not read their books any more than do illustrators.

In Mrs. De Morgan's account of how her husband worked we can see why his novels have a substantiality and genuineness lacking in most of the fiction of the times. They read like real life because they were written as life is really lived, that is, from day to day with only a vague idea of the *terminus ad quem*.

When my husband started on one of his novels, he did so without making any

definite plot. He created his characters and then waited for them to act and evolve their own plot. In this way the puppets in the show became real living personalities to him, and he waited, as he expressed it, "to see what they would do next."

As the story was always read to me while in progress I too got to believe in the reality of the characters, and found myself thinking of them as real live people. and I have frequently asked him when he came down to lunch, or had finished writing for the day, such a question as, for instance, "Well, have they quarreled yet?" and he would reply, as the case might be, "No, I don't know if they will come to a quarrel; after all, I must wait and see what they do." However, towards the end of the book when an intelligible winding-up of the story became imperative, the plot was taken up and carefully considered, all the straggling threads gathered together and finalities decided upon, the latitude was always allowed for details to shape themselves after their own fashion.

My husband's handwriting was wonderfully clear and distinct, with very few erasures. He considered that he wrote very slowly, but judging by the amount of work he got thru, this cannot be regarded as having been the fact. He never made rough copies and practically finished as he went: everything was so complete that he found even a slight alteration in the text would often let him in for as much work as the writing of a whole chapter would have given him.

Latterly he found that he did his best writing after tea, but he never could be persuaded to give up the traditional working hours of the artist, with the result that he usually spent the whole day in his study, now allowing himself a short walk before dinner.

William De Morgan was sixty-four when in 1904 he wrote the first chapter of his first novel, "Joseph Vance." Between that time and his death in 1917 he wrote eight long novels, equivalent to about sixteen of the usual length. It would be well if all our authors would wait till they are sixty-four before they undertake to write novels. By that time they may understand something about the world they presume to describe. If they must write earlier let them write poetry. But it is absurd for them to plunge into fiction before they know fact. They rival one another in precocity. The record for early romancing has been held by America since Bertha Runkle produced "The Helmet of Navarre" at the age of seventeen, but now that Daisy Ashford has written a popular novel when only nine years old the precocity prize must go over to England.

By the way, "The Young Visitors" has been dramatized and produced in London, to the great joy of English children.

*The Old Madhouse*, by William De Morgan. Henry Holt & Co.

## Words

By Marion Hendrick Ray

Words, words, words,—  
You curious little things—  
Irresponsible parts of an intricate puzzle  
When moved by a sluggish mind.  
Chosen at random,  
Placed in conjunction,  
You carry messages of life—  
You carry prescience of death—  
You are handmaids of the Infinite,  
Bearing endless possibilities.  
Let but the breath of an intelligence  
Warmed by the pulsings of Spirit  
Blow upon you,—and you burst  
Into glowing flames of glory,  
Holding the world enthralled.  
Ever changing fragments  
In the kaleidoscope of language,  
May you flow from the facile pen  
Of many an Emerson, many a Browning,  
Bringing us visions of greatness,  
Becoming in your completeness  
Enduring talismans of light  
For the guidance of mankind.



## A Billion Dollar Bank

(Continued from page 333)

method becomes a shining example to every superior man.

It is more and more a puzzle to large employers to know how to conduct, or even describe, their employees' mutual benefit department. Words are so easily misunderstood. "Welfare work" smacks of paternalism. "Social service" sounds like the interference and obtuseness of a charity society. Even the term "industrial relations" implies that Capital and Labor have differences to adjust, with a game of strategy a necessary evil. A perfect solution of the difficulty has been evolved by The National City Bank.

The social, recreational, musical, even educational, features of the house are handled by the City Bank Club, composed of employees of The National City Bank, the International Banking Corporation and the National City Company. The income from a permanent endowment of some \$200,000 partially guarantees expenses. The management is up to the members, and the business done requires a modern suite of offices and a paid secretarial staff. We do not know any other instance where an employees' club is a complete business organization, operating as such. The dues are \$1.00 a year. Club members do such a variety of useful things that we can here note but a few of the most valuable and unique.

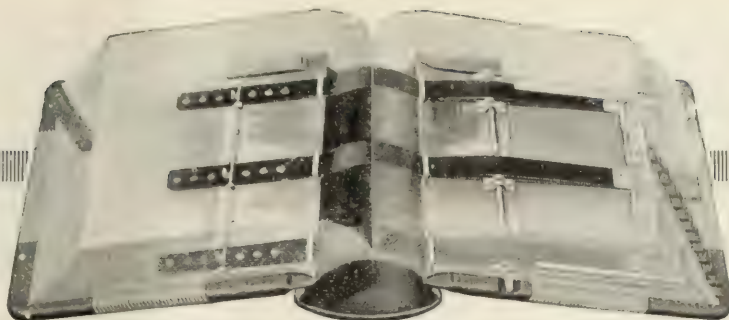
They publish an illustrated news magazine, which serves also as an open forum, a question box, a fund of humor, a field of sports, a treasury of biography, and a guide to advancement.

They conduct a bulletin board clearing house of information, with attractive posters and placards, changed every week on a regular schedule; some announcing events, campaigns, drives or contests appealing to members, others outlining special advantages or opportunities for promotion, others acting as "bracers" to help each worker improve his work and himself.

They administer an attractive, safe, investment fund, whereby more than 2000 club members have received 8 per cent interest on the \$750,000 deposited so far.

They manage a coöperative buying department, called "Buydirect Service," enabling members to purchase almost anything, from a paper of pins to a piano, at material discounts from current prices, with a bargain page in the club magazine, and a discount card entitling the holder to a rebate of 10 to 33 1/3 per cent at various leading New York stores. (The magnitude of operations is evident from one deal—the purchase last May, at lowest prices, of 18,000 dozen finest fresh eggs, the consignment thereof to storage, and the withdrawal and sale to members for winter use at prices then far below the current.)

They provide a home center for bachelor members by running, on a cost basis, a comfortable and spacious dormitory clubhouse at Brooklyn Heights, only ten minutes by subway from the



Transparent Leaf Body, showing Proudfit mechanism locked and ready for use.

—for all  
**Loose Leaf Binding**

*Proudfit*  
**LOOSE LEAF DEVICES**

IT is difficult to identify Proudfit binders by casual inspection, because they have the appearance of bound books. It is easy to identify Proudfits by greater serviceability, because they provide quickest and easiest leaf insertion and removal, and because they can accommodate from 1 to 1,000 sheets without adjustment.



Proudfit Catalogue Binder and Salesman's Portfolio combined.



Proudfit Loose Leaf Blue-Print and Catalogue Binder.

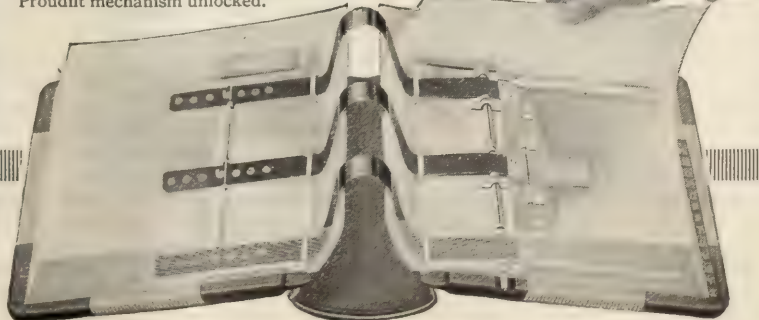
Proudfits have no rings or posts to distort their covers or scratch office furniture. They present a flat writing surface at all times and require less than one-half inch of the sheet edge for binding. They hold the sheets along the entire binding edge and prevent tearing; are adaptable for all loose leaf binding purposes: and are used to preserve the appearance as well as usefulness of printed or written loose leaf matter that must be kept constantly up-to-date, such as salesmen's portfolios, price lists, catalogues, photos, blue-prints, ledgers, accounting books city, county or state records.

Proudfit Loose Leaf Binders are sold direct or through factory branches in all large cities—they are supplied in a wide variety of sizes in four standard lines, as well as made to specifications.

**Proudfit Loose Leaf Co.**

Grand Rapids, Michigan

Transparent Leaf Body, showing Proudfit mechanism unlocked.





bank, with a splendid view of the ocean bay and the Manhattan sky-line, elegant drawing rooms, and a sea breeze thrown in for good measure.

They operate a realty company, buying for members houses selected by them, within commuting distance of New York, at a price consistent with the members' salary and savings; the plan works out so that members who participate will have paid, after a certain period of years, little more than they would have paid for rent, and will own their homes besides—a complete solution of the difficult New York housing problem.

They hold the usual athletic events in baseball, basketball, tennis, golf, bowling, skating and swimming; also they specialize in original, unique entertainments, hiring for these gatherings such places as the Hippodrome or the dining room of the largest hotel in New York, with programs, decorations and souvenirs long to be remembered.

Such notable activities, and many others, of a practical sort explain why the club has a membership of 3200, said to be the largest of its kind, with branches thruout the world. The heads of a bank are generally supposed to be formal, stiff and unapproachable; yet here they have come so close to the hearts and lives of their employees as to set up a world-breaking record for united action leading to mutual benefit. Not only every banker, but also every manufacturer, storekeeper, college president and church pastor would be greatly helped in his work of handling men by a detailed study, then a personal application, of The National City Bank psychology of organization. You can do almost anything with a man if you first put in him faith, knowledge, action. The faith of the church, the knowledge of the school, the action of the mart, must all be combined. Here, in this club, they are.

Let us see what happens to a boy of fourteen, starting to work as a page or messenger, and eager to advance. He meets club members and officers on the first day, so as to learn the ropes from helpers he considers not bosses but pals—a process of establishing right industrial relations that, praise be, is not called by that name. The lad is coached by the director of boys in the use of telephones and tubes, location of officers and departments, spelling of proper names and technical words. He is given a preliminary test in English, spelling, arithmetic, penmanship, and vocational psychology—then told what position will be his when he masters the fundamentals of the bank's principles and methods. He learns the value of promptness, neatness and courtesy before he starts his regular job.

Thereafter, he keeps in touch with the director of boys by daily visits, and keeps on going to school, attending morning classes from 8:15 to 8:55 in subjects like English, office practice, elementary economics, duties of citizenship. He can go thru high school in night classes, by aid of the club which

shares the cost; after eight years he can, if he desires, obtain thus a college degree—and be holding at the same time a responsible and remunerative position with the bank! The doors of Columbia University, New York University and the College of the City of New York are wide open to City Bank Club members. Add the further attraction of delightful recreation—athletic sports, gymnasium, orchestra and band, summer camps and vacations—and you offer a combined incentive that makes a boy in the bank vote himself a lucky lad indeed.

A full description of the educational features, many of them applying specially to the bank girls, would occupy all our space. The noteworthy fact is that the educational base is not pedagogical, but social, industrial, coöperative, instinctive, democratic. The way to fill a boy's head is to find his heart first. If you don't, you make of his head a rubbish heap.

WE turn to the broader activities. Reviewing the unprecedented growth of the bank's business—the deposits today are in excess of the total deposits of all the 2000 national banks in the country forty years ago—a head official explained thus:

"The career of the City Bank is closely identified with the history and progress of New York and of the United States. Its growth has been an integral part of their growth. Its success has been measured and determined by the ability of the management to judge and serve the needs of their business life. In every crisis the institution has been a reservoir of strength not only to its patrons, but to the community and the Government.

"Our supremacy lies most in the field of undeveloped service. Here we have had little competition. The unusual things a bank is able to do for its customers and the community may be the really essential things. Of course it is easier to confine oneself to the obvious, traditional, superficial service. Leadership, however, demands initiative, courage, foresight, human sympathy, ready coöperation, eternal progress. A bank that does merely the routine things expected of a bank will never emerge from the rut of mediocrity. The way for any bank to take the lead over its competitors, and become the dominant financial force in the community, is to render needed services that no other bank offers."

The demonstration of this truth resolves to a description of the organization and operation of The National City Bank itself. We give, therefore, a partial description of the most important and unique undertakings not often associated with general banking.

Perhaps the first essential is the development and maintenance of the personal element in banking relationships. By dividing the domestic territory it serves into districts, following roughly the lines of the various Federal Reserve districts, and by assigning certain officers to care for the transactions arising in each state, the

bank is able to maintain a personal contact with every customer, whether located in New York or San Francisco, New Orleans or Chicago.

The bank is in every way truly national in scope. Its officers are selected from all sections of the country, and of its official staff of nearly a hundred, the majority were raised, educated and received their early business training in cities other than New York. Likewise, the bank's operations reflect the same nation-wide character. The bulk of its loans are not made to Wall Street, but instead are extended to manufacturing and mercantile establishments located in all sections of the country.

Scientific research is equally emphasized. A trained statistician, backed by a corps of assistants, devotes much of his time to investigating, analyzing, and reporting facts of current interest bearing on world commerce. A statement from this department, for business men everywhere, is published in the large newspapers each Monday morning.

The special requirements of the bank's industrial customers led to the founding of the Industrial Service Department which furnishes a clearing house for information on industrial management and relative subjects, coöperates with manufacturers for improvement of industrial conditions, and offers aid to business concerns in obtaining competent efficiency advice. As a result of the work of this department there is assurance of closer coöperation between the banker, the manufacturer and the business man. The outcome of this coöperation must inevitably be that those so variously engaged will better understand each other and thereby be in a position to be more helpful, each to the other. This spirit of mutually coöperative teamwork cannot fail to be strongly promotive of the country's business welfare.

The volume of foreign mail necessitates much work in the Translating Department, whose experts both speak and write French, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, Russian, Scandinavian, Greek, and the unfamiliar Oriental languages. A visitor from any foreign land finds an official interpreter stationed on the bank floor, at instant call.

Few business houses, with the exception of great factories and department stores, handle complaints with proper system, care and respect. The aim of department heads here is not only to do this promptly and satisfactorily, but to forestall criticisms and complaints by keeping records of errors, adjusting them, furnishing periodic detailed reports thereon, making constructive suggestions regarding the method or management of different departments with a view to preventing recurrence of errors.

A frequent source of mistakes lies in the overlapping of authority and responsibility, due to insufficient or inefficient organization. I have never seen a financial institution so thoroly



and effectively organized. The bank maintains eighty-seven separate departments, named alphabetically as follows: Accounting Voucher Register, Advertising and Publicity, Americas, A. M. & T., Analysis, Auditing, Bond, Bookkeepers Domestic, Bookkeepers Foreign, Bookkeepers Our Account, Branch Bank Accounting, Branch Bank Inspection, Branch Bank Training, Commercial Credit Export, Commercial Credit Import, Certification, Check and Statement Files, City Bank Club, City Collection, Cloak Room, Collection Export, Collection Import, College Class, Country Collection, Coupon Collection, Coupon Paying, Credit and Files, Customers Drafts, Customers Securities, Discount Domestic, Discount Foreign, Educational, Files Foreign, Files General, Files Record, Foreign Trade, Industrial Service, Information Foreign, Information General, Interest Domestic, Interest Foreign, Legal, Letter of Credit, Loan, Mail Incoming, Mail Incoming Registered, Mail Outgoing, Medical, Merchandise, Messengers, Money Counters, No. 8, Paymaster, Personnel, Petty Cashier, Photostat, Platform East, Platform West, Printing, Purchasing, Receiving Room, Reconcilements, Restaurant, Securities Shipment, Signature Control, Stationery, Statistical, Stenographers Emergency, Stenographers Foreign, Telegraph and Cables, Telephone, Tellers Foreign, Tellers Mail, Tellers Note, Tellers Paying, Tellers Receiving, Test Words, Ticket Journal, Time Keeping, Traders, Transfer, Transit, Translators, Trust, Tubes, Typewriter Repair, Vaults.

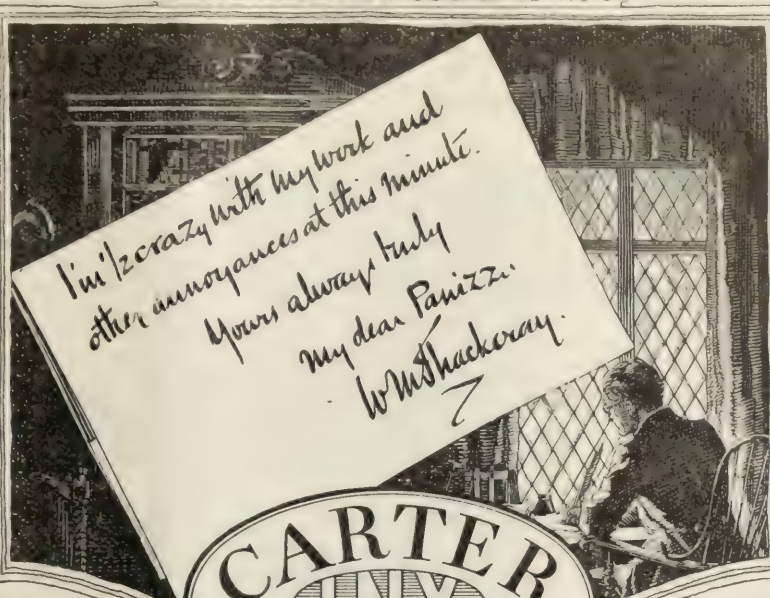
The National City Bank men are bankers to the world. How have they gained this one supreme title? And what are they doing to hold it?

A high official gave the answer in one word: *Character*. He said: "Only character begets confidence. Old-fashioned honesty of purpose is required today in a business organization, quite as much as new-fashioned rapidity of motion and utility of method. Since 1812 this bank has been developing a personality, based on character, that is now recognized universally and trusted wherever known. The secret of the growth of the bank lies in the growth of the faith of the people we have served.

"The reason for this faith is too subtle to define—a mental and moral influence outreaching the financial scope of all our branches, and preceding them in point of time. We never tried to build the largest banking house in America, or thought of doing it. Size is a by-product of service. The enlargement of our sphere of activity has resulted from the improvement of our sense of responsibility. The enlargement of any business is secondary to the improvement, and consequent upon it. The bank that fails to grow lacks character. We value most not our wealth, nor our size, but our character.

"A spirit of active and effective coöperation is possibly our main strength. All a community's interests

## HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS-NO 5



Excerpt from  
letter to  
Sir. Anthony Panizzi  
from W.M. Thackeray

**C**OULD Thackeray's "other annoyances" have included the persistent irritation of poor ink? We know that ink can be extremely annoying.

Make this experiment. Have the ink-well washed clean—to clear away any old sediment, which would otherwise affect the new ink. Then fill the clean well with Carter's Writing Fluid.

In no other way can you so fully realize the *helpfulness* of good ink—the clear, rich blue and free, even flow which makes writing a pleasure. Try this before you sign to-day's mail, or take in hand your personal correspondence—and see how much better the letter looks.



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Manufacturing Chemists

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Writing Fluid, Fountain Pen Inks, Red Ink (Carmine), Realblack Ink, Ink Eraser, Cico Paste, Photolibrary Paste, Cement, Glue Pencils, Great Stickist Mucilage, Copying Inks, Drawing Inks, Indelible Inks, Stamping Inks, VelVet Showcard Colors, White and Gold Inks, Violet, Green and Blue Inks, Typewriter Ribbons, Carbon Papers, Dumbering Machine Inks.

Your signature represents you  
Write it with **CARTER'S**



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"Many Typewriters in One"

More than a typewriter. A whole print shop. Over 365 different arrangements of types and languages to select from—Instantly interchangeable.

Chinese Phonetic—the latest in languages — Mathematical, Astrological, Astronomical, Scientific Type Sets are also available.

No other typewriter can do this.

Take a second look at the typing of the letters you are sending out, then you will observe that they are no different from those written 40 years ago. The same old Pica type. There is only one typewriter which will permit a change from this. The *Multiplex* Hammond permits various type styles, instantly interchangeable.

The acknowledged technical method for obtaining emphasis is by *Italics*; use Romans for general text, then your *points* will shine. Both of these types are on the one machine with the *Multiplex*;—change instantly—"Just Turn the Knob"

With the MULTIPLEX you can play up the strong points by instant change of type. You need give no concern to mechanical detail.

Let The Machine Do The Work

Type impression is automatic, without a thought as to key touch.

Let The Machine Do The Work

Type cannot get out of alignment, making good work certain—automatic.

Let The Machine Do The Work

The MULTIPLEX is the only machine in the world on which you can write a foreign language and instantly change to English or any other language. "Just turn the Knob."

Let The Machine Do The Work

Put it up to the MULTIPLEX to put beauty into your writing, to put force and emphasis into your sales letters through change of type and perfect automatic type impression.

Let The Machine Do The Work

No other Typewriter can do this



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are mutual and reciprocal. The banking interests are identical with the manufacturing, merchandizing, and housekeeping interests. Just in proportion as we have recognized this joint-relationship and evolved satisfactory ways of promoting all community interests have we gained a world eminence, that only marks our desire to be of use to the world."

Every keen business man is awake to the new era of foreign trade possibilities. Both the manufacturing and merchandizing interests of American firms are actively promoted by such means as the following, now available to clients of The National City Bank, on the principle that American banks should more effectively serve American business men by handling their foreign business all the way thru to their foreign customers.

Trade investigators furnish trade reports to the bank's clients. Financial aid is given in the matter of foreign shipments. Good connections are made abroad. Solutions are suggested of business problems and difficulties arising in other lands. The inauguration or expansion of the foreign business of clients is promoted. By the aid of documentary credits, foreigners purchasing our goods can offer shippers here payment as soon as the goods are in transit, but know that payment will not be made until the goods are safely on their way.

Hundreds of foreign merchants visiting this country last year found the makers and sellers of goods they wanted to buy. Numbers of domestic correspondent banks were enabled to establish a foreign trade service of their own, by taking advantage of the City Bank resources, facilities and accommodations. Business firms requiring legal services abroad were given the desired assistance. Others learned how to organize an export department. Others located foreign selling agents for their products, or buying agents for goods they needed from abroad.

The whole idea of the Foreign Trade Department is to bring together the man abroad who has something to buy or sell and the American who has something to sell or buy, then to aid both, impartially and effectively, as their need may prompt. This ideal could be attained only by the organization of branches thruout the world, each branch to offer both a complete local banking service and a range of international banking facilities and commercial opportunities. Any branch of The National City Bank is an aisle to the markets of the world.

Innovations requiring much labor, thought and expense have proved invaluable. A trade file, for example, is kept in which all concerns with which the bank has dealings are listed by products; inquirers wanting the names of good export houses, shipping brokers, forwarders, and others in particular lines, may secure from the trade file immediate, accurate, knowledge. A more important feature is the credit report system. Prior to the development of this, American merchants, hav-

ing no means of establishing a credit rating on foreign customers, quite frequently demanded cash in advance, thereby offending and often losing their best patrons. The bank now has authentic data covering more than 200,000 foreign names, sharing the information with clients on request.

But education is the object of life, and the institution, whether home, church or business, that fulfils a high destiny must put education first. So the bank distributes yearly to its agents, clients and the world in general a larger number of publications than is catalogued in the Congressional Library at Washington. Of the 2,500,000 pieces of literature thus given out, more than two million are of distinctly educational character.

"Foreign Trade Opportunities" is a mimeographed report issued weekly by the Foreign Trade Department for the bank's clients, setting forth specific opportunities for American producers to find markets abroad. The "Foreign Trade Record," issued weekly by the Statistical Department, analyzes trade statistics and presents germane facts regarding the production, exportation, importation and consumption of specific articles of international commerce. An illustrated monthly magazine, "The Americas," dealing with world finance, trade and economics, reaches a yearly circulation of more than 300,000 copies, and is now a recognized authority in its field.

The most widely read of the bank's publications is the "Monthly Bank Letter," in English, French and Spanish, treating of current problems in business, finance, economics, government and sociology, having a circulation of more than a million and a quarter a year. New requests from those wishing to be placed on the mailing list are now received at the rate of 2000 per month. More than 300 correspondent banks in this country have the bank prepare special editions of the Letter, each local bank circulating from 100 to 10,000 copies among its own customers, friends and inquirers.

A special need, local, national or international, for special knowledge is met by a special publication, written by an expert, usually a vice-president or other high official of the bank. Among the pamphlets and booklets of international scope already prepared and now being written for the benefit of the public are those entitled "Trading With Our Neighbors in the Caribbean," "The Function of Imports in Our Foreign Trade," "Our South American Trade and Its Financing," "Trading With the Far East," "The Development of Scandinavian-American Trade Relations." (The latter two are in preparation.)

The most prolific author of these special publications, Mr. George E. Roberts, was formerly director of the United States mint. He is now a vice-president of the bank. Impressed by the wonderful scope and mission of these publications, I asked Mr. Roberts to give a personal message to the bankers of America regarding the possi-



bilities in educational work of this character. The weight of the message lies in the summation it offers of the experience and success of the world's largest banking organization.

The vice-president said: "We have only done, perhaps on a larger scale, what every bank in America could and should do, each in its own way. Some of the very smallest banks, in towns of only a few thousand population, are conducting service departments, distributing service literature, and therefore leading the business thought, industries, and finance of their community. Even the smallest bank will best promote its own interests by studying the needs of its customers and finding a way to meet them in advance of, or in excess of, their fulfillment by other agencies. The banker who becomes known as a courteous, reliable counselor in the community should finally double the business of the bank. It all comes back to the bank in the end.

"Teach your customers, actual and prospective, how to do more, earn more, save more, have more, be more. Take an active interest in community prosperity. Aid the farmers, or manufacturers, or other business men, to stimulate production. Plan a generous distribution of literature specially valuable to the largest classes of wage-earners and wage-spenders. Offer to help solve the commercial, financial and economic problems of your constituents. Make your bank known as a consultation service bureau, if you would make it most widely known as a bank."

All the good we sow we reap again. But the greater joy is in the sowing.

New York City

## Go North, Young Man!

(Continued from page 331)

ment railroad and thence to the seaboard for export. An appropriation of at least \$1,000,000 should be made by Congress for road construction in Alaska. The appropriation would be fully justified by America's need of the commodities Alaska can give us if she in turn is given transportation.

At the same time additional moneys should be given for further investigation of the mineral, pulp-wood, water power and other resources of the territory. Investors cannot be expected to put their money to work in Alaska nor settlers to go there without more explicit information on Alaska's resources than is at present available.

From the standpoint of value of annual produce and numbers of men employed, the fishing industry is the most important in Alaska. The investment in salmon canning increased in the five years from 1913 to 1918 from \$31,341,670 to \$63,901,397 and the number of canneries was nearly doubled.

However, the Alaskan salmon catch has probably reached its maximum and any effort toward a more intensive development of these fisheries would lead to their rapid depletion. Additional safeguards against over-fishing are needed to permit the present salmon

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## A Million Cars Made New—

**I**SN'T your car actually running as well or nearly as well as the day you bought it? Maybe better! Does it need anything to make it a new car except a smooth, glossy coat of enamel?

Let's see what that means.

Next Saturday afternoon give the car a thorough washing and allow to dry thoroughly. Pry off the top of a quart can of Murphy Da-cote Motor Car Enamel and flow on a coat with a soft varnish brush. Lock the garage doors. Next day roll her out, pack in the family and flash a bright, brand new car on the neighborhood.

Doesn't sound difficult, does it? More than a million car owners have done this very thing.

Da-cote is so smooth that it flows just a bit before setting, so that all brush marks and laps disappear.

Da-cote comes in black and several popular colors. Send for a color card and for the name of a merchant who sells Murphy's.

## Murphy Varnish Company

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THE SHOE THAT HOLDS ITS SHAPE

\$7.00 \$8.00 \$9.00 & \$10.00 SHOES

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YOU CAN SAVE MONEY BY WEARING  
W. L. DOUGLAS SHOES



**T**he best known shoes in the world. They are sold in 107 W. L. Douglas stores, direct from the factory to you at only one profit, which guarantees to you the best shoes that can be produced, at the lowest possible cost. W. L. Douglas name and the retail price are stamped on the bottom of all shoes before they leave the factory, which is your protection against unreasonable profits.

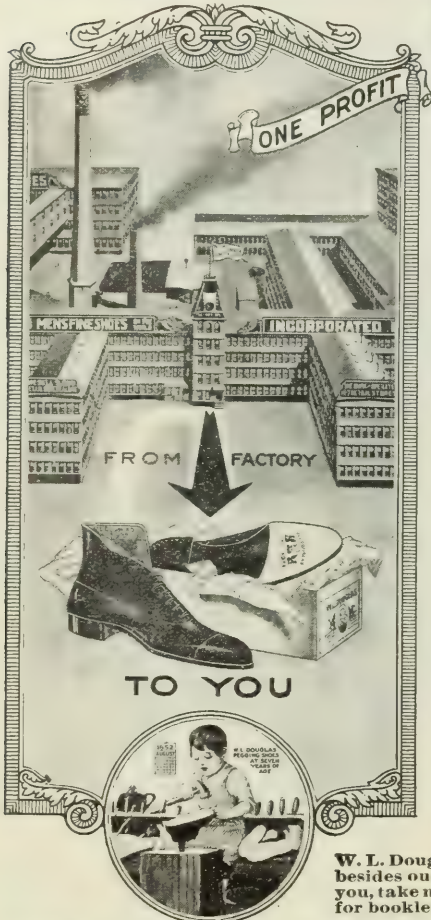
W. L. Douglas \$9.00 and \$10.00 shoes are absolutely the best shoe values for the money in this country. They are made of the best and finest leathers that money can buy. They combine quality, style, workmanship and wearing qualities equal to other makes selling at higher prices. They are the leaders in the fashion centers of America. The stamped price is W. L. Douglas personal guarantee that the shoes are always worth the price paid for them. The prices are the same everywhere; they cost no more in San Francisco than they do in New York.

W. L. Douglas shoes are made by the highest paid, skilled shoemakers, under the direction and supervision of experienced men, all working with an honest determination to make the best shoes for the price that money can buy.

W. L. Douglas shoes are for sale by over 9000 shoe dealers besides our own stores. If your local dealer cannot supply you, take no other make. Order direct from factory. Send for booklet telling how to order shoes by mail, postage free.

**CAUTION.**—Insist upon having W. L. Douglas shoes. The name and price is plainly stamped on the sole. Be careful to see that it has not been changed or mutilated.

President  
W. L. Douglas Shoe Co.,  
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Made to your measure, payable after received, with the clear understanding that if the fit is not perfect or if you are not satisfied in every way, if you are not convinced you have received a fine, high grade, stylish, perfect-fitting tailored suit made to your measures and have saved \$15 to \$20, you are not under the slightest obligation to keep it.

Don't hesitate or feel timid, simply send the suit back, no cost to you. You are not out one penny. Any money you may have paid us is refunded at once.

**SAMPLES FREE**

Any man young or old interested in saving money, who wants to dress well and not feel extravagant is invited to write us for our free book of samples and fashions explaining everything. Please write letter or postal today, just say "Send me your samples" and get our whole proposition by return mail. Try it—costs you nothing—just a postal, get the free samples and prices anyway. You will learn something important about dressing well and saving money.

**PARK TAILORING COMPANY**

Dept. 395

Chicago, ILL.



## MANUSCRIPT

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## BON-OPTO

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It's a system of treating the eyes at home; is practiced daily by hundreds of thousands of people with great satisfaction. The Bon-Opto system quickly relieves inflammation of the eyes and lids. It cleanses, soothes, and rests tired, dusty, work-strained eyes and is a help to better eyesight. Ask your druggist. He knows. He will refund your money without question, if you are dissatisfied. There is no other home eye treatment like Bon-Opto.

industry to yield a large and continuous annual return.

The salmon catch overshadows all the rest of the fishing industry, but there have, nevertheless, been notable increases in the halibut, cod, herring and other Alaskan fisheries in recent years. The herring and cod fisheries are enormous and the present annual yield is but a fraction of what might be produced. The halibut fisheries, on the other hand, need additional protection to prevent exhaustion.

The United States has a special responsibility in Alaska. It grows out of the fact that nearly all of the territory's resources are directly or indirectly controlled by the federal government at Washington. About 99 per cent of the land still is held in Government ownership. The development of coal and oil deposits is under Government leases. Water powers and fisheries are under federal control, and nearly all of the timber in Alaska is owned by the Government.

The control of Alaska's resources is vested by law in a number of bureaus and departments of the Government. Rules and regulations relating to Alaska must be made at Washington under existing laws. This long distance administration of Alaska's affairs undoubtedly has been a serious handicap to her development. Regulations are made that do not always meet local requirements and sometimes unjust decisions are rendered, simply because those who must make them are not familiar with local conditions and cannot visualize the situation.

All this should be changed, if Alaska is to prosper. The different activities relating to Alaska, the administration of railroad construction and operation, the building of roads, public lands, leases, waterpowers, fisheries and timber, should be concentrated in one department. The man or men administering Alaska's affairs should have a more intimate touch with the Alaskan territorial government. And they should be held more directly responsible for the development of the territory.

If the American Congress will do the things that are necessary to give Alaska its chance, Alaska in return will show us a development during the coming years second only to the development of our own western states during the last half of the nineteenth century.

Washington, D. C.

"Are you laying away something for a rainy day?"

"No, sir; it took all my money to lay away something for the dry days."—*Kreolite News*.

Lady Customer (in furniture department)—What has become of those lovely sideboards you had when I was last here?

Clerk (snickering)—I shaved them off, madam.—*Dreard*.

Love is like an onion:

We taste it with delight:

But when it's gone, we wonder

Whatever made us bite.

—*Yale Record*.



## By Their Laws We May Know Them

(Continued from page 329)

bunal can use properly and advantageously, by all means let it be appropriated. I would even go further. I would take and combine all that is good and excise all that is bad from both organizations. This statement is broad enough to include the suggestion that if the League, which has heretofore riveted our considerations and apprehensions, has been so entwined and interwoven into the peace of Europe, that its good must be preserved in order to stabilize the peace of that continent, then it can be amended or revised so that we may still have a remnant of world aspirations in 1918 build into the world's highest conception of helpful coöperation in the ultimate realization.

"I believe humanity would welcome the creation of an international association for conference and a world court whose verdicts upon justiciable questions this country in common with all nations would be both willing and able to uphold. The decision of such a court or the recommendations of such a conference could be accepted without sacrificing on our part or asking any other power to sacrifice one iota of its nationality."

### WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Cox To a delegation from the National Woman's Party on July 16, 1920, as presidential candidate, Governor Cox said:

"I find nothing in Holy Writ or elsewhere which shows the Almighty ever gave man the right to say that he could vote and women could not. . . .

"I give to you without any reservations the assurance that my time, my strength and my influence will be dedicated to your cause as our combined counsels might suggest, with a view to procuring a favorable result in Tennessee."

As far back, however, as 1913 he is recorded at the National Woman's Party headquarters as in sympathy with the movement.

In his speech of acceptance Governor Cox said:

"The women of America, in emotion and constructive service, measured up during the war to every requirement, and emergency exacted much of them. . . . They helped win the war, and they are entitled to a voice in the readjustment now at hand.

"Their intuition, their sense of the humanitarian in government, their unquestioned progressive spirit will be helpful in problems that require public judgment. Therefore, they are entitled to the privilege of voting as a matter of right and because they will be helpful in maintaining wholesome and patriotic policy. . . . I have the same earnest hope as our platform expresses, that some one of the remaining states will promptly take favorable action."

Like Senator Harding, since his



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kept smooth and firm because it is rolled every time the grass is cut.

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nomination Governor Cox has kept in close touch with the suffrage situation in the various states in which the legislature has convened during the summer, and has openly worked for ratification. The "neck and neck" race between the candidates as to who could persuade Tennessee first is one of the interesting phases of the campaign thus far.

On August 18, when ratification of the suffrage amendment by the Tennessee legislature was announced, Governor Cox said:

"The civilization of the world is saved. The mothers of America will stay the hand of war and repudiate those who traffic with a great principle."

**Harding** Senator Harding's apparently intense interest in woman suffrage manifested since the Chicago convention, and particularly during the last few weeks, seems not to date back five years.

He is on record as having said to a delegation of suffragists who interviewed him on June 24, 1915:

"I have never been permitted to go into the suffrage question in detail in any way. You may not like it, but I am perfectly frank to say that I have up to this date been utterly indifferent to the question—neither hostile toward it, nor for the suffrage cause."

On October 1, 1918, Senator Harding was recorded as paired—not voting—on the national woman suffrage amendment. On February 10, 1919, he voted in favor of the amendment, as he also did on June 4, 1919, when the amendment was passed.

On June 22, 1920, as presidential candidate, Senator Harding received a delegation of suffragists at Marion, Ohio, whom he addressed as follows:

"I need not tell you of my interest in the consummation of woman suffrage. I voted for it in the Senate, and a vote records a Senator's purpose quite as faithfully as anything he may do."

"Nothing would please me more than to have ratification made effective to give American womanhood full participation in the elections of next November. This desire, sincerely spoken, does not conflict with my determination that I could not, with propriety, attempt to force any state executive to hasten action in violation of his own sense of duty. . . . I would not wish my party to believe me inclined to wield a club. If any state executive should ask my opinion about extraordinary efforts to consummate suffrage, I frankly will commend the thing that you desire."

In his speech of acceptance, Senator Harding said:

"The womanhood of America, always its glory, its inspiration, and the potent uplifting force in its social and spiritual development, is about to be enfranchised. Insofar as Congress can go, the fact is already accomplished. By party edict, by my recorded vote, by personal conviction, I am committed to this measure of justice. It is my earnest hope, my sincere desire, that

the one needed state vote be quickly recorded in the affirmation of the right of equal suffrage and that the vote of every citizen shall be cast and counted in the approaching election."

On August 18, upon receiving notification that the Tennessee legislature had ratified the suffrage amendment, Senator Harding said:

"All along I have wished for the completion of ratification, and have said so, and I am glad to have all the citizenship of the United States take part in the presidential elections."

#### PROHIBITION

Notwithstanding the fact that Cox Governor Cox has been termed a sympathizer of the "wets," it must be conceded that he has stood for law enforcement, and was the first Governor of Ohio to enforce the Sunday closing laws.

Referring to the prohibition amendment to the Ohio State Constitution, voted on November 5, 1918, Governor Cox said in his message of January 13, 1919:

"The objectives in this amendment are very plain. There is no conflict between intent and phrase. The electorate has issued the mandate that intoxicating liquors as a beverage shall not be manufactured for sale, nor sold, and the responsibility of providing the means and method of law enforcement is with the legislature."

"This amendment is not the expression of a caprice. The subject in question has been persistent as an issue for several years. Nothing can be more subversive of the public interest than indifference to, or defiance of, the organic law of the State."

"It has been suggested that the enforcement of the prohibition law be left to the communities, and that the State content itself with the thought that local officials are sufficiently vigilant, and the public interests will be safeguarded. . . . Reduced to plain terms, . . . the enforcement of the law in the first instance should be with the public officers in the community, but a vigilant eye should be with the State, and power of removal from office should be given the Governor in case of delinquency."

On the question of prohibition, Senator Harding's position seems rather indefinite. He voted for the national prohibition amendment, altho he is on record as not regarding the question as a moral one.

"I am not a prohibitionist," Senator Harding said in the Senate on August 1, 1917, "and never have pretended to be. I do claim to be a temperance man. I do not approach this question from a moral viewpoint, because I am unable to see it as a great moral question."

Over the President's veto, Senator Harding, on October 28, 1919, voted in favor of the Volstead bill dealing with prohibition enforcement, altho he had previously expressed his doubts regarding the practicability of enforcement, thus:

"I do not think a prohibition amendment will be effective. . . . You cannot

make any law stronger than the public sentiment which sees to its enforcement. I have watched the progress of this question . . . and while I stand here and fully express my doubts about its practicability, at the same time I recognize that it is growing and insistent and persistent and it must be settled."

"Ever since I have been in public life in a small way I have seen men continually measured by the wet and dry yardstick, and the submission of this amendment is going to measure every candidate for public office by the wet and dry yardstick until the final settlement. When I say that, I have expressed my strongest reason for putting a limitation upon the pendency of the amendment. I want to see this question settled. . . ."

"I am willing to go further and join in a movement to make it effective thru a process of compensation to the business destroyed."

Upon most of the "wet" and "dry" issues considered during the time he has been in the Senate, Senator Harding has voted with the "wets"—according to Washington legislative experts, thirty times out of thirty-two.

The following is his verbatim pronouncement on this subject, as a presidential candidate, in his speech of acceptance:

"I believe in law enforcement. If elected, I mean to be a constitutional President, and it is impossible to ignore the Constitution, unthinking to evade the law, when our every commitment is to orderly government. People ever will differ about the wisdom of the enactment of a law—there is a divided opinion respecting the Eighteenth amendment and the laws enacted to make it operative—but there can be no difference of opinion about honest law enforcement."

#### LABOR

The attitude of Governor Cox on labor is indicated by the labor legislation passed during the period he has been Governor of Ohio. The records show favorable action by him upon each of the fifty-nine measures of interest to labor which have come before him. Among the more important measures enacted are those providing for a compulsory workmen's compensation law, accepted as a model by other progressive states; a State Industrial Commission, with a state mediator; a survey of occupational diseases; the elimination of sweatshop labor; and an eight-hour working day on all public contracts.

In his speech of acceptance, Governor Cox said:

"Morals cannot easily be produced by statute. The writ of injunction should not be abused. Intended as a safeguard to person and property, it could easily by abuse cease to be the protective device it was intended to be."

Referring to collective bargaining, the Governor said:

"Capital develops into large units without violence to public sentiment or injury to public interest—the same



principle should not be denied to labor. Collective bargaining thru the means of representatives selected by the employer and employee respectively will be helpful rather than harmful to the general interest. . . ."

Concerning the right to strike, he said:

"We should not, by law, abridge a man's right to labor or to quit his employment. However, neither labor nor capital should at any time or in any circumstances take action that would put in jeopardy the public welfare."

"We need," said he, continuing, "a definite and precise statement of policy as to what business men and workingmen may do and may not do by way of collective action. The law is now so nebulous that it almost turns upon the economic predilections of judge or jury."

Speaking of child labor, he said:

"The child life of the nation should be conserved; if labor in immature years is permitted by one generation, it is practicing unfairness to the next."

Of eighteen labor measures, Harding Senator Harding is recorded as voting favorably upon seven; unfavorably upon ten; and paired unfavorably upon one.

He favored the civil rights bill; war risk insurance; the measure to increase the appropriation for the Bureau of Conciliation of the Department of Labor; and the amendment to the retirement bill prohibiting affiliation of federal employees with organized labor.

Among the measures upon which he voted unfavorably are the motion to strike the labor charter from the League of Nations; the motion to extend federal control of railroads for two years; and the Esch-Cummins railroad bill, with its anti-strike provision.

As a presidential candidate, in his speech of acceptance, his pronouncements sound well, but, needless to say, are unsatisfactory to organized labor. He said:

"The chief trouble today is that the world war wrought the destruction of healthful competition, left our storehouses empty, and there is a minimum production when our need is maximum. . . . I wish the higher wage to abide, on one explicit condition—that the wage-earner will give full return for the wage received. It is the best assurance we can have for a reduced cost of living. . . ."

"I want, somehow, to appeal to the sons and daughters of the republic, to every producer, to join hand and brain in production. . . . patriotic production, because patriotic production is no less a defense of our best civilization than that of armed force. Profiteering is a crime of commission, underproduction is a crime of omission. . . . We must stabilize and strive for normalcy. . . ."

"I decline to recognize any conflict of interest among the participants in industry. The destruction of one is the ruin of the other, the suspicion or rebellion of one unavoidably involves the other. . . . the insistent call is for labor, management and capital to reach



## But One Cent

Serves that dish of Quaker Oats

When you think of high food cost think also of Quaker Oats. One cent still serves a large dish of this food of foods.

Other breakfast dishes cost many times as much. Meats, eggs and fish, for the same calory value, average nearly ten times the cost.

No price can buy a better food. The oat is the greatest food that grows. It is almost the ideal food in balance and completeness. Its fame is age-old as a body-builder and a vim-food.

Quaker Oats, whatever they cost, would be the proper breakfast. It is wise for every one to start the day on oats. But the cost is a trifle. It means not only better feeding but a vastly lower food cost.

Quaker Oats should be your basic breakfast. It was always important, but never so much as now.

### Cost Per 1,000 Calories

Quaker Oats	6½c
Average Meats	45c
Average Fish	50c
Hen's Eggs	60c
Vegetables	11c to 75c

### Saves 35c a meal

Note the cost per calory of some necessary foods, based on prices at this writing. The needed breakfast calories in Quaker Oats will cost the average family about 35 cents less than they cost in meat foods. The calory is the energy unit used to measure food value.

# Quaker Oats

Just the Cream of the Oats



1810 Calories  
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Round Steak  
Yields 890

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Serve the finest oat dish you can get. It costs no extra price. Quaker Oats is flaked from queen grains only—just the rich, plump, flavory oats. We get but ten pounds from a bushel. So this brand is famed the world over for delightful flavor.


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understanding, . . . and all of them must understand their relationship to the people and their obligation to the republic."

Concerning collective bargaining, Senator Harding continued:

"We do not oppose, but approve, collective bargaining, because that is an outstanding right, but we are unalterably insistent that its exercise must not destroy the equally sacred right of the individual, in his necessary pursuit of livelihood. . . . The group must not endanger the individual, and we must discourage groups preying upon one another, and none shall be allowed to forget that Government's obligations are alike to all the people."

As to Government strikes, Senator Harding said:

"The strike against the Government is properly denied, for Government service involves none of the elements of profit which relate to competitive enterprise."

Referring to child labor, he said:

"I believe in holding fast to every forward step in unshackling child labor and elevating conditions of woman's employment."

#### FINANCE

In his speech of acceptance, Governor Cox said:

"One of the first things to be done is the repeal of war taxes. . . .

"Without hampering essential national administrative departments, by the elimination of all others and strict economy everywhere, national taxes can be reduced in excess of \$2,000,000,000 yearly. Annoying consumption taxes, once willingly borne, now unjustified, should be repealed. The incomes from war-made fortunes, those of non-producers and those derived from industries that exist by unfair privilege may be able to carry their present load, but taxes on the earnings of the wage-earner, of the salaried and professional man, of the agricultural producer and of the small tradesman should be sharply modified."

The stand taken on taxation Harding by Senator Harding at various times in the Senate is of interest. He voted against an amendment to the revenue bill providing that income returns be so filed as to be accessible to the public, and opposed various measures aimed at corporations and individuals of wealth. According to authorities, he voted fourteen times against measures to increase the amount paid by profiteers and others with large incomes for the cost of the war. . . .

In his speech of acceptance, he said: "Gross expansion of currency and credit have depreciated the dollar just as expansion and inflation have discredited the coins of the world. . . . Deflation on the one hand and restoration of the 100-cent dollar on the other ought to have begun on the day after the armistice. . . .

"We will attempt intelligent and courageous deflation, and strike at Government borrowing which enlarges the evil. . . .

"In all sincerity we promise the pre-

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vention of unreasonable profits, we challenge profiteering with all the moral force and the legal powers of government and people, but it is fair, aye, it is timely, to give reminder that law is not the sole corrective of our economic ills. . . .

"I believe the tax burdens imposed for the war emergency must be revised to the needs of peace, and in the interest of equity in distribution of the burden."

Senator Harding, as Congressional records show, has been in no sense a leader. He has been a "follower," a consistent follower, a follower of Senator Lodge and his reactionary group. If he seems by this rehearsal of public records to have changed his position on the important issues under discussion, as either more light came to him or political expediency dictated (his friends will say the one thing, his opponents the other), we may perhaps congratulate him upon his openmindedness. Or does this temper hold a real peril for the nation that is facing the destiny hour of her history? Upon one point, however, Senator Harding has never wavered. While he seems anything but clear in his own mind as to how his so-called "Association of Nations" is to function, not for one moment, either on the floor of the Senate or in the pronouncements which he has made away from Washington, has he permitted us to believe that he is not "for America first."

The records show that while Governor Cox was "a party regular" during his Congressional term, yet he did not, as has been stated by legislative authorities, maintain a specially close relation with "the machine element." He is referred to by those who have made a careful study of his Congressional record as "the facile politician inclined to an interest in progressive policies," his "votes, whether proceeding from native sympathy or from considerations of political expediency" having "in general been of the progressive rather than the stand-pat variety." In Congress he was interested in such subjects as conservation, the initiative and referendum, the Children's Bureau and service pensions, and particularly in the questions of tariff and food for soldiers' homes. His Congressional acts are not here discussed in more detail for the reason that upon recent important issues his record in Congress would throw little light. As Governor of Ohio he has proved himself a progressive in thought and an executive who acts; he has comprehended the problems of the people and he has provided solutions. If he is known as a "social welfare legislation" Governor, is this to his discredit at the present hour? Has the country ever more needed such legislation? While, like Senator Harding, upon some questions he is vague and indefinite, and bombastic and "political" to a maddening degree, upon the supreme issue before the country he speaks out clearly: "Organized government has a definite duty all over the world."



## One chance in three you're eating wrong

*Enough food, probably, but not enough of the right kind. Are you getting these vital elements?*

**T**HIS morning someone probably greeted you with the old familiar question "How are you?"—and you said, "Oh, all right." Most folks say "All right."

But did you really mean it? *Are you feeling right up to the mark—all right. Or do you sometimes feel that the pace is telling on you; that a "rest" is what you need?*

If the truth were known a lot of us would show up below par. Our vital reserves aren't what they should be.

Experts in nutrition say that right here in America one person in every three—rich and poor alike—suffers from malnutrition without realizing it.

In the three square meals you and your family get each day there's enough food probably, but very likely there's *not* enough of the right kind.

If you lack vitality; if a child of yours doesn't seem to thrive, the chances are you're not getting a sufficient supply of certain food elements.

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Sixteen natural food elements (as shown in the panel) are needed to keep the body strong and well. All of these are vital elements.

Nature provides them in the wheat grain more nearly in the proper proportion than in any other food, save possibly milk.

But many of the most important of these elements are lost in modern methods of wheat preparation, through removal of the six outer layers of the kernel, commonly called the bran. The iron, for instance, which

makes red blood to carry the life-giving oxygen to every cell. The phosphorus without which, a scientist said, there could be no thoughts.

And the calcium upon which the development of the whole bone framework of our bodies largely depends.

Only in the entire wheat grain can *all* of the needed elements be secured—the proteids, the carbohydrates, the fats and these vital mineral elements.

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Thousands now draw from Nature's larder these sixteen vital elements in Pettijohn's, a whole wheat breakfast food of rich and gratifying taste.

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Try Pettijohn's if you're feeling below your normal in energy and vim. Give its natural bran laxative a chance to set you right, as nature intended you should be. Give its sixteen vital elements a chance to renew your strength.

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### The sixteen vital elements of nutrition

Oxygen	Sodium
Hydrogen	Chlorine
Nitrogen	Fluorine
Carbon	Silicon
Sulphur	Manganese
Magnesium	Potassium
Phosphorus	Iron
Calcium	Iodine



Each grain of wheat contains all of these 16 vital elements, but 12 of them are largely lost in the removal of the six outer layers of the grain, commonly called the bran.



*If you feel below normal in energy, lack vitality, feel "run down," you're not getting enough of these elements in your food.*

Vitality Scales



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New York, September 1, 1920.  
**PREFERRED CAPITAL STOCK**  
**DIVIDEND NO. 86**

A dividend of one and three-quarters per cent. (1 $\frac{3}{4}$ %) on the Preferred Stock of this Company has this day been declared payable Friday, October 1, 1920, to stockholders of record at the close of business Wednesday, September 15, 1920.

Checks will be mailed by the Guaranty Trust Company of New York.

H. C. WICK, Sec'y. S. S. DE LANO, Treas.

**AMERICAN CAR AND FOUNDRY COMPANY**  
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**DIVIDEND NO. 72**

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# How to Study This Number

## THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

### English, Literature and Composition

#### I. By Their Laws We May Know Them.

1. Debate the question, Resolved, that Governor Cox is a better candidate for the Presidency than Senator Harding, or, Resolved, that Senator Harding is a better candidate, etc., basing your argument on their Congressional records and adhering closely to the classification made by the author, League of Nations, Woman Suffrage, Prohibition, etc.

#### II. Go North, Young Man!

1. Write contrasting paragraphs on the West in pioneer days and Alaska as it is today. Which would you say held the greater number of opportunities for the attainment of wealth, achievement? Compare the rigors of life in each, the climate, the position on the globe, the vegetation, animal life.
2. What would you do if you went to Alaska? Farm? Prospect? Build railroads? Write a paragraph on your choice, giving your reasons.
3. Explain exactly what the author means by saying the United States has a special responsibility in Alaska. Name five ways in which Alaska could be of use to the United States.

#### III. A Billion Dollar Bank.

1. What does Mr. Purinton mean by the question, Do you bank on it (your bank) or just in it. He has "played on" different uses of the word bank. Which of the two is a slang use?
2. The author says that National City Bank men are bankers to the world. How does he explain this in greater detail in the article? Give an oral recitation on any other ways that occur to you, in which the National City Bank as a world institution might be of greater usefulness.
3. What part does the author say character has played in the development of the National City Bank? Is character here used in the sense in which one speaks of a person's character?
4. Write a short narration on the outstanding points of difference between the work day of a stenographer in a commercial office and in the National City Bank. Would she need a pass to enter or leave the building, in your estimation? Would she take her luncheon in some restaurant outside of the building or in the building itself? If the latter, why do you consider this arrangement necessary in a bank?
5. List five safeguards a bank makes against the possibility of an employee's dishonesty; five others protecting the employee should bank robbers enter.

#### IV. What Shape Shall the League Take?

1. In an oral recitation, give the history of the movement toward a League of Nations, starting with the organization of the League to Enforce Peace.
2. In contrasting paragraphs, give a résumé of the author's statements as to the shortcomings of Senator Harding's and Governor Cox's attitude on the League of Nations.
3. Tell briefly why most people prefer a Court to a Council.
4. Prepare a letter to send to Senator Harding asking him to define his attitude toward labor.

#### V. The Senate Despotism.

1. State the function or functions which the author believes the Senate has taken, altho properly belonging to the House of Representatives.
2. Read the article in the *Atlantic Monthly* which the author mentions and then summarize the statements you find there bearing out Mr. Hapgood's statements.
3. Could the alleged wrongful power of the Senate be taken away? Write out your answer.

#### VI. Echoes of the Campaign.

1. What relation does this page bear to the article on the relative achievements of Governor Cox and Senator Harding in Congress? Can you add any later developments to it?

#### VII. Two Kinds of Walking.

1. Criticize this article from a literary standpoint.

### History, Civics and Economics

#### I. The Lithuanian Polish War.

1. Who are the Lithuanians? What is their history? Are they Slavs like the Russians and Poles? What was their relation to the ancient Prussians?
2. Look up Lithuania on a map. Point out Vilna, Grodno, Suwalki and Augustowo. Are they in Poland, Lithuania or Russia? Which of three armies now holds them?
3. If you were a Polish general on what lines would you want to attack Russia? If you were a Russian general on what lines would you want to attack Poland? In either case what advantage would it be to you to march across Lithuanian territory?
4. Would it be to Lithuania's advantage to be independent or to join Poland or to join Russia? Give your reasons.

#### II. Free Fiume.

1. Point out on a map the situation of the proposed "Italian Regency of Quernaro." Where does it get its name?
2. Look up the history of Fiume in the encyclopedia. What historical claims have the Italians on it? Did it ever belong to Italy?
3. What was the status of Fiume before the war? Was it a part of Austria or Hungary? Had it self-government?
4. What is a "free city"? How does it differ from a "free port"? Name some of the important free cities of the past. What would be the advantages and disadvantages of being a free city?
5. Debate the Fiume question. What are the arguments for its annexation to Italy? What are the arguments for its annexation to Yugoslavia?
6. Look up President Wilson's notes on the question in back numbers of *The Independent*.

#### III. Obregon Elected. Mexico Disarming.

1. Why is it worth mentioning that Mexico had a peaceable election?
2. How many presidents has Mexico had since 1911? How many in the preceding twenty-five years?
3. Tell what you have heard before about Villa, Carranza and Obregon.
4. Why are revolution and brigandage more common in Mexico than in the United States or Canada?
5. If you were president of Mexico how would you try to put a stop to such disorders?
6. Show by the map how Lower California might more easily secede than any other Mexican state.

#### IV. Two Sides of the MacSwiney Case. Cox on Ireland.

1. Read the statement of Bonar Law and decide what you would do in the case of Mayor MacSwiney.
2. What would be the effect of his release? What would be the effect of his death in prison from voluntary starvation? As a pure matter of political policy which would be preferable?
3. What action did the British Government take when the suffragets went on a hunger strike? Why do not all prisoners adopt this plan of getting released?
4. What is the principle of self-determination? Does it apply to Ireland? Does it apply to Ulster? Are there any limits to its application?

#### V. Harding on the League, Hoover on the League.

1. How does Senator Harding's idea of a League of Nations differ from that established by the Covenant?
2. How do Cox and Harding differ on this question?
3. Read Article X of the Covenant and explain why it is so much debated. Under this article could American troops be ordered to take part in a European conflict without the consent of the American Government?
4. What is a "justiciable question"? What questions are justiciable? How could a League of Nations settle them?
5. What is the difference between a court and a conference?
6. How could the decisions of a world court be enforced?
7. Look up Root's plan for a world court in last week's *Independent* and explain how it would operate in a case of a disputed boundary or infraction of a treaty.

#### VI. A Billion Dollar Bank.

1. What qualifications should the ideal bank have?
2. "The growing power of the American banker is to be one of the main factors in the reconstruction of the world." Explain this more fully.



# The Independent

FOUNDED 1848

## New Plays

*Paddy the Next Best Thing.* An old-fashioned Irish play with a sprightly colleen. (Shubert Theater.)

*The Woman of Bronze* provides Margaret Anglin an opportunity for emotional acting of a very high order. (Frazee Theater.)

*Blue Bonnet.* A diverting, improbable comedy in which Ernest Truex is at his best as the bashful young cowboy who never owned a gun. (Princess Theater.)

*The Bad Man.* A clever satire on the familiar Mexican melodrama. Acted with delightful humor by Holbrook Blinn as the bandit and James A. Devine as the man from Maine. (Comedy Theater.)

*Genius and the Crowd.* produced by George M. Cohan. The trials and triumphs of artistic temperament. Clever craftsmanship has made, out of a story that is fundamentally unsuited to the stage, a play that is mildly entertaining, even if wholly unconvincing. (George M. Cohan Theater.)

*A Man of the People.* Thomas Dixon's play suffers from the inevitable comparison with last season's Lincoln play by John Drinkwater, but is a much better balanced and more sympathetic presentation of Civil War times than might have been expected from its author. Howard Hall as Abraham Lincoln is an actor who would have carried off an even weaker drama. He is St. Gaudens's statue come to life. (Bijou Theater.)

## Pebbles

Jack's face was so ugly that it had been described as an "offense to the landscape," and he was as poor as he was "homely." One day a neighbor met him and said: "And how are ye, Jack?"

"Mighty bad," he answered, "it's starvation that is staring me in the face."

"Is that so?" said the sympathetic inquirer. "Sure, and it can't be very pleasant for ayther of ye."—*New York Globe.*

"What's worrying you, Jim?" asked a miner as he met another miner.

"These women!" replied the other, a newly married man. "They are queer cattle."

"What's the matter?"

"Well," said the young husband, "this morning the missus chased me out o' the house wi' a frying pan, and when I went home tonight she was crying her eyes out because I hadn't kissed her when I went out!"—*New York Globe.*

A preacher conducting a revival meeting announced that he would speak the next night on "Liars," and he requested his hearers to read in advance the 17th chapter of St. Mark.

The next evening, before opening, he asked all who had read the chapter to hold up their hands. A score or more of hands were raised.

"Well, you're the persons I want to talk to," he said. "There isn't any 17th chapter of St. Mark."—*Lincoln (Neb.) Journal.*

## Including Harper's Weekly

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## Remarkable Remarks

MARY PICKFORD FAIRBANKS—I wear ten-year-old clothes.

GOVERNOR COX—I ask you to forget that you are of any party.

MRS. VINCENT ASTOR—Nothing would make me a woman politician.

W. L. GEORGE—One never knows a woman till he makes loves to her.

CLINTON W. GILBERT Cox is at his best in cross-roads talks to voters.

H. W. GOSSARD—In the figure of every woman lie the possibilities of beauty.

DAVID W. GRIFFITH—The direct road to a man's heart is by way of his vanity.

H. C. NIXON—It is a comfort to think that only one candidate can get elected.

DR. CHARLES M. SHELDON—It does not pay to live at all unless we live for all.

REV. GEORGE CHALMERS RICHMOND—Have mercy on the Governor of Illinois.

OTTO H. KAHN—The blight of the Peace Treaty of Versailles still lies upon Europe.

CORRA HARRIS—You never know what is in a woman unless she becomes a widow.

JOHN BURROUGHS—When we deny God it is always in behalf of some other god.

JOHN CHAPMAN HILDER—It is not necessary to have the shirt, tie and socks match.

CALVIN COOLIDGE—The suspension of one man's dividends is the suspension of another man's pay envelope.

LADY DUFF-GORDON—The dress should be the servant of its wearer and never the wearer the servant of the dress.

C. N. WISNER—There are people in New York City who think the high cost of living is the only Hell there is.

HERBERT HOOVER—About one-third of our people are responsible for most of the extravagance and waste in this country.

ELMER H. DOVER—To all real Americans Harding stands out as a shining light against the barroom talk of Governor Cox.

HARRY COLLINS—Dress is drapery in movement, life wedded to art in a form that blends the beauty of repose with the fascination of rhythm.

DR. PEASE—The corset retards abdominal breathing, interferes with the free action of the diaphragm, and forces the viscera into the pelvic cavity.

ROY K. MOULTON—I will be very glad when the reign of sophists, idealists, nuts, cranks and thimblegriggers thruout the world has drawn to a close.

RHODA BROUGHTON—The girl of 1920 does a great deal more and suffers a great deal less than her elder sisters of the fifties and sixties of last century.

PREMIER LLOYD GEORGE—The Covenant is the trade union of nations where the whole of the community engages to defend and protect a weak member.





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# The Independent

September 25, 1920

## Politicians!

Can They Fool All the People All the Time?

By Chester T. Crowell

**N**OT only the Presidential campaign but scores of minor campaigns are raging today in every state in the Union. We have recently seen the primary system in operation. This is perhaps a very good time to take stock of our political system and contemplate its faults and advantages.

I am one of those who believe that we have an excellent system and an excellent form of government. Our difficulties result almost entirely from failure to live up to the very ordinary standard of honesty requisite to a successful working of our system. It is my observation that our politicians, figuratively speaking, try to burglarize our capitols. They try to enter the structures by tearing down several of the front portals.

To be specific. The charge is made in every campaign that Wall Street or big moneyed interests—national or local, according to the size of the political unit in which an election is being held—has subscribed an enormous sum of money to elect a certain candidate. It is very doubtful if money ever has or ever could control an election in the United States. It is absolutely certain that the American voter would be stirred to furious resentment by an effort to make the campaign fund the most potent factor in the contest. No other act except a resort to arms would be so bitterly resented. This is exactly as it should be. It shows that our people are politically sound, patriotic and capable of self-government.

**Wolf! Wolf!**

What, then, of the politician who sounds a false alarm? This has no specific reference to the fact that Mr. Cox recently sounded such an alarm. This campaign cry is old in American politics. It is used in almost every campaign. But if the cry is false, then in my opinion it is not very far removed from treason.

This is not the only crime committed by politicians of all parties and of all sections of our country. One of the most serious crimes I have observed them committing in broad daylight and before vast multitudes, is to declare themselves firm believers in, and stout champions of any bias or prejudice dominant in the particular community where they happen to be speaking. In the fifteen years during which I have been a close observer of political campaigns—usually as the staff correspondent for a daily newspaper—I have met only four or five public men who bravely dared to educate the public. There was a time in American politics when men of constructive thought, of broad vision, who believed they possessed theories which would advance the interests and happiness of the republic, ran for office in order to obtain publicity for their ideas. In brief, they

were serving the idea rather than themselves. Today such men are publishers. As long as men of that type are active, our Government is safe. Our Government today lives on those ideas. Its hope of the future rests upon such men. There are still such men. If there were not, I believe our Government would fall within thirty days. But there are not enough such men. Our Government is shaken today by the lack of them.

### One Man and Many Cowards

The names which live in our history are nearly all the names of men who went forth to serve ideas and who did not fear to advance them before hostile audiences. William Jennings Bryan is such a man. I am out of accord with him on nearly every theory he has advanced, but I firmly believe his name will live as one of the greatest Americans for the simple reason that he did not fear to espouse the cause of suffrage long before the battle was won; that he fought bravely for prohibition when it was a struggling minority; that he battled for Government ownership when the very suggestion was regarded in many quarters as almost criminal. No man ever faced a more difficult problem than William Jennings Bryan when he went before the American public to make his campaign for free silver. It involved an elucidation of complicated financial theories before the masses of the people. Beaten in his race for the Presidency three times, he still stands as probably the most potent one man in American politics.

By way of contrast, let us consider the ordinary, garden variety, run-of-mill politician:

He charges frightful waste of public money, both when it is true and when it is not true.

He charges abuse of power in almost every campaign, whether it is true or not true.

He charges domination of the Administration by selfish interests, whether it is true or not true.

He makes violent, scandalous charges against the good name of his opponent, whether it is true or not true.

In brief, charges which might very well be made the basis of impeachment are the ordinary campaign clap-trap of almost every contest from constable on up.

After having made charges which bear out nearly every assertion of the Bolsheviks against our form of government, our eloquent candidate closes his address with a soul-stirring plea for 100 per cent Americanism. It is to laugh. Our brave candidate loathes and despises the Socialists. He would put the Bolsheviks in jail or hurl them into the sea. His heart throbs with patriotism. He froths at the mouth with Americanism. But



his hatred of the Bolsheviks and Socialists is quite evidently based largely upon the fact that they are silly enough to believe what he says about the administration of our public affairs.

In my own state of Texas, I know many politicians who have been prohibitionists in the prohibition end of the state and anti-prohibitionists in the anti-prohibition end of the state. Largely as a result of the persistent and perennial labors of peanut politicians, there grew up in Texas the belief that every anti-prohibitionist was a hireling of the breweries. A man's belief in prohibition became the test of his honesty. This made easy sailing for the crooks. Under those circumstances it became highly advisable for a crook to represent the "moral element."

### Does a Weather-Vane Get Your Vote?

I know of no clearer demonstration of the type of man most numerous in county politics than was afforded in the county in which I lived at the time the United States entered the World War. There was a large German vote in that county. For several years these Germans had been reading the war news with tragic interest. They were nearly all pro-German. The remainder of the populace was mildly pro-ally or not interested. At once the politicians became pro-German among the Germans, and they did not mention the issue anywhere else. It had been the custom for ten years or more for minor candidates to go into these German colonies and utter the most absurd flattery of the German people and of the German Government. Actually they slobbered over everything Teutonic. I have been present when men of pure Irish descent declared before these German audiences that they were German. I feel safe in making the assertion that for ten years no American had made the slightest effort to Americanize those German communities. The politicians had kissed their feet and declared them superior to Americans—this in specific terms, using the very words "superior to Americans." But when the United States entered the war, these great-hearted patriots felt their Americanism seething within them. Suddenly the remainder of the community had become keenly interested in the war. The remainder of the community was in the majority. These same men who had behaved like flunkies of a czar did all they could to add to the war hysteria. One politician sought the occasion to brutally beat a fat old German baker on a public street for no other reason than that he thought it would advance his political fortunes. He was one of the men who had told those Germans that he was a German and that he was pro-German in the war.

### The H. C. of 'Lection

These types are numerous in every county in this nation. They are parasites upon our system. They seek favor under our system by tearing at its very foundation stones. The primary system of nomination of candidates has done much to develop this type. Men feel that it is necessary to do something sensational. The primary system has also contributed very largely to the increasing cost of campaigns in this country. I would hesitate about going back to the convention system with all its obvious faults. But so far as my own state of Texas is concerned, I feel certain that the primary system has distinctly lowered the standard of our public service. I believe this is because we have merely placed the primary system on our statute books and not even approximately lived up to the principles upon which it rests.

Under the old convention system a man would become prominent in the state and, when the governorship

was to be bestowed, the small number of men making up a state convention would think of this man. Under the primary system a man must become prominent in the state to such an extent that many hundreds of thousands of men think of him in connection with the governorship. Unless he is a man of unusual attainment and has had some stroke of luck which brought him before the public, his name would not ordinarily occur to hundreds of thousands of voters. He and his friends must then go out and manufacture acquaintance. This costs money. I can remember when \$30,000 was a very ample campaign fund in Texas. Today a quarter of a million dollars is a modest campaign fund. That development has come very rapidly. It is a surprise to vast numbers of our people. Not having analyzed the change in conditions, the ordinary voter is puzzled by the evidences of the use of this money. Instead of the politicians frankly explaining that campaigns are now more expensive, each political camp calls attention to the "vast sum" being expended by the other camp—the voter observes that both statements are true and despairs.

### Behind the Mud Barrage

In my state nearly five hundred thousand votes will be cast in a Democratic primary election. A campaign fund of a quarter of a million dollars means less than fifty cents per voter. That is very, very small. With great constructive issues before the public, it seems to me that one dollar to three dollars per vote would not be too much to spend in a campaign of education. But in every campaign I find leather-lunged, flat-headed mercenaries rushing madly about with their catfish mouths wide open, asserting that the other side is trying to buy the governorship, when they might easily discover, if they cared to, that their own camp is spending the same amount of money or more, that both camps are in dire need of money and that neither of them is having money thrust upon it. Anyone who thinks it is easy to raise money for any sort of a campaign should try it once.

If a public man is sincerely alarmed about the rising costs of political campaigns, there is a way for him to challenge the assumed necessity for large sums. Instead of using so many hired hands and such large quantities of print paper and buttons and bunting and bands and other claptrap, he might set out with a definite budget, which he would make public to begin with, and endeavor to carry a much larger share of the campaign effort personally. He might tell each audience that he depended upon them to pay his expenses to the next place where he intended to speak, and take up a collection right there, truthfully assuring those people that he intended to depend upon this means of raising his money. But I have never seen any of these persons who are so horrified about the use of money in campaigns doing anything of this sort. I really believe it would be one of the best political strokes that a candidate could use. It would be impossible for a candidate for the Presidency, but it is not at all impossible for a candidate for state or district or county office.

I have seen some enormous campaign funds expended. It has not been my observation that any of them were very effective. As a rough estimate it is my guess that about three-fourths of every political campaign fund is a net loss. I have never seen a political campaign that I thought was even approximately efficient.

There is a remedy within easy reach; a way to drive peanut politicians out of the prominence they enjoy in our public affairs today. If a man, or two or three men of high standards will offer themselves as candidates and make the best [Continued on page 387





A village on this plan, with its farms radiating from a community center, would cure the loneliness and discontent that drive so many Americans into crowded cities and uncongenial work

# Applepieville

By Charlotte Perkins Gilman

*Mrs. Gilman has pioneered for many years in the solution of the problems that beset women's progress. In Europe and in the United States she has lectured widely on economics, ethics and sociology, preaching in all these subjects a stimulating program of radical common sense. Mrs. Gilman is the editor of "The Forerunner" and the author of "The Home," "Moving the Mountain," and "Human Work"*

**A**PIE is usually circular—tho I have once seen a square one, but when we say "pie-shaped" we mean the shape of a piece of pie, not of a whole one.

Said piece is a species of triangle with one side curved according to the size of the plate, and the angle varying with the generosity of the person who cuts it.

How this irregular triangle applies to farm land will now be explained.

Our great slow, easy-going American public is beginning to feel anxious about the farm, the farmer, and, most immediately, the farmer's wife.

We are used to seeing the young man leave the farm and go to work in the city.

We have been forced to accept the similar departure of the young woman.

Then father grew morose, and vowed he would not plant what he had not labor power to reap. But now mother is beginning to protest, and we are anxious. She never made any fuss before. She worked for the whole family and the "hands." She had no help, no mechanical conveniences, no rest, no amusements, no society.

She made no complaints but died in relays. It used to take three women to get the average farmer thru life; a girl, who bore many children and was worked to death before forty; a sturdy widow who brought up the children and lasted perhaps twenty years; and then he

married another girl and presently died himself, of well-earned indigestion, leaving her to be the widow for another man.

Besides this facility in dying the farmer's wife went insane more frequently than any other class of women.

The summer Chautauquas, the woman's clubs, and the spread of progressive literature have pretty generally waked this lady up.

She is no longer contented with her "lot." She thinks that "lot" could be cultivated to better advantage.

In a recent survey made by the Department of Agriculture reports have been made on some ten thousand homes, as to the condition of the farm woman.

Eighty-seven per cent of them have no real vacation.

In summer they work over thirteen hours.

Sixty per cent of them have to bring water from the spring, or well, or pump.

They have on the average a seven room house to keep clean.

Ninety-two per cent do some or all of the family sewing.

More than half do garden work, and almost all the poultry is cared for by the women. About a quarter help with the stock and do field work in harvest time.

This report is among thirty-three northern and western states; much worse conditions could be found elsewhere.

If there were any alleviations [Continued on page 393]



# Planning for Tomorrow

A Message from the United States Government to the American People

By George Otis Smith

Director of the United States Geological Survey

**P**LANNING for tomorrow—no other three words can so well define the purpose or describe the program of the United States Geological Survey. Forty years ago Clarence King, the first director of this scientific bureau, in outlining its future, wrote of the development of our material resources as a problem demanding scientific research. "In the industrial conquest of a continent the tide of victory has never ebbed," said Director King, but he added that without adequate information in the possession of the Federal Government as to the needs of industry, without scientific knowledge of all the elements of national wealth, commerce is mere transportation, industry is short-lived, and the equilibrium of population with local resources is not to be attained. This view of the value of facts has persisted and has become the foundation of the Geological Survey's policy, and for forty years the self-appointed task of this branch of the public service has been to know the natural resources of America better.

Stock-taking is a continuous performance with the Geological Survey—the field activities of its scientists and engineers include mapping the national domain, measuring the flow of the rivers and determining the country's mineral wealth. The sun-bronzed young man bending over a plane-table on the edge of a South Carolina swamp, or the more heavily clad engineer lowering a current meter thru a hole on an ice-covered western stream, or the geologist hunting for oil seepages in the Alaskan wilderness—each is simply a representative member of the Geological Survey's field force of specially trained men who are each day adding to our

knowledge of what this country of ours is, what it contains, and not only what it is good for, but what it is best fitted for. Such is the democratic route to wise utilization of national resources.

The Federal function of supplying the people with basic facts involves a program that changes with the decades. Conservation was not a political issue in 1879, even tho Congress was outspoken in its intent that this newly established scientific bureau should do its part in preventing waste of natural resources. At that time the exploration and exploitation stages in national development were slowly passing and the need of a surer basis for community building was realized. The Survey's field of greatest endeavor has always been the West, where it has helped to discover and utilize the wealth of mountain and of valley. Yet even today its activities exhibit the wide contrast between the pioneer work of the Government explorer in Alaska and the more detailed examination of some ore deposit in Alabama, where development has reached the intensive stage; the point of view changes considerably with the longitude.

**T**HE great expansion of American industry today brings us face to face with an insatiable demand for raw materials that may exceed the domestic supply, for even the United States, most favored of nations in abundance and variety of minerals, is not independent of other continents. The Federal geologist in his investigations of the raw material requirements of a war program was led far beyond our national boundaries and so it happens that as a by-product of its war work the Geological Survey has now in press a "World Atlas of Commercial Geology." This publication in its original form prepared for the Peace Conference and now planned for the desk of the business man as well as of the college student, will exhibit graphically the distribution of mineral wealth over the entire surface of the earth.

No longer is it sufficient to know America only; the world view of the raw material situation is necessary if we are to build safe our industrial structure. What America can best spare and what America most needs to supplement its domestic supply are questions that cannot too soon be answered in planning for industries that are to last. The geologist's responsibility in making his part of the inventory of the nation's assets is all the greater, for the reason that of the minerals so essential to industry there is but one crop to harvest. However difficult it may be to measure the limits to our coal beds, or our ore deposits, or our underground reservoirs of petroleum, the supply is surely limited, and every ton of anthracite or copper ore or barrel of oil that we use is one less for our children's children to use.

The United States Geological Survey has another duty in planning for tomorrow, not only raw material but energy is needed to insure the life and health of American industry. In its study of the water resources of the country, the Geological Survey made its earlier contributions largely to the end of putting water upon arid land, the pioneer appeals of Director Powell for Federal irrigation at last finding an answer in the cre-



George Otis Smith, Director of the United States Geological Survey, is not only the oldest bureau chief in the Department of the Interior but one of the oldest, in point of service, in the entire governmental organization. Mr. Smith came up from the ranks. He has held his present position for thirteen years, serving under Presidents Roosevelt, Taft and Wilson; and despite the high cost of living, has not been lured away by outside offers of more money. He is intensely interested in getting the basic facts about this country's resources



ative work of the Reclamation Service; but now the authoritative stream flow data collected by the Federal engineers are used not only in determining the highest use of the streams on the public lands, whether for irrigation or for power, but in planning power development all over the country. To lighten the load of labor and indeed to furnish the energy in the large measure which is required by industry, but for which there is no human supply available, is a project which cannot be longer delayed. For this task the results of over thirty years' investigations are ready and herein lies one great distinction between a long-term study by a scientific bureau and an opportunist investigation by a newly created commission or war-board; the slowly accumulated facts and the carefully worked out conclusions possess an accuracy and perspective that better fit them for inclusion in plans that are to last. The political question of the hour may demand and receive a quick answer, but the economic problem of national scope requires a longer course of treatment.

The latest fruit of the Geological Survey's study of the power problem is the super-power investigation now under way. The recognition of the North Atlantic seaboard region as our industrial front-line trench in any international competition led the present Congress to authorize a special study of the power requirements of both the industries and the railroads between Boston and Washington. Electrification is the only solution of the transportation problems that now confront us and the rapidly mounting fuel costs force home the conviction that we must make a far better use of our coal. Hitching up every feasible water power with large, well planned steam stations, should furnish a power supply that will be adequate, dependable, and relatively cheap. Such planning is necessary to meet our demand for energy even today, but it must also provide for the industrial expansion we confidently expect is bound to take place tomorrow.

Industrial strategy that plans future campaigns must provide at the front adequate supplies of both material and energy. But to determine what will be adequate tomorrow is itself a major problem in statecraft. We are prone to underestimate the current growth of our country. The results of the statistical inquiries long made by the Geological Survey afford some historic grounds for prophecy. In the lifetime of most of us,

## COPPER

74 1870

18.1 LBS IN 1918

## PETROLEUM

13 1870

3.38 BBLs IN 1918



Know America is the slogan of the field force of specially trained men in the Geological Survey service. This engineer, lowering a current meter thru a hole in an ice-covered Western stream is taking stock of our natural resources

Conservation was not the issue it is today along about 1870 when the Geological Survey bureau was new. Since then, however, not only has the population of the United States trebled but its consumption of coal and iron has increased twenty fold—its consumption of copper and petroleum, seventy fold! No wonder that the Survey—realizing that there is only one mineral crop to harvest—gave official warning of this twelve years ago

while the population of the United States has trebled, our consumption of such raw materials as coal and iron, copper and petroleum has increased about twenty-fold and seventy-fold respectively. The raw material issue will not disappear with the years but rather may some time force a national crisis.

For this reason the Survey collects and publishes weekly figures of coal output and monthly figures of oil output—the finger must be kept on the pulse, for the nation in these days cannot wait for an annual diagnosis. Nor are the facts of energy consumption less enlightening; the monthly reports made by the 3000 central power stations of the country to the Geological Survey show that the output of electric current last year exceeded even the war "peak" and already in 1920 the output is 16.7 per cent in excess of that of the corresponding period in 1919. As a barometer of business and industrial conditions, this monthly statement of the electricity put on the wires for use by American citizens deserves careful consideration. The war expansion is past, but our country continues to develop.

In a nation whose industrial progress is by leaps and bounds the look ahead must be a long one. The official warning by the United States Geological Survey twelve years ago that our consumption of petroleum was increasing faster than our production might well have been heeded in that day of plenty; measures of economy should have been adopted when there was more oil to save. Just now the American problem is both a fuel and a power problem—demand continues to increase faster than supply.

Coal and oil are needed to keep the wheels turning—not to weave O. D. cloth, nor to forge guns, nor to make ammunition, but to grind out wheat, fashion farm machinery, make shoes, light our streets and homes, and above all, carry our goods to market. Most of the power that drives these wheels comes from coal, the steady movement of which from mine to market is like the flow of the very life blood of an industrial nation; yet more spectacular, because newer, is the part played by gasoline in generating automotive power. So every citizen, whether the owner of a limousine or a farm tractor or simply the humble strap-hanger, may well watch the weekly output of coal or of oil; our daily life depends upon our having enough fuel to keep the wheels going round. The nation needs to provide more power and to use less fuel than it does now in making that power.

While it is the duty of every American to think in terms of the America of tomorrow, it is plainly the function of every Government scientific bureau to provide the basic facts from which plans may be wisely formulated. To plan for tomorrow is present-day patriotism.

Washington, D. C.



# Our Greatest Victory

## The First Complete Story of Our Combat Operations

By Captain Joseph Mills Hanson

**N**ORTH and northeast of Verdun, in the rugged hills of the Meuse, among which lie the remains of Fort de Souville, Fort de Vaux and Fort de Douaumont and the dust of the vanished villages of Vaux, Fleury and Douaumont; Louvemont, Beaumont and Samogneux, is a region possibly twelve kilometers long and six broad which has seen, probably, the most prolonged single battle and the most prodigal expenditure of human blood of any area of similar extent in the world. For this narrow area, every foot of whose surface has been turned many times by bursting shells, was the center of the battle of Verdun, which, beginning with the furious attack of the army of the German Crown Prince on February 21, 1916, on the outlying forts along the crest of the heights, reached its high tide only at the end of the following June when the assailants attained their extreme advance at Fleury and in the moat of Fort de Souville, less than four kilometers from the outskirts of Verdun, and practically terminated on the fifteenth of December with the last counterattack of the French which drove the Germans back to the line, averaging about ten kilometers from the city, which remained the stabilized front until the autumn of 1918. During the course of this battle the Crown Prince expended 56½ divisions in his vain efforts to reduce the fortress whose constant menace to the hinge of their Western front was the ever-present nightmare of the German high command and he lost upon those shell-ploughed slopes so many scores of thousands of his best troops that there resulted a permanent reduction in the man power of the central empire, confessed by the German soldiers in the nickname which they applied to Verdun—"the charnel house of Germany."

It was from the French front line, thus stabilized at the end of 1916, that there was launched on the 8th of October, 1918, the attack of General Claudel's 17th French Corps, a part of the right wing of the First American Army, which was destined finally to free Verdun from its state of semi-investment of more than four years' duration. In this region, appealing to the French, with an awe and eloquence scarcely comprehensible to their new American allies, of gigantic struggles past and hosts of comrades slain, American and French divisions were to share the toil and the glory of hurling the common enemy back from positions as strongly fortified and as vitally necessary to his continued possession of the invaded regions of France and Belgium as any on the Western front.

As has been pointed out in a previous article, in ex-



This map shows the River Aire, the Argonne Forest, the heights of the Meuse from which the German army continually bombarded advancing American troops, and Verdun, German stronghold, afterward nicknamed "the charnel house of Germany"

tending the front of attack of the First American Army to the east bank of the Meuse, General Pershing's primary object, to which the freeing of Verdun was merely a corollary, was the reduction of what we have termed the great eastern bastion of the enemy's Meuse-Argonne front; that is, the portion of the Heights of the Meuse from which his artillery was continually bombarding the advancing troops of General Bullard's and

General Cameron's corps west of the river. Added to the advantage of eliminating this flank fire would be that of compelling the German divisions east of the Meuse to remain there in defense of the heights instead of being available for reinforcing the hard-pressed troops of General von der Marwitz's right, struggling to maintain themselves along the Aire and in the Argonne Forest, while, if sufficiently pushed, they would even require reinforcements themselves, thus further weakening the resistance to the main American attack. The skilful coordination of effort at all points along the wide battle front is aptly illustrated when it is recalled that on October 7 General Muir's 28th Division and General Duncan's 82nd Division launched their attack on the escarpments of the Argonne at and north of Chatel-Chehery. This attack was so timed as to draw the attention of the Germans from the opposite flank, where General Claudel opened his offensive on the following morning.

The 17th Corps, as it lay at dawn of October 8, consisted of General Bell's 33rd Division, which had been transferred from General Bullard's command to that of General Claudel, lying on the west bank of the Meuse opposite Consenvoye; the 18th French Division lying in the stabilized trenches from Samogneux, on the eastern bank of the river, to a point two and one-half kilometers east of that village, opposite to the Bois de Caures; and General Belenet's 26th French Division, similarly extending from the flank of the 18th Division a distance of two and one-half kilometers to Beaumont. Ready for introduction into the battle line between the 18th French and the 33rd United States Divisions as his French divisions should push northward, General Claudel had the 29th United States Division under General Charles G. Morton. In reserve he had General C. R. Edwards' 26th Division. Beaumont was the right limit of the front of attack, but east of the 17th Corps lay the 33rd French Corps under General Leconte with the 15th and 10th French Colonial Divisions in line, and beyond that General Blondlat's 2nd French Colonial Corps. General Guerin's 15th Colonial Division was to execute a strong demonstration in favor of the main



attack while the 10th Division and General Blondlat's corps were to stand ready to extend the front of the latter whenever the opportune time should arrive.

It should be clearly borne in mind that the attack in this region was directed against the northern part of the long ridge extending from Dun-sur-Meuse southeast along the east side of the river past Verdun, St. Mihiel, Commercy and Toul to finally merge into the Vosges Mountains of Alsace. The Heights of the Meuse which were captured by the Americans in the battle of the St. Mihiel salient were a part of the same Heights of the Meuse which General Claudel's corps was now about to attack. In 1914 the Germans had overrun the portion of them at St. Mihiel and the portion north of Verdun, while the French had been able to retain the portion lying east and southeast of Verdun. The front line from which the 18th and 26th French Divisions were to move forward stretched from the level of the Meuse up over the crest of the heights so that the advance of these divisions northward would have to be made diagonally up the face of the ridge with their left flank in the valley and their right flank on the crest. As they pushed north, the 18th toward Haumont and the Bois de Brabant, the 26th toward the Bois de Caures and Flabas, leaving an ever-widening space between their left flank and the river, flowing off to the northwest, the 29th American Division would gradually be introduced between the 18th French and the 33rd American Divisions and would drive north from Samogneux and Brabant against the Bois de Consenvoye and the Bois Plat-Chene. Last of all, as the advancing front came up level with Consenvoye, General Bell's division, crossing the river at that place, would further extend the attack against the Bois de Chaume and the village of Sivry, at the head of the bend above Brioules.

All of the territory to be traversed was a perfect labyrinth of trenches and wire entanglements making up the several tellings of the Germans, the front ones facing the French lines, the rear ones, among which were interspersed their heavy artillery positions and observatories, tending more to the northwest along the main crest of the ridge from Ornes by Flabas to the Grande Montagne, the culminating summit of this region. Thence they swung west across the Meuse in the vicinity of Brioules. This area of rough hills, fur-

This is the seventh of a series of articles in which Captain Hanson tells the complete story of what the American troops did on the battle line in France—a series written from a thorough study of the official records and with the background of actual experience overseas. "Up the Line from Cantigny" was published in The Independent of March 27, "Those Desperate Days at Chateau-Thierry" in the April 24 number, "Zero Hour Along the Marne" May 29, "One Day's Work at St. Mihiel" June 19-26, "Covered with Mud and Glory" July 24-31, and "Getting on to Berlin" August 28.

rowed by deep ravines and densely clothed with forests, ascending abruptly in the summit of the Grande Montagne, seven kilometers north of Samogneux and five kilometers northeast of Consenvoye, to an elevation of more than 550 feet above the level of the river, was the meeting place of all the German defensive zones; "the exact point," as General Pershing phrases it in his final report, "on which the German armies must pivot in order to withdraw from northern France." It was naturally to be expected that the German fortifications here, covering their Metz-Valenciennes railway, would be as formidable as skill could make them and that the resistance of their forces would be as desperate as had anywhere been developed.

During the night of October 7-8, the French engineers threw pontoon bridges across the Meuse at Samogneux and Regneville and at dawn those of General Bell's division, under intense shell fire, laid one at Brabant and one at Consenvoye. In order to gain the maximum surprise effect, no preliminary bombardment was fired, but at 5 o'clock on the morning of the 8th the two French divisions went over the top shielded by a heavy barrage. They promptly swept thru Haumont and the Bois de Caures, taking many prisoners and immediately thereafter Colonel B. A. Caldwell's 58th Infantry Brigade of the 29th Division attacked from the bank of the canal between Samogneux and Brabant, driving with few casualties across the lower ground and into the Bois de Consenvoye. This cleared the flank of the 33rd Division and at 9 a. m., Colonel Abel Davis' 132nd Infantry crossed the river on the bridge at Brabant and pushed north four kilometers into the Bois de Chaume. At nightfall the front line had achieved an advance varying from one kilometer at the extreme flanks to six in the center and it was well up among the ravines and ridges making down from the Grande Montagne.

Difficulties, however, now multiplied, as they had after the initial attack on the Meuse-Argonne front. The enemy, recovering from his surprise, began utilizing to the full the advantages of his position and his huge concentrations of artillery and machine guns. Progress, from the morning of the 9th, became slow and it was attained at the cost of hard fighting and heavy losses in the broken, obscure country. In order to approach the enemy's rear lines at right angles the Franco-American divisions were obliged gradually to turn the direction of their advance northeastward on the pivot of their attack near Beaumont. By this movement the front of the divisions on the left was expanded, fanwise, requiring the constant extension of the troops there and the introduction of new units. Both brigades of General Mor-



The Tenth French and Second American armies pushed the German army thru the Valley of the Sarre River and Metz back toward the Rhine. On this map of the general area over which they fought is shown the relative position of Metz, Verdun, the River Meuse, Luxembourg

Both brigades of General Mor- [Continued on page 389]



# The War Bills

By Edwin E. Slosson

THE war was fully paid for on the day it closed. All its losses and expenses had been settled for—by somebody. Of course we believe that there should be a readjustment of burdens, that the Germans should pay for the property they destroyed in Belgium and the Austrians for the damage they did in Serbia and that those who helped out their governments in the hour of peril by the loan of their money should ultimately be reimbursed with interest. But these are mere matters of bookkeeping, transfers of obligations from one person to another. Such exchanges, however just and necessary, add nothing to the wealth of the world; on the contrary they always consume something and sometimes a great deal. In international affairs as in private affairs it occasionally costs more to collect a debt than is got out of it.

We often hear it said that the war has "robbed the future," "borrowed from the future," "mortgaged the future" and the like. Obviously the war could do nothing of the sort for the simple reason that the future is not the present and the present is all we have at our command. Such language is of course figurative, but it is a common error to mistake figurative language for fact. We could not waste the wealth of future generations because that wealth is not yet in existence. We could not waste the wealth of past generations to any great extent for they did not leave us much. The people of Europe after working for 2500 years under more or less civilized conditions had saved up less than a thousand dollars apiece (\$915 as I figure it). That is what their total property amounted to at the beginning of the war. Not a large part of this was consumed in the war, for the devastated region was comparatively small and most of the accumulated wealth was unsuitable for war purposes. In using up our coal and oil supplies so fast, in cutting down trees to bury in trenches and in digging out iron to sink it in the sea we may indeed be said to have wasted our resources and deprived posterity of what it will need. But for the most part the war paid its way as it went on by supplies produced for that purpose, food raised the same year, uniforms and munitions made a few weeks before.

The total cost of the war is estimated by the experts of the Carnegie Endowment to have been \$338,000,000,000. This includes the indirect losses, such as the falling off of production, the economic value of the lives sacrificed and the damage to neutrals. The net economic cost of the war to the active belligerents was probably about \$223,000,000,000. This is \$350 per capita. That is to say each inhabitant of the fifteen countries involved spent on the average more than a third as much as he and all his ancestors had accumulated from the beginning of historic time down to 1914. But this is less than the average annual income (\$360) of people working under such conditions as prevail in the United States. Americans, being the richest people in the world as well as the most reckless when they are in a hurry, spent more money than any other single belligerent after they had made up their minds to enter the war.

Before the war the belligerent countries were getting richer at the rate of \$15,000,000,000 a year. This was their annual increase in wealth. If they had kept on working instead of fighting they might have been saving \$50,000,000,000 instead of wasting \$200,000,000,000.

The national debts which before the war were considered almost unbearable burdens have been increased from \$27,000,000,000 to over \$200,000,000,000. To pay the interest on these debts as well as the running expenses of the Government will take taxes amounting to 5 per cent

of the total income of the Americans, 28 per cent of the income of the Englishmen and 40 per cent of the income of the Frenchmen. Or to put it another way the American will hereafter have to spend fifteen of his 300 work days in working for his Government, the Englishman will have to spend eighty-four and the Frenchman 120 days a year working for his Government. The German will have to devote ninety days every year to the payment of his own internal war debt and administration expenses and much more if he pays to the Allies all he has promised to pay by the Treaty of Versailles. Westward the course of indebtedness takes its way. Germany owes England and France; they owe the United States. We owe ourselves.

But the point to be borne in mind is that these figures of indebtedness do not represent losses or gains in the total of the world's wealth. If all governments repudiated them tomorrow or everybody burnt up their bonds the world as a whole would be neither richer nor poorer. Such a general cancellation of obligations would apparently wipe out at once the whole cost of the war. This "perpetual burden upon posterity," as we hear it called, would vanish, yet posterity would be in no wise relieved and nobody would be better off. On the contrary we all would be worse off for the wholesale disowning of debts would be highly unjust to individuals and nations and ruinous to the financial system and commercial credit of the world, so nobody with any more brains than a Bolshevik is likely to advocate converting war bonds into scraps of paper. But if these \$200,000,000,000 of national and international obligations could be so easily reduced to zero in a moment by the use of a match on the part of the creditor or by a simple shake of the head on the part of the debtor it is evident that they do not constitute real wealth in themselves and that they do not measure the extent of the destruction of pre-existent property by the war.

The coming generation will not be much poorer on account of the war, but will be less rich than it might have been. It starts in the race not far behind the scratch of 1914. Its handicap is psychological rather than material.

## Back to School

"GOOD morning, children. Back from your vacation and ready (if not exactly eager) for study. We have everything ready for you, except the teachers. Mr. Jones has left us because he could make three times his present salary laying brick. Miss Smith has become a stenographer. Miss Robinson has starved to death. The remaining teachers will take their classes until the vacancies can be filled."

## This Equal Suffrage Planet

WOMAN suffrage has now become the rule rather than the exception the world around. Only five regions remain in which the question of votes for women is still an open issue: (1) Latin Europe; (2) Latin America; (3) Balkan Europe; (4) "native" Asia; (5) colonial Africa. The backwardness of the Latin countries on the suffrage issue is probably due to the influence of the Roman law, including its development in the Code Napoleon, which assigns to woman an inferior position in the eyes of the law. Nevertheless, active suffrage propaganda is being carried on in France, in Italy and in many Latin American countries and another decade will probably see South America and southern Europe standing with North America and northern Europe on the platform of equal rights. Balkan Europe is behind the procession simply because it is in every way a neglected and unenlightened part of the world;



ten or fifteen years of education will remedy this. The only real obstacle remaining to woman suffrage is met with outside the pale of Christendom in the social and religious prejudices of the Turk, the Hindu, the Chinaman and the Japanese. Those whose religion countenances polygamy or teaches the subjection of woman to man will be the last converts to woman suffrage. In the last analysis, therefore, the woman suffrage propaganda will narrow down to the support of ordinary Christian missions.

## Concerning the League

By Norman Hapgood

**W**HEN Colonel House last sailed for the other side many were surprised to see this cautious and taciturn statesman going into newspaper work. But as usual the Colonel knew what he was doing. He can always separate the big things from the other things. The big thing now is to make an effort, however desperate the chances, to arouse the people of this prosperous country, in order that they may take a far-seeing and heroic view of the world's life, instead of becoming a nation of quitters and following the lead of Henry Cabot Lodge to national disgrace. Colonel House describes conditions with such moderation that nobody can take offense and nobody who knows his record can doubt that he carefully understands. Here is one example:

Strangely enough, the arguments used against the League by the Bolshevik government are in all essentials the same as those used by the opponents of the League in the United States. This attitude is directly opposed to that of organized labor thruout the world. This is a hopeful sign.

Labor and liberal opinion in every land, save Bolshevik Russia, are for the League. Bolshevik Russia is for the rule of the proletariat in all countries working as a unit as opposed to the idea of the League, which is an association of governments for the purpose of maintaining peace among nations and bringing about a better understanding between citizens of every class and creed.

In another article the Colonel points out that matters of the most intense interest to us are now being settled in regard to Asia by England and Japan and there is nobody to see that the League takes action to see that the settlement in Asia is made with our interests and principles in mind.

Mr. Hoover is another American whose understanding of the situation abroad makes his opinions of value on the needs and the meanings of the Treaty, even tho it has to be acknowledged that the morass of partizan politics into which he allowed himself to be tempted makes it difficult for him to speak with the freedom and authority that might have been his. On September 8 he again exprest himself on the League. The Treaty, he said, comprized a total of 600 articles, of which some twenty-seven comprize the Covenant, and of which only eight or ten have been under criticism, particularly Article 10 (which is so vigorously defended by Mr. Taft). Leaving out these debated sections the remainder, in Mr. Hoover's opinion, "are not only the basis of European stability, but are of great political and economic importance to the United States." Many of these matters of importance to us "could not be settled by a separate treaty with Germany even if we desired it." Of the League itself he said:

It is an actual going concern that has gained in membership ten nations during the last sixty days, to a total of thirty-nine nations, representing nearly 75 per cent of the population of the globe, with a number of new nations applying for admission. . . . It might be, if we refused to enter it in some form, that we would find ourselves in the ridiculous position of having to sign a treaty with the League officials themselves, in order to trade in these League-governed areas.

Senator Harding, facing a world-situation of this size, has the task, congenial to his disposition, of taking refuge in a mass of long and silly sentences that nobody can parse. His "object all sublime" is to make Mr. Taft, Mr. Wick-

ersham, and Mr. Hoover believe we are going into the League, while he makes Senator Johnson and Senator Lodge believe we are not. The essential aspect of this confusion is that Senator Johnson and his followers have Harding by the hair, with a firm grip. Tom Watson is going to the Senate from Georgia pledged against the League. Reed is against it. Other parochial Democrats who were kept in line by Wilson will be glad to help Hiram Johnson kick Harding all around the lot if he should show any disposition to fight for generosity, honor, and intelligence.

## America First

**A** GOOD motto. But it comes with ill-grace from those who would have America last to take a part in the councils of the nations.

## Why Not Lithuania?

**T**HE Colby note of last month declaring that the United States would not recognize any of the alien nations that have split off from the Russian empire, except Finland, Poland and Armenia, was a hard blow to the liberty-loving Lithuanians in this country as well as in Europe.

There are about 800,000 Lithuanians in the United States. They are as a rule laborious and loyal. They over-subscribed their quota of Liberty bonds. They put some 30,000 of their young men in the American army to fight for self-determination and the rights of small nations.

But now when the fight is won they find the United States Government refusing to recognize the right of the ancient realm of Lithuania to freedom from its Russian rulers. Not only that, but the Colby note asserts that it will never recognize the Lithuanian and other new republics until after the Soviet Government is overthrown. Not only that, but the Colby note insists that the "true boundaries of Russia . . . should include the whole of the former Russian empire" with the three exceptions mentioned. Not only that, but the Colby note asks the allied and associated nations to join the United States in a declaration in favor of the restoration of Russia to its original limits except for Finland, Poland and Armenia.

But in the old empire of the Czars the true Russians were in a minority, ruling ruthlessly the alien peoples they had conquered from the Baltic to the Pacific. Suppose old Russia restored under as democratic a government as you please, what chance would 3,000,000 Lithuanians have to get from the other 150,000,000 permission to withdraw? No, their only chance for independence is to take it now when Russia is weak.

It may be that it is unwise of the Lithuanians to seek independence. But anyhow they want it and they have got it and they are going to try to hold on to it in spite of the United States. They have fought for their freedom against the Germans, the Bolsheviks, and the Poles. They now hold undisputed possession of nearly all their ethnographic territory. Their boundary on the north has been determined by agreement with Latvia. Their boundary on the west will be determined by a plebiscite. Their boundary on the east has been settled by treaty with Russia and in compliance with this the Bolshevik troops have been withdrawn from all Lithuanian territory except the Grodno district. Their boundary on the south is disputed by the Poles, but the conference now being held at Miriampol may soon settle that.

Lithuania has now been recognized as having a *de facto* government by all the leading nations—except the United States. Italy has recognized it as a government *de jure* as well as *de facto*. We should naturally expect that the United States would be the first to welcome the Lithuanian republic instead of the last to hold out against it, for Americans have taken a large part in its formation. A Chicago lawyer, B. Balutis, is its foreign minister. Americans are





Whitlaw in London Passing Show

The breaking-point

## Will the Worm Turn?



Harding in Brooklyn Daily Eagle



Harding in Brooklyn Daily Eagle

ON THE MAT

The fight would have a very different aspect if the public rose to an active interest in it



Pell Mell G.C.C.C., London

Mr. Middleclass: "Well, it's not so much protection in a storm like this, but I'll have to put the old umbrella up again!"

Harding in Brooklyn Daily Eagle  
TOO BIG TO HAVE ANY RIGHTS?

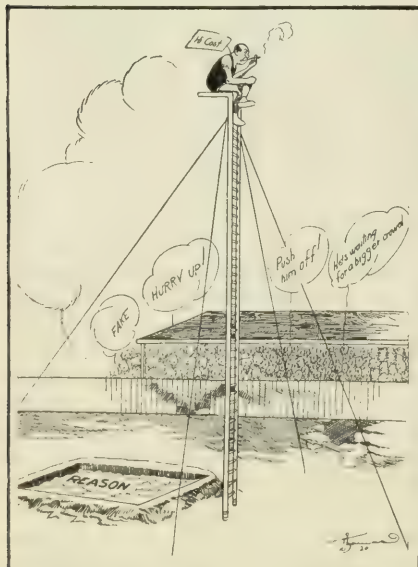
A cartoon comment on the recent strike of subway and trolley operators in Brooklyn



London Passing Show

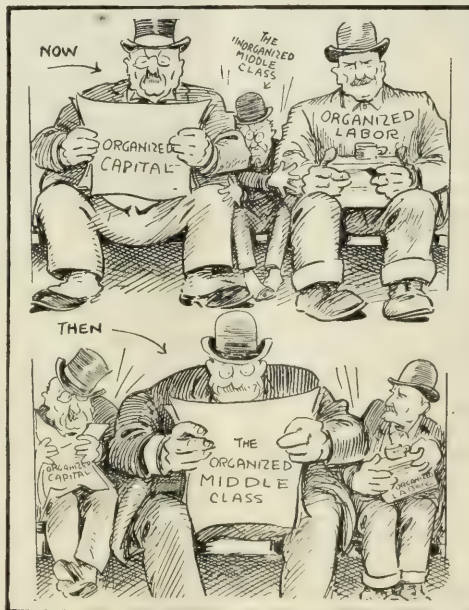
THE MODERN DICK TURPIN

Highway robbery loses the old picturesque in its present day methods, but it has practically the same effect on the family pocketbook



Thomas in London Passing Show

Will the well-known champion "Hi Cost" ever make his promised jump down within Reason? The crowd is getting rather skeptical but is still eager to be shown



Morris for George Mathew Adams Service

If the middle class should organize!

Right: SPEAKING OF GIANTS  
Another view of what would happen if the middle class majority of the general public acquired class consciousness





assisting in the training of its army and airmen. Lithuanians in America have formed companies for opening up trade with Lithuania, but they cannot do it because the United States refuses to appoint or receive consuls. Consequently British dealers are getting a monopoly of the trade of the Baltic provinces. Emigrants to America have a hard time getting thru because the United States declines to recognize Lithuanian passports. Not far from one-quarter of the Lithuanians of Europe had come to America before the war and they are finding great difficulty in sending or getting money or keeping in communication with their relatives in the old home because, in the opinion of the American Government, there is no such nation as Lithuania on the map. Uncle Sam is the only one who can't see it. Why has he this blind spot in his eye?

The Poles, who are close kindred to the Russians, are trying to break away and become independent. Our Government quite rightly applauds their efforts and promises them all possible aid. The Lithuanians who are not Slavs at all, but of quite another race, language and religion from the Russians, are equally determined to secure separation. But our Government refuses to recognize them.

### The Issue

THE issue of the campaign is this: after next March will there be more children christened Harding Coolidge Smith or Cox Roosevelt Smith?

### The Missing Bonehead

IT must now be admitted that the Treaty of Versailles cannot be carried out in its entirety. The trouble is not with Article 10, but with Article 246, which requires the delivery within six months to His Britannic Majesty of the skull of the Sultan Mkwawa, late of German East Africa. Exactly why King George had such a longing for this particular sample of negrohead has not been made clear to a wondering world. To be sure his cousin, the Kaiser, wanted it so bad in 1896 that he offered a reward of 6000 rupees for it, but that was when it was attached to the shoulders of the Sultan, who was seriously interfering with the German plans for the peaceful penetration of his native jungle. Accordingly, Captain von Prinz set out to capture Mkwawa in his fastness near Lake Tanganyika. The Sultan was surrounded but suicided rather than surrender.

From here on authorities differ. Some say that he bequeathed his head as Mirabeau would do, to his followers, and that it was carried as the symbol of sovereignty back to the tribe. But on the other hand Sergeant Merkl delivered to the German fort a head which he said he had severed from the Sultan's own shoulders and claimed the 6000 rupees reward. The head was put in alcohol to keep until it could be taken down to Dar-es-Salaam on the coast and cashed in. But before this could be done the alcohol was drawn off by somebody who wanted it very much and the uncovered head was found to bear no resemblance to the defunct monarch. Either Sergeant Merkl had tried to palm off the wrong cranium on the German Government or Mkwawa's faithful warriors had broken into the fort at night and carried off his skull to bury it in the tomb of his ancestors and had substituted in the alcohol jar the head of another negro freshly procured for that purpose. This latter is the story that Merkl tells and his statement is authenticated by the widow of Captain von Prinz, since the captain himself was killed in the Great War. Affidavits to this effect have been presented to the British Government and the German papers express the hope that the Allies will be satisfied with this explanation and not occupy the Ruhr valley and Frankfort as a penalty for the German failure to comply with the Treaty in this respect. But it seems that the war was fought in vain so far as this one of its aims is concerned.

### Boiling with Apathy

IF no romantic murder case takes place; if no new yacht races or baseball marvels or pugilistic championships usurp the first pages of the newspapers; if Mexico will start a closed season for revolutions; if the fall styles contain nothing sensational—then we may expect a little publicity for the election before November. We are told, of course, what a stirring campaign this is, and it really is a little more exciting than Judge Parker's attempt to take the Presidency while Roosevelt wasn't looking in 1904, but to anyone who can remember 1896—!

### Election or Elimination?

By Preston Slosson

"YOU never vote f'r a man, Hinmissy, you vote agin his opponent," said Mr. Dooley. If you doubt Mr. Dooley's wisdom listen to scraps of election gossip or read the campaign correspondence in the papers. Are not the recurrent phrases such as these: "Whom shall we pick to defeat—"; "I can't stand—"; "I'll never vote for a man who would—"; "Our duty at this election is to prevent—"? Politics, like war, seems to be a game won by the general who makes the fewest blunders. Every party that is in power by the mere fact of being in power makes more enemies than friends, for benefits are taken for granted and every error of act or word is laid up for use as a deadly missile at the next election. Hence the so-called swing of the pendulum in politics. Men tend to fly not toward some yet unattained paradise but away from an existing purgatory. They vote the ticket which for the moment repels them least.

Pure enthusiasm for a man or a cause is the privilege of a few idealists and hero-worshippers. Most of us can work up enthusiasm most readily if it can be directed *against* something. In one of H. G. Wells's political novels a doctrinaire tries to give currency to the phrase "love and fine thinking" as the slogan of a political campaign. A practical politician takes issue with him: "Hate's the driving force. What is morality? Hate of rotten goings on. What's patriotism? Hate of interloping foreigners. What's radicalism? Hate of lords. What's Toryism? Hate of disturbance. If you couldn't get hate into an election people wouldn't poll."

Isn't that so? Do reformers shout "Put the experts in" or "Turn the rascals out"? Cities overthrow machine rule because they are roused to anger by the misdeeds of the local plunderbund. Then, at the next election, they return to the regime of bosses, graft and civic corruption because "we are sick of these highbrow reformers." New York politics, for example, is one perpetual shudder between the devil of Tammany and the deep sea of Puritanism. Socialism is in the main not a constructive effort toward a collectivist social order but a blind revolt against capitalism. The unifying principle of Republicanism appears to be a dread of rule by Southern politicians. The unifying principle of Democracy appears to be a dread of rule by the business men of Boston and New York. In our party platforms "view with alarm" bears ten times the emphasis of "point with pride." The only thing that all parties seem to be agreed about is that the nation instead of advancing along a solid highroad of progress is perpetually reeling on the brink of the bottomless pit and every election is a frantic clutch to save our liberties from annihilation. The poor constitution has to be "saved" afresh every four years from autocracy or plutocracy or Bolshevism or some other current bugbear.

But we should build the fabric of our statecraft as the walls of Jerusalem were built—with both trowel and sword. It is all very well to use the sword of criticism now and then on some gross public evil or dangerous demagog, but if our politics is to be all fighting our walls will not get



finished. The trouble with our party system is that there is too little rivalry in the sense of emulation about it; tho there is rivalry enough in the sense of conflict. A party platform should be a positive creation, almost an artistic achievement, instead of a mere refuge behind which to conceal opinions. A party nominee should be the biggest man in sight, even tho a big man may be a conspicuous target. There is too much trench warfare in politics. If people would vote for what they like as eagerly as they vote against what they dislike a record of positive achievement, even flawed with errors, would be better campaign strategy than standing pat for fear of displeasing somebody. We are tired of electing Mr. Smith for no better reason than to save us from the worse fate of electing Mr. Jones.

### Passive and Active Egotism

THERE are two kinds of egotists, very different. One will sit and listen to you with the greatest delight so long as you talk about what he has done. The other will interrupt your warmest praise of him because he wants to talk about what he is going to do. It is the second kind that accomplishes things.

### What Did Newcomb Say?

EVERY little while some writer who wants to show the fallibility of science comes out with the statement that Professor Simon Newcomb proved to his own satisfaction that it was an absolute impossibility for man ever to fly. For instance in the September *Scribner's* Edgar James Swift says:

Yet, as late as 1902, Simon Newcomb "proved beyond question" that it was "impossible" for a heavier-than-air machine to fly. Was his mistake caused by mathematical inability? One hesitates at this conclusion in a mathematician of such renown. The explanation seems to be mental and emotional resistance to a view so inconsistent with "established" scientific principles. Professor Newcomb could not see and understand mathematical relations that conflicted with "known facts."

Now before condemning Dr. Newcomb to eternal opprobrium, along with the English scientist who figured out that no steamship could cross the ocean, would it not be well to see what he did say in that often mentioned but rarely read article? Turning to *The Independent* of October 22, 1903, page 2510, we read:

Quite likely the twentieth century is destined to see the natural forces which will enable us to fly from continent to continent with a speed far exceeding that of the bird.

Not "quite impossible" but "quite likely!" This prediction has not been discredited. On the contrary it was fulfilled in May, 1919, when the N-C 4 flew from Rockaway, New York, to Plymouth, England. But Dr. Newcomb adds:

But when we inquire whether aerial flight is possible *in the present state of our knowledge*; whether, *with such materials as we possess*, a combination of steel, cloth and wire can be made, which moved by the power of *electricity or steam* shall form a successful flying machine, the *outlook may be* altogether different.

The qualifying words in italics are surely sufficient to show positively that Newcomb did not disregard due scientific caution. The problem has been solved in the way he said it could be solved, that is by a new and stronger motive power. Our airplanes are not run by electricity or steam, but by the gas engine, which has developed into a prime mover of unprecedented lightness and efficiency. The ideal force, as Newcomb pointed out, would be the energy of radium, but so far this has only been used in the paper airships invented by H. G. Wells and Rudyard Kipling.

Newcomb's purpose in writing the article was to show the fallacy in the common belief expressed by that earliest of American inventors of flying machines, Darius Green, in the couplet: "Birds can fly; So why can't I?"

Newcomb points out that the reason man cannot fly by

his own strength is because he is too big. The Australian crane must be about the limit of self-supported flight; the ostrich is beyond it. Even if man had wings instead of arms or made himself wings to run by treading he could not carry himself thru the air. The addition of a motor of more than man power extends the limit, but does not abolish it, for as the linear dimensions increase the weight increases as the cube while the supporting power, the area of the wings increases as the square. The fact that toys can be made to fly does not prove that larger machines would be equally successful. For if the inventor builds a machine twice as large—"on the same model," Newcomb is careful to stipulate—it will be eight times as heavy but have a sustaining surface only four times as great and therefore its efficiency is only one-half of the smaller model. Newcomb admits the point raised by Graham Bell that this law of limits might be evaded by combining a lot of little flying machines. "Yes, a sufficient number of humming birds, if we could combine their forces, would carry an aerial excursion party thru the air." But he does not see how Bell can get his little machines to pull together and so far nobody else has shown how either.

Newcomb thought that the most promising line of experimentation was the development of the helicopter, which does away with airplanes and relies for support upon vertical screws. This was applied successfully to a toy model by Cayley as early as 1796 and inventors have not yet given up the idea, for it would have the advantage over the airplane of being able to rise straight up from a confined space like a city street and hover over the same place as long as it was wanted to, for dropping bombs or better purposes.

Newcomb showed that the difficulty with the airplane was not the making but the running of it. Since the airplane depends entirely upon its speed for its support, the faster it goes the less the necessary inclination of the wings and the less the power required to keep it up. But the slower it goes the harder it is to handle and Newcomb questioned whether man could ever attain sufficient flexibility and control over his artificial wings to make landing safe. That this is still the great difficulty and danger is proved by the frequent casualties reported in the newspapers, but it was not so insurmountable as it seemed at that time. Langley's last flying machine had come to smash the week before Newcomb wrote and Sir Hiram Maxim, after spending millions and proving that airplane flight was possible, had abandoned his experiments. Newcomb could not know that while he was penning his pessimistic prophecy the Wright brothers were tackling the problem at the very point where he had put his question mark. They learned to fly before they built their flying machine. After they had mastered the secret of the flexible wings by soaring over the sand dunes they attached a gas engine and off they flew. Since then it has been, comparatively speaking, plain sailing.

Simon Newcomb was undoubtedly too pessimistic of the possibilities of the airplane. He underestimated the resourcefulness of invention and the courage of man. But he was by no means so dogmatic and blinded by theory as he is supposed to have been.

### About This Time of Year

THERE will write to the papers the "man who voted for Fremont in 1856" and is voting for the first time for the Democratic ticket; a Republican manager will announce that this campaign will mean the "first break in the Solid South"; Constant Subscriber will write more in sorrow than in anger to his favorite newspaper that hitherto in spite of minor differences of opinion he had kept up the subscription handed down from grandfather, but now the parting of the ways had come; two thousand newspapers will remark editorially that "this election is the most vital to the welfare of the nation since that of 1860."



# Present-Day Pioneers in Women's Work



*Underwood & Underwood*

In a house and shed that she built herself of old tin cans and scrap lumber Mrs. Mary Nunes, eighty years old, lives and works her mining claims six miles from Tonopah, Nevada. She has sunk twenty shafts on her land



*Paul Thompson*

For the first time in the history of the United States a woman — Miss Mabel T. Boardman — is to be Commissioner of the District of Columbia, a position comparable to mayor of a great city. Miss Boardman, who is a Republican, has been in charge of the entire relief system of the American Red Cross



*International*

It wasn't so long ago that they bound women's feet and killed off the girl babies in Japan. But now, says Miss Ichikawa, Japan's foremost woman suffrage leader, "the day is coming when Japanese women will have equal rights"



*International*

Miss Ethel Donaghue, Vassar 1917, doesn't look at all as the cartoonists would have us believe a famous woman lawyer should. But she holds the unique honor of having been appointed special assistant to the Attorney General

Left: Madame Curie, who with her husband discovered radium, is to direct an institute in Paris devoted to medical research



*© Keystone View*

One of the youngest women rulers in the world, Grand-duchess Charlotte of Luxembourg, has been decorated with the French order of the Legion of Honor in recognition of her wise and able work during the Great War



*© Keys in View*

Mrs. Ella Boole, suffragist and prohibitionist, failed to defeat Senator James W. Wadsworth, who has been both anti-suffrage and anti-prohibition, in the primary vote for United States Senator from New York this fall. But lacking the Republican nomination Mrs. Boole is to be a candidate for Senator on the Prohibition ticket, and she expects many women's votes on her promise to carry out prohibition and to see that ex-service men and their dependents are given better care



*Wide World*



# The Story of the Week

## As Goes Maine—

"AS goes Maine so goes the nation" is one of the traditional political proverbs which our readers are free to believe or disbelieve as they will. The accident that Maine holds her state and Congressional election in September has always been considered a boon to the forecaster who seeks some indication of what will happen two months later in the nation at large. This year the Republicans are heartened by a sweeping victory overtopping their largest plurality of the past.

Frederick Parkhurst has been elected Governor over Bertrand McIntire by a majority of nearly two to one. The granting of suffrage to women made the total vote much larger than in previous elections, but all the increase seems to have gone to the Republicans as the Democratic vote does not show much change from that of 1916. This does not mean, of course, that all the newly enfranchised voters are Republicans, altho a majority of the women seem to have voted on the winning side; it means that there has been a change of heart among many of those who voted Democratic four years ago. There is no question as to the overwhelming nature of the Republican landslide, but the politicians are divided as to its significance for next November. Secretary Daniels of the Navy, who campaigned for the Democrats in the state, ascribes the result to "state issues," whereas Governor Coolidge of Massachusetts holds on the contrary that "such a decisive vote in Maine must indicate the trend of public opinion thruout the nation." It is conceded by all parties that Republicans in Maine were more thoroly organized than their rivals and had conducted a far more active campaign. Besides carrying to victory the state ticket the Republicans held all four seats in the House of Representatives.

## Tom Watson Sweeps Georgia

AFTER a long series of victories in the southern states over opponents of the League of Nations, the Administration met a defeat in Georgia in the Senatorial primary of the Democratic party. The nomination is probably equivalent to election, as the Republican party has little more than a nominal existence in the states of the solid South. Three candidates sought the Georgia Senatorship. Hoke Smith, the present incumbent, is a reservationist and not very friendly to the Wilson Administration. Governor Hugh M. Dorsey was therefore selected to battle for the League. Thomas E. Watson, the third aspirant, was a bitter opponent of both the war and the peace treaty. His extreme radical position on all issues, foreign and domestic, made conservative Georgians regard his nomination as out of the question and centered public attention on the fight between Senator Smith and Governor Dorsey. The overwhelming victory of Watson over his two opponents came as a general surprize to the state and the nation and political experts are still busy trying to explain it.

Thomas E. Watson has had a picturesque career as a popular agitator and in the course of years has gathered about himself a devoted personal following among the "poor whites" of the state. He began his career as a Democratic politician, but soon after joined the People's party, which he represented in Congress in 1891. In 1896 he was nominated for Vice-President as the Populist running mate to Bryan and in 1904 he was the Populist candidate for President. With the collapse of Populism he turned his attention



Chapin in St. Louis Star

The crumbling foundation

to journalism and established the *Weekly Jeffersonian*. He opposed the entrance of the United States into the Great War and his paper was excluded from the mails for carrying on violent anti-conscription propaganda.

The victory of Watson is a blow to the prestige of the Administration in Georgia; aggravated by the fact that ex-Senator Hardwick, nominated at the primaries for Governor, is another foe of President Wilson's policies. It will also mean that at least one Democratic vote in the Senate will always be counted against the Treaty and the Covenant. The importance of this, however, is diminished by the fact that Watson will succeed Senator Smith, who has also been hostile to the League of Nations, tho in a less unpromising degree. It would be truer to say that President Wilson has failed to gain, rather than that he has lost. It is, however, a serious matter from the national point of view that a record of active opposition to the national cause during the Great War has ceased to be a handicap to politicians in some parts of the country. That issue transcends party politics.

## Some Republican Straws

THE Republican Senatorial primaries have been watched with interest. Perhaps in no previous political campaign has the Senate been so much the battle ground. If the League of Nations Covenant is to be taken as the chief issue of the campaign, and it is certainly one of the leading issues, the next President will be largely at the mercy of the next Senate in carrying into effect his pre-election pledges. Other factors centering popular interest in the Senate contests are the present system of direct election of



Senators, the fact that one of the candidates for President is himself a Senator and the almost balanced strength of the two parties in the Senate.

In New England the "old guard" won two important victories. In New Hampshire Senator George Moses, foe of woman suffrage and of the League of Nations, secured a renomination at the primaries over his opponent, Huntley N. Spaulding, former state food administrator. Senator Brandegee was renominated from Connecticut by the Republican state convention. He was a "bitter ender" on the Treaty and is charged by woman suffragists with exerting his influence to prevent the Governor from calling into session the Connecticut Legislature for the consideration of the nineteenth amendment. Many Republicans are apprehensive lest the renomination of anti-suffrage Senators cost the party the votes of many enfranchised women in November, but the party managers seem certain that the Republican landslide will be great enough to overcome this handicap.

In New York also the Republicans renominated at the primaries an anti-League and anti-suffrage Senator of "old guard" affiliations, James Wadsworth, Jr. He triumphed by a large majority over two opponents, Mrs. Ella Boole and George H. Payne. His opponent in November will be Lieutenant Governor Harry C. Walker, who defeated at the primaries Mayor Lunn of Schenectady, former Socialist and now a leading figure in anti-Tammany Democracy. In both parties the organization nominees for state offices were victorious over all insurgent competitors. Judge Nathan L. Miller will head the Republican state ticket, having decisively defeated his rival, State Senator George F. Thompson. The Democrats renominated without opposition Governor Alfred Smith.

In Wisconsin the renomination of Senator Lenroot over James Thompson is not only a personal tribute to the Wisconsin Senator but a rebuke to his colleague, Senator La Follette. Thompson was known as a La Follette follower and had the backing of the Non-Partisan League. Senator Lenroot did not join the pacifist movement sponsored by La Follette during the war and thereby alienated the extreme pro-Germans of the state. He supported ratification of the Treaty and the Covenant with the Senate reservations. In the Chicago convention he was Governor Coolidge's chief rival for the Vice-Presidency.

## Suffrage Connecticut

ON September 14 the Connecticut Legislature ratified the nineteenth amendment to the national constitution. In the House the vote stood 216 to 11 and in the Senate 33 to none; the size of the majority indicating that had the legislators been free to act when the amendment was in doubt Connecticut would have been one of the first instead of the last state to ratify. But the obstinate refusal of Governor Holcomb to permit the calling of an extra session to consider woman suffrage thwarted the will of the state. Tennessee took from Connecticut the honor of being the state to cast the decisive vote which legalized the amendment. This does not mean that the action of Connecticut was superfluous or unwelcome. Some anti-suffragists threatened to attack the legality of Tennessee's action on the ground that the method of ratification was contrary to the provisions of the state constitution and also that one branch of the state legislature had by a "snap vote" reversed its action after ratification. Neither contention is regarded by the authorities at Washington as having any legal validity, but to put the matter quite beyond a doubt it was well to have more states ratify than the law required.

Senator Brandegee of Connecticut, hitherto an obstinate opponent of woman suffrage, brought forward the legal tangle in Tennessee as a reason why Connecticut should

now act favorably, as it was more important to prevent a shadow of doubt being cast on the validity of the November elections than to persist in an attitude of opposition to equal suffrage. Governor Holcomb was of the same opinion, tho he expressed some irritation that the legislature acted on the amendment before he had formally called upon it to do so. The action of Connecticut helps out the suffrage record of the Republican party. With the exception of Vermont, which has not acted, and Delaware, which was hostile, all the Republican legislatures in the country have now gone on record in favor of the enfranchisement of women.

## Harding Lauds Railroad Law

SENATOR Harding has discovered an issue—a controversial issue at that—on which he feels free to speak without reservations. It is the Esch-Cummins Transportation Act which restored the railroads of the country to private ownership. In his opinion this law is a triumph of sound statesmanship. The Senator said in part:

I do not venture to say that the law is perfect, or that it is the final word in Government regulation and coöperation. I do insist that the measure represents the best expression of Congress which could be worked out in the time at the command of the two Houses, and that it has made the just restoration of the railway properties to their owners, and has happily provided the means and fixed a policy under which the railways can be restored to that degree of efficiency which is so essential to the requirements of service to our common country.

He admitted that during the war it might have been necessary to establish Federal control of the railway system of the nation, but he charged the Administration with intending to use the wartime emergency as an excuse for embarking on a permanent policy of Government ownership:

If the experiment with the railroads and these communication lines (telegraph and telephone) had been successful, it reasonably may be assumed that the policy would have been made permanent; such was the undoubted intent of the present Administration.

Government ownership having proved impossible on financial grounds, it became the duty of Congress to make the transition back to private ownership as easy as possible. This was most ably done by the Esch-Cummins law.



C. Underwood & Underwood

### FIRST REGULAR TRANSCONTINENTAL AIR MAIL SERVICE

To extend the air mail service from the Mississippi to the Pacific. Pilot Randolph G. Page started from Mineola, Long Island, with 16,000 letters for far Western points. The trip is to consist of fourteen hops covering 2651 miles, and it is expected that, once established, the time consumed will be between fifty-four and fifty-seven hours, or thirty-seven hours less than it takes by train.





Underwood &amp; Underwood

## MOVING DAY IN THE MORNING

This is not a Halloween prank but the deliberate work of moving men on strike in New York City

Senator Harding defended the policy of guaranteeing to the railroad companies earnings of 5½ per cent for the period of transition:

If we had returned the railroads without this temporary guarantee of earnings, in all probability the great American systems would have broken down entirely and we should have found ourselves in a state of railway paralysis which the country could not tolerate. . . . I have already alluded to the restrictions which the Government has placed upon railway capital, railway rates and railway earnings. We have eliminated every speculative phase of railway operation, until the railway business has become an extremely conservative one, with nothing left to inspire efficiency and pride in management, except competition in service.

Senator Harding approved the tribunal established by the Transportation Act for the consideration of the claims of labor and contended that the effect of the law was to encourage unionism and collective bargaining. On the other hand, he denounced emphatically any proposal to turn the railroad properties over in whole or in part to the control of railway workers. National honor demanded, in his opinion, that when the railroads were given back to private ownership that such ownership should be solely vested in "those who held title thereto":

Naturally this enactment did not appeal to those radical advocates of railway ownership or those socialistic theorists who thought the railways ought to be seized by the Government and placed at the disposal of the railway workers for permanent operation and profit. . . . To have violated the good faith of America and to have seized railway properties and turned them over to a favored class in America would have involved the destruction of our very system of government and revolutionized the republic.

## Cox Among the Drys

GOVERNOR Cox, in spite of a slight throat trouble from an overexercized voice, has continued his tour of the Far West. The issue which he most stressed was the League of Nations Covenant. His audiences seemed to support his stand on this issue, but they were inquisitive on another point; the attitude of the candidate to the eighteenth amendment. Cox's reputation as an alleged "wet" may serve him in good stead in New Jersey, but it is embarrassing rather than otherwise in the prohibitionist West. So the Governor determined to put rumor to rest by an unqualified statement that he would stand by the constitution and the laws. Apparently the battle cry of "Cox and cocktails" will have to be discarded by both parties now that the Democratic candidate has declared the liquor issue "as dead as the issue of slavery." He added:

So far as the Presidency is concerned, the issue under the

eighteenth amendment is one of law enforcement. We must judge men by performance rather than promise and by comparison. As Governor of Ohio I enforced the laws. For the first time in the history of the state I closed not only the front door but the back door of the saloons on the Sabbath. I enforced all the laws. As President of the United States I shall continue to enforce all the laws, regardless of what interests may be affected.

## The Wrangel Campaign

ON the day when the Poles under General Pilsudski launched their counter-offensive that nearly cleared Poland of Bolsheviki, General Wrangel landed a force on the north shore of the Sea of Azov that has advanced into the hinterland almost to Alexandrovsk. The Soviet troops that had crossed the Dnieper river were all thrown back or captured. Most of the Taurida province has been recovered by Wrangel.

On the other hand his efforts to gain control of the Caucasus have failed. It had been given out from his headquarters that Kuban Cossacks had accepted his leadership and were ready to revolt against Soviet rule on the slightest provocation. But no one of the four expeditions that Wrangel sent to the Black Sea coast was able to hold its ground. The expedition under General Vlagai that landed on the Kuban coast was, according to the Bolshevik report, "completely annihilated." According to the Wrangel report it was "unsuccessful but not fruitless," for General Vlagai destroyed two Bolshevik divisions, captured 7000 prisoners and retired with twice the number of troops with which he began, due to Cossack enlistments.

The British Government opposed this new offensive against Soviet Russia and the British labor unions threatened a general strike if any aid is sent to Wrangel. The French, however, have adopted quite the contrary policy. They have recognized Wrangel's government and are shipping him munitions. The French fleet covered the landing of his troops on the Sea of Azov. A High Commissioner, M. Martel, has been sent to represent the French Government at Sevastopol, the headquarters of General Wrangel. Professor Miliukov, who played a leading role in the revolution against the Czar, but left the country when the Bolsheviki came in, has gone from Paris to the Crimea to take a position in the South Russian Government. The Russian officers left in France are organizing to join Wrangel, while in Warsaw General Boris Savinkov, who was war minister under Kerensky, is raising an army of Russian refugees to coöperate with the South Russian by attacking the Bolsheviki from the Polish side while Wrangel attacks them from the south.

General Wrangel expresses great gratitude to the United States for the encouragement given by the Colby note, which reiterates the determination of the American Government never to make peace with Soviet Russia. An official announcement by the Russian Liberation Committee in London



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## FROM A WATERY GRAVE

Members of the crew of the Submarine "S-5," which was submerged thirty-five hours off the Delaware Capes, are here seen boarding one of the rescuing vessels





SCENE OF THE ITALIAN EARTHQUAKES

The Italian peninsula has been shaken by earthquakes from Milan to Messina. The center of disturbance is an oval area in the Apennines of Emilia, where over a hundred towns and villages have been damaged or demolished. The town of Fivizzano was the greatest sufferer.

states that Rear Admiral McCully, the American representative in Constantinople, has offered the Wrangel Government economic aid. Secretary Colby denies that any such instructions have been sent to McCully, but states that there is no embargo to prevent Americans from trading with the Crimea. Professor Michael Rostovtzeff, chairman of the Russian Liberation Committee, who has come to the United States to lecture at the University of Wisconsin, has been received by the Secretary of State at Washington. He urges the United States to support General Wrangel with munitions and supplies for the army and aid for the destitute civil population. But the radicals here as well as abroad are trying to prevent such assistance being sent to anti-Soviet forces. The I. W. W. longshoremen of Philadelphia and New York have refused to load ships with munitions for Wrangel. In Genoa the Italian workmen seized the ship "Rbosto" belonging to the South Russian Government, carrying arms for the Crimea.

## British Attitude Toward Wrangel

WHEN General Wrangel took charge of the remnants of Denikin's army that had sought refuge in the Crimea the British Foreign Minister, Lord Curzon, wrote on April 14 a note to Tchitcherine, the Soviet Foreign Minister, requesting him in the name of humanity to suspend hostilities and grant amnesty to Wrangel's men who, Lord Curzon said, were "no longer capable of any serious offensive northward." Tchitcherine in reply expressed his willingness to open negotiations thru Great Britain for peace and amnesty and Curzon promised to take it up with Wrangel. But meanwhile Wrangel was organizing for a renewal of the offensive and in an army order of May 5 refers to the intervention of Great Britain as giving him an opportunity to prepare a fresh blow against Soviet Russia.

Kameneff, the Soviet envoy in London, addressed a note of protest to the British Government for having given protection and support to the Wrangel movement, which since its recognition by France has become a formidable menace to Soviet Russia. Premier Lloyd George in reply says:

After the withdrawal of General Denikin the British Government was only concerned to ensure the security of the troops

and refugees under General Wrangel. General Denikin's successor and to put them in a position to defend themselves in the Crimea, until a guarantee of safety was accorded to them. They had no intention of encouraging General Wrangel in an offensive, and as soon as they heard that he was considering the possibility, the British Government warned him against it, and declared that if he undertook it, the British Government would accept no responsibility for himself or his troops and would immediately withdraw their British military mission, which, on General Wrangel undertaking the offensive, they immediately did.

## Earthquakes in Italy

A violent earthquake shock coming at 7:55 on the morning of September 7 and followed by minor tremors for several days thereafter, caused widespread disaster in the province of Emilia and the Apennine mountains to the west. Over a hundred towns and villages were badly damaged and some were completely demolished. In the town of Fivizzano, that felt the full force of the shock, nearly all the houses were shaken down and 432 persons were killed. Other villages in the vicinity of the famous marble quarries of Carrara suffered almost as severely. An active volcanic crater opened at the top of Pizzo d'Ucello, a mountain near Spezia. The shocks started avalanches in the Swiss Alps and were felt as far south as Naples. Ten thousand people are left homeless. The King and Queen visited the scenes of the disaster in automobiles to console the afflicted and distribute relief.

## Troubles in Mesopotamia

THE British, who have undertaken the administration of the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates under the mandatory system, are finding the task more difficult than they expected. The Arabs of that region have virtually been without government for five years, during which time they have had lots of fighting, plenty of loot and no taxation. They resent being obliged to relinquish these privileges and to settle down to the life of order and labor that the British are trying to impose upon them. It is evident that the administration failed in not following the advice of Kipling, "Don't try to hustle the East." The reforms they have attempted to introduce were undeniably needed and the plans they had prepared for the irrigation of the region between the rivers would have restored to it the prosperity it enjoyed in the days of the Babylonian and Assyrian empires, but the Arabs took no interest in such projects and refused to accept an uncongenial foreign rule.

It was at first reported that the natives preferred British administration to any ruler of their own race. In November, 1918, the question of this alternative was addressed to every tribe and district from Basra to Mosul and the replies were said to be overwhelmingly and enthusiastically in favor of British rule. But Colonel Lawrence says that these pro-British declarations were "extorted by official pressure, by aeroplane demonstrations, by deportations to India." Colonel Lawrence is the young Oxford archeologist who put on Arab costume and organized the Arab forces that aided Allenby in the conquest of Palestine and put Prince Feisal on the throne of Syria. He says further:

Our Government is worse than the old Turkish system. They kept 14,000 local conscripts embodied, and killed a yearly average of 200 Arabs in maintaining peace. We keep 90,000 men, with aeroplanes, armored cars, gunboats, and armored trains. We have killed about 10,000 Arabs in this rising this summer. We cannot hope to maintain such an average; it is a poor country sparsely peopled; but Abd el Hamid would applaud his masters, if he saw us working.

The British have now to keep nearly half as many troops in Mesopotamia with a population of about 3,000,000 as they used to need before the war in India with its population of about 300,000,000. Even with this number they are not able to protect the outlying stations about Bagdad or





C. Kopsstone View

#### KING FEISAL'S SOLDIERS CAPTURED BY FRENCH

The Arab prince Feisal, son of the Emir of Mecca, coöperated with the British in the conquest of Palestine and was thru their aid set up as ruler in Damascus. But when Feisal claimed to be king over all Syria, including the coast which had been assigned to France, the French forces marched to Damascus and drove him out.

their communications with the Persian Gulf. The garrison at Kufa, less than a hundred miles south of Bagdad, was besieged by 2000 tribesmen. The railroad station at Feluja, thirty-five miles west of Bagdad, was looted and Colonel Leachman murdered there. At Hillah, sixty miles south, the garrison kept off the Arabs with shell fire until they were rescued by an expedition of Sikhs. At Samawa 4000 natives attacked an armored train that had broken down there. The train crew of forty killed some 500 of their opponents, but were overpowered and a field gun, a Lewis gun, three machine guns and forty boxes of ammunition passed into Arab hands. The railroad lines leading north from Bagdad toward Mosul and to the Persian border have been cut. The British camp at Bakuba, thirty miles north, was attacked and looted.

A belated effort is being made to win the coöperation of the Arabs by calling the notables to meet at Bagdad to frame proposals for an electoral law to elect an advisory assembly.

According to the Sykes-Picot agreement as to the partition of Turkey concluded in the midst of the war between England and France, the upper part of the Tigris valley, including Mosul, was to come within the French sphere of influence, but by a recent agreement Mosul was resigned to the British on condition that the French receive a quarter of the petroleum that gives this region its value.

## Canada Pays Too

THE United States is not alone in facing increased railroad rates. The Dominion Railway Commission has authorized increases in freight rates from September 13 until the end of the year amounting to 35 per cent in western Canada and 40 per cent in the east. Thereafter the increase in the west will be 30 per cent and in the east 35. A 20 per cent advance is sanctioned for passenger rates, but only temporarily; and additional charges are allowed for sleeping and parlor car privileges and for excess baggage. These increases closely parallel those granted in the

United States and are based on practically the same grounds.

As Chairman Carvell of the Railway Commission put the matter:

It was admitted by all parties at the hearing that the cost of everything entering into the operating and maintenance of railways has increased more than 100 per cent during the past four years. . . . While the rates herein established fall far below the increased cost of everything else yet I feel they will be sufficient to enable the railways to carry on during the term to which they apply, and that the people in the light of the actual facts will cheerfully contribute their quota in order to keep these utilities in a position to efficiently transport the business of the country.

## Communism Spreads in Italy

THE red flag and the Soviet emblem of the crossed hammer and sickle are now flying over five hundred factories in Italy. The movement started in the foundries and machine shops of Milan and Turin, but has extended to allied industries and various others. The employers are powerless to recover their plants and the Government declines to intervene. Deputations of industrial magnates have motored out to Bardonnecchia where Premier Giolitti has his summer home, but evidently receive no satisfaction for they came back more willing to compromise.

The workmen refuse to turn over the factories to their owners except on condition that they be kept under the control of a council or soviet of employees. They also demand increased wages and pay for all the time they have been on strike and occupied the works. According to the employers' statement the increase in wages asked by the men amounts to \$300,000,000 a year, which is more than half the total value of the works themselves.

It was expected by the factory owners that the men would soon be obliged to close down for lack of raw materials, but the Fiat and Longetto works have been kept going by means of supplies smuggled in by night thru the complicity of the railway men. In order to provide the chemicals essential for the metallurgical industries the employees in more than 200 chemical plants of Turin seized the establishments

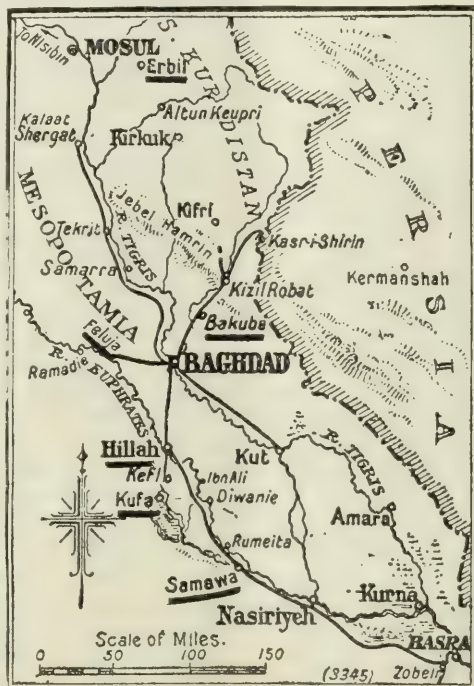
simultaneously upon signal of three blasts of a siren.

The operation of the works by the employees has been hampered by the refusal in most cases of the engineers and technical staff to serve under their management. The workmen who occupied the Armstrong factory at Pozzuoli, near Naples, issued an ultimatum to the clerks and engineers that unless they returned to work within forty-eight hours they would be discharged and their places filled.

In Turin the strikers have taken possession of about fifty private houses adjacent to the works, evicting the families and throwing their belongings out of the windows.

The miners of Luini have taken possession of the lignite mines and in Sicily the farmers of the Pius X Coöperative Association have taken over the lands they worked.

At Triest, the Adriatic seaport acquired by Italy thru the war, the Socialists attempted to seize the city. They



WAR MAP OF MESOPOTAMIA

The British are having a hard time to hold the Mesopotamian region that was allotted to them under the mandatory system. Arab risings have taken place at all the towns underlined on the map and the railroads leading out from Bagdad in all directions have been cut at times. The possession of this territory is of immense economic importance because of the oil fields about Mosul and of the irrigable valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates.



erected barricades across the streets in the heart of the city and defended them with rifles and bombs. But in the evening of the third day the military brought up artillery and forced the insurgents out. Seven persons were killed and fifty wounded.

## Italian Labor Favors Communists

THE action of the metal workers in seizing the plants is approved and supported by an almost unanimous vote of the National Labor Convention at Milan, representing more than a million members. The whole power of the organization will be employed to back up the metal workers in holding the ground they have gained and to prevent the dispute from being settled by a compromise and an increase of wages. All the other labor unions will contribute funds for their support in the hope that this may lead to socialization of all industrial establishments. The resolution that was presented by Deputy Daragona and passed by the convention opens with the words:

Today's historical moment renders impossible hereafter the present relations between masters and workmen and determines that the further direction of the present movement be taken over by the General Confederation of Labor, with the assistance of the Socialist party, and that the aim of the struggle be an acknowledgment on the part of the masters of the principle that their works shall be controlled by the men's union.

This action, radical as it may seem in American eyes, is regarded as conservative in Italy, for the Milan Labor Convention first excluded by the vote of a large majority the anarchist and syndicalist organizations and later defeated a Maximalist resolution presented by Deputy Ducco of the Socialist party, which called for the extension of the movement into the political field and the immediate establishment of the soviet system thruout Italy. The Ducco or Bolshevik motion received the votes of delegates representing 409,000 workers, while the more modern resolution of Daragona carried by 591,000. The contest between the two factions was a hot one and at times the uproar approached a riot. But in the end the antagonists shook hands and kissed each other's cheeks.

The Confederation of Labor demands the immediate con-

vocation of the Chamber of Deputies to examine the situation and pass measures "which, thru the requisition of industrial plants and participation in their management by workmen, will prepare the way for direct control of workers in the interests of collectivity." There are 156 Socialist members in the Chamber of Deputies.

Even if the Government were disposed to evict the workmen by force it is doubtful whether orders to that effect could be carried out. The Railwaymen's Syndicate meeting at Bologna has decided not to allow any trains carrying troops to pass thru that city on the way north to the scene of the disturbances. All trains are searched and held until every soldier or policeman is taken off.

Altho the Italian Government makes no effort to protect the property of its own people, other Governments will not take so lenient a view of it. The French Consul General at Turin has lodged an official protest against the occupation of the Michelin Tire Works by the workmen, as this is a French concern and the property of foreign subjects is guaranteed by international law.

## Pity the Poor Packer

PRESIDENT Wilson, not the one who is chief executive of the United States, but the other Wilson who is head of the Institute of American Meat Packers, has prepared some interesting statistics to show that the high cost of meat cannot be ascribed to the excessive profits of the "meat trust." He listed eighty-one of the greatest corporations of the United States, including five great meat packing concerns, in order to compare the profits earned by the packing industry as compared with big business in general.

None of the packers received as much as a cent and a half of profit on each dollar of sales for 1919. Their average was only 0.83 cents to the dollar. In other words, for every dollar you spend for a porterhouse steak or breakfast bacon the "meat trust" gets less than a penny of profit. The packer with the highest return received only a seven per cent profit, or about half as much as the average for other branches of manufacture.



Central News



© Keystone View

Maura, the baby daughter of the hunger-striking Lord Mayor of Cork, and her mother, Lady Mayoress Muriel MacSwiney

Several hundred Dublin children, in company with 4000 railway workers, prayed for the Lord Mayor of Cork at the church of the Oblate Fathers at Inchicore. Premier Lloyd George, in refusing to free Mayor MacSwiney, said that more than eighty men of the Irish forces, many of them ex-soldiers, had been killed by the so-called Irish Republican army, especially by the brigade in which Mayor MacSwiney was an officer, and that he believed the Lord Mayor to be a murderer, deliberately committing suicide in a way the British Government was powerless to prevent, rather than an ardent patriot being done to death in a British jail



# A Little of Everything



## Come with Me to My Garden in Spain

By Cecilia Beaux

Miss Beaux is one of the very fine American portrait painters whom the art world honors with prizes and medals of honor but to whom the sweetest fruit of recognition is embodied in a studio on a hillside, open to garden fragrances, salt air and the rain. Miss Beaux has paintings hanging in the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, the Toledo Art Museum, Brooks Memorial Academy, Memphis, John Herron Art Institute, Indianapolis, and the Metropolitan Museum, New York City. Director of the American Federation of Arts, she also belongs to the Societe des Beaux Arts. Her Garden in Spain is in Gloucester, Massachusetts, that port from which so many sailing vessels in their day have gone searching for spices, fine fabrics,—and dreams

Strictly speaking, I have no garden at all, just a triangular piece of wooded land, an acre and a half in extent, which lies on the eastern shore of Gloucester Harbor. But there are two things for which I am very thankful,—the land slopes down toward the sunset—toward Spain—over the Harbor, and the morning sun filters thru thick branches on the east.

From the highest point of a ledge of rocks that trends downward toward the harbor, the sea, not half a mile away, is visible thru tupelo trees. In fact, at least half of the triangle, on its broadest side, is a forest-primeval of tupelos, high blueberry, clethra, bay and ilex, often grown over by a thick entanglement of cat-brier, so that the paths that give its name to the place literally have green walls, clipped, often meeting overhead, but not concealing the firm, twisted, old, gray, interlacing boughs, in which there

are many nests hidden. In the early weeks of spring, the chorus begins with one timid note, soon after two, and continues until the sun is high.

The boundary on the road is really the thick wood itself, but a woven wattle of cedar-posts, and strips, clasps and fortifies it impenetrably, except where a small gate between two of the largest trees, opens upon the path or "alley" that terminates at the low door of the



There is an upper terrace where one may look out toward Spain over the Harbor, mist-wreathed or sail-ridden, and blue as the sky above it

small white house, which is of course invisible from the road.

The path hardly seems to end under the trellis of the eastern door, for another door on the west permits the eye a sudden vision of a schooner sail passing on the harbor against the purple western shore, and in August the evening sun shoots a beam straight thru the house, like a gold needle, and one finds splashes of deep orange upon gray

trunks and branches, far in the wood.

I have never planted anything in the wood but ferns, and as some of the ground is swampy they do extremely well, and look particularly at home bending over the mossy stone edge of an oval pool in a little glade. In autumn this pool is intensely black, and when I pay it a morning visit, I often find its glassy surface flecked with the scarlet and gold of fallen leaves from the tupelos around it.

A double loggia of whitewashed brick arches unites the house with the high ledge of rock, and thru this loggia, and an arched doorway, one can pass to the west; to a brick paved terrace; to a path leading down by lawn and cedar clumps to the harbor and beach, or by another rocky path to the studio, which is white, like the house, and covered with vines.

An upper terrace reached by a flight of cement steps, lies along the top of the ledge, on a level with the second story and, here, from the little tea-house loggia, at the far end of the terrace, one may look out toward Spain, and watch the harbor, mist-wreathed or sail-ridden, and blue as the sky above it. There is another pool on this terrace, in which the moon sometimes deigns to shine, and once a group of white lilies consented to reign here for a season. A purple clematis hangs over one corner, and two or three dwarf pines break the line of the low cement wall.

We have not yet come to the flowers in this so-called garden. There are many wild ones. First, the dog-tooth violets, then the wild roses and daisies, and later golden rod and asters. Otherwise there are only two small beds of roses, a long border of phlox, and a bed of heliotrope. All these are domesticated along with the vegetable garden, below the studio. Except the phlox, they are not decorative, but in their sheltered placing have a comfortable air of their own, not without charm.

Perhaps it may be interesting to rose growers to hear that from a Lady Pirrie, planted in June, I, the following November, picked a bud on a very rich mahogany-colored stalk, with dark green, leathery leaves. This bud, standing in a glass vase and abundant water, opened until it was six inches across; separate petals measuring three inches each way. Its perfume and color had all the exquisite majesty of its high birth, and in queenly state it received the homage of the household and guests for more than a week; but



Up these steps and level with the ridge is a secret terrace where purple clematis hangs over a wall, two or three dwarf pines stand sentinel and the moon sometimes shines in a hidden pool



# NERVE EXHAUSTION

*How We Become Shell-Shocked in Every-Day Life*

By PAUL VON BOECKMANN

*Lecturer and Author of numerous books and treatises on Mental and Physical Energy, Respiration, Psychology, Sexual Science and Nerve Culture*

**T**HERE is but one malady more terrible than Nerve Exhaustion, and that is its kin, Insanity. Only those who have passed through a siege of Nerve Exhaustion can understand the true meaning of this statement. It is HELL; no other word can express it. At first, the victim is afraid he will die, and as it grips him deeper, he is afraid he will not die; so great is his mental torture. He becomes panic-stricken and irresolute. A sickening sensation of weakness and helplessness overcomes him. He becomes obsessed with the thought of self-destruction.

Nerve Exhaustion means Nerve Bankruptcy. The wonderful organ we term the Nervous System consists of countless millions of cells. These cells are reservoirs which store a mysterious energy we term Nerve Force. The amount stored represents our Nerve Capital. Every organ works with all its might to keep the supply of Nerve Force in these cells at a high level, for Life itself depends more upon Nerve Force than on the food we eat or even the air we breathe.

If we unduly tax the nerves through overwork, worry, excitement, or grief, or if we subject the muscular system to excessive strain, we consume more Nerve Force than the organs produce, and the natural result must be Nerve Exhaustion.

Nerve Exhaustion is not a malady that comes suddenly. It may be years in developing and the decline is accompanied by unmistakable symptoms, which, unfortunately, cannot readily be recognized. The average person thinks that when his hands do not tremble and his muscles do not twitch, he cannot possibly be nervous. This is a dangerous assumption, for people with hands as solid as a rock and who appear to be in perfect health may be dangerously near Nerve Collapse.

One of the first symptoms of Nerve Exhaustion is the derangement of the Sympathetic Nervous System, the nerve branch which governs the vital organs (see diagram). In other words, the vital organs become sluggish because of insufficient supply of Nerve Energy. This is manifested by a cycle of weaknesses and disturbances in digestion, constipation, poor blood circulation and general muscular lassitude usually being the first to be noticed.

I have for more than thirty years studied the health problem from every angle. My investigations and deductions always brought me back to the immutable truth that Nerve Derangement and Nerve Weakness is the basic cause of nearly every bodily ailment, pain or disorder. I agree with the noted British authority on the nerves, Alfred T. Schofield, M.D., the author of numerous works on the subject, who says: "It is my belief that the greatest single factor in the maintenance of health is that the nerves be in order."

The great war has taught us how frail the nervous system is, and how sensitive it is to strain, especially mental and emotional strain. Shell Shock, it was proved, does not injure the nerve fibres in themselves. The effect is entirely mental. Thousands lost their reason thereby, over 135 cases from New York alone being in asylums for the insane. Many more thousands became nervous wrecks. The strongest men became paralyzed so that they could not stand, eat or even speak. One-third of all the hospital cases were "nerve cases," all due to excessive strain of the Sympathetic Nervous System.

The mile-a-minute life of to-day, with its worry, hurry, grief and mental tension is exactly the same as Shell Shock, except

that the shock is less forcible, but more prolonged, and in the end just as disastrous. Our crowded insane asylums bear witness to the truth of this statement. Nine people out of ten you meet have "frazzled nerves."

Perhaps you have chased from doctor to doctor seeking relief for a mysterious "something the matter with you." Each doctor tells you that there is nothing the matter with you; that every organ is perfect. But you know there is something the matter. You feel it, and you act it. You are tired, dizzy, cannot sleep, cannot digest your food and you have pains here and there. You are told you are "run down" and need a rest. Or the doctor may give you a tonic. Leave nerve tonics alone. It is like making a tired horse run by towing him behind an automobile.

Our Health, Happiness and Success in life demands that we face these facts understandingly. I have written a 64-page book on this subject which teaches how to protect the nerves from every day Shell Shock. It teaches how to soothe, calm and care for the nerves; how to nourish them

Through them you experience all that makes life worth living, for to be dull nerved means to be dull brained, insensible to the higher phases of life—love, moral courage, ambition and temperament. The finer your brain is, the finer and more delicate is your nervous system, and the more imperative it is that you care for your nerves. The book is especially important to those who have "high strung" nerves and those who must tax their nerves to the limit.

The following are extracts from letters from people who have read the book and were greatly benefited by the teachings set forth therein:

"I have gained 12 pounds since reading your book, and I feel so energetic. I had about given up hope of ever finding the cause of my low weight."

"I have been treated by a number of nerve specialists, and have traveled from country to country in an endeavor to restore my nerves to normal. Your little book has done more for me than all other methods combined."

"Your book did more for me for indigestion than two courses in dieting."

"My heart is now regular again and my nerves are fine. I thought I had heart trouble, but it was simply a case of abused nerves. I have reread your book at least ten times."

A woman writes: "Your book has helped my nerves wonderfully. I am sleeping so well and in the morning I feel so rested."

"The advice given in your book on relaxation and calming of nerves has cleared my brain. Before I was half dizzy all the time."

A physician says: "Your book shows you have a scientific and profound knowledge of the nerves and nervous people. I am recommending your book to my patients."

A prominent lawyer in Ansonia, Conn., says: "Your book saved me from a nervous collapse, such as I had three years ago. I now sleep soundly and am gaining weight. I can again do a real day's work."

## The Prevention of Colds

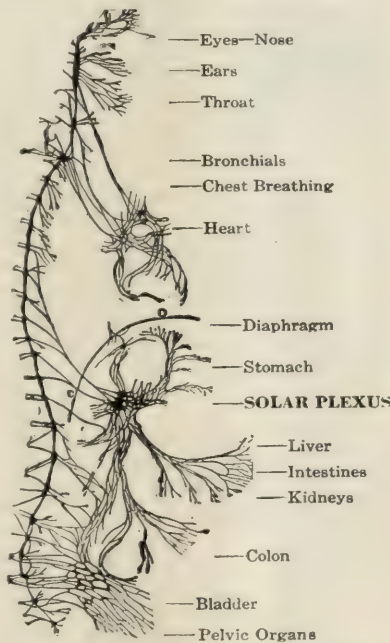
Of the various books, pamphlets and treatises which I have written on the subject of health and efficiency, none has attracted more favorable comment than my sixteen-page booklet entitled, "The Prevention of Colds."

There is no human being absolutely immune to Colds. However, people who breathe correctly and deeply are not easily susceptible to Colds. This is clearly explained in my book NERVE FORCE. Other important factors, nevertheless, play an important part in the prevention of Colds—factors that concern the matter of ventilation, clothing, humidity, temperature, etc. These factors are fully discussed in the booklet, Prevention of Colds.

No ailment is of greater danger than an "ordinary cold," as it may lead to Influenza, Grippe, Pneumonia or Tuberculosis. More deaths resulted during the recent "Flu" epidemic than were killed during the entire war, over 6,000,000 people dying in India alone.

A copy of the booklet Prevention of Colds will be sent *Free* with either the 25c or 50c book NERVE FORCE. You will agree that this alone is worth many times the price asked for both books.

**PAUL VON BOECKMANN**  
Studio 237, 110 West 40th St., New York



**The Sympathetic Nervous System**

*Showing how Every Vital Organ is governed by the Nervous System, and how the Solar Plexus, commonly known as the Abdominal Brain, is the Great Central Station for the distribution of Nerve Force*

through proper breathing and other means. The cost of the book is only 25 cents. Bound in cloth, 50 cents. Remit in coin or stamps. See address at the bottom of page. If the book does not meet your fullest expectations, your money will be refunded, plus your outlay of postage.

The book "Nerve Force" solves the problem for you and will enable you to diagnose your troubles understandingly. The facts presented will prove a revelation to you, and the advice given will be of incalculable value to you.

You should send for this book today. It is for you, whether you have had trouble with your nerves or not. Your nerves are the most precious possession you have.



its chief guardian and servant had many sweet private moments with it, changing the light for fresh views of noble contours.

## Hooks and Eyes

It is estimated that four miles of an ordinary spider's thread would weigh scarcely a grain.

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A shingle mill in Maine uses 2000 cords of paper birch each year in the manufacture of toothpicks.

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The value of the ostrich feathers imported into the United States in the fiscal year 1920 was \$2,500,000.

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The original voyage of Columbus when he discovered this country cost \$7000 as measured by our present money.

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Nearly half a hundred major activities, and as many more of a minor kind, are now being carried on by the Junior Red Cross of America in twelve foreign countries.

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The top newspaper of the world, in point of circulation, is the *News of the World*, owned by Lord Riddell, and printed in London. It has 4,000,000 circulation every Sunday.

\*\*\*

The American Academy at Rome, an art institute founded by Americans for American architects, painters, sculptors, and musicians, is admitting women to its fellowships in the fine arts for the first time.

\*\*\*

One person is killed by an automobile in the United States every thirty-five minutes. This is three times the fatalities caused by all the accidents in factories, mines, railroads and other industries in America.

## Your Book, Sir

By Dr. William T. Foster

President of Reed College

In that adventurous era when we ran the risk of pauperizing everybody by granting the free use of books, we called the public library "The People's University." The name was inevitable. In that day almost anything became a "university" overnight. The library, if not without distinction in the name, was not without authority for its use. Had not Carlyle said, "A true university in our day is a collection of books"?

It is the oft-quoted saying of a wise man, but not a wise saying. A collection of books was not even in Carlyle's day a true university. In our own day a mere collection of books is not even a public library. Indeed, the modern library is, in many respects, more of a university than the most progressive university of Carlyle's time. Both the librarian as a "keeper" of books and the teacher as a "keeper" of school have passed into tradition.

In order that books may be read, one of our libraries has gone so far as to relieve readers from the trouble of bringing their cards; and many libraries, mindful of the slogan "carrying the university to the people," have carried themselves to fire stations and corner groceries—even to loggers and forest rangers. Out on the banks of the



Columbia River, on a knoll in a wide wheat field, is a one-story building, a branch of the central county library. That remote cabin gives free access to four hundred thousand volumes. Both the university and the library are going even farther than they have yet ventured in search of people hitherto beyond their domain.

While welcoming all people, the library cannot be as hospitable to books. In its university mission it must be selective. The true university always has been selective. It is hardly "a place where any one may study anything at any time." It is true that the American

university long ago abandoned its table d'hôte curriculum and is now said to offer à la carte service or even a quick lunch. But the modern bill of fare, however indigestible, would pass a benevolent pure knowledge inspector. It is not utterly void of brain calories. Faculties cling to the idea that every seeker after truth, even the youngest, needs guidance. Still exercising some control over courses of study, they do not often invite waste of time upon the latest follies.

Public libraries, too, as they become more critical of their "university" title, will become more selective; they will create demand, not merely supply it; they will enlarge their teaching functions in a hundred ways; they will lead the forum frequenters farther than they planned to go: for which high purpose they will pay their staffs as high wages as mechanics

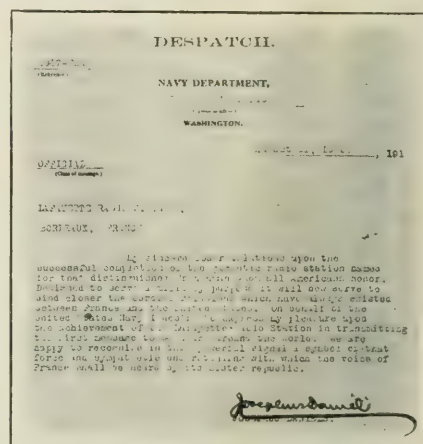


Keystone View

THE BLOW-HARD Thru the Willesden glass works which intend to turn out ten million square feet of glass a year, England is fast capturing an industry which before the war was almost entirely continental and mainly Belgian

Keystone View

From the wireless station Lafayette, at Croix D'Hine, 17 miles from Bordeaux, was recently transmitted the first wireless message to be heard around the world. This station, which is twice as powerful as the one at Annapolis, will be formally presented to the French Government by the United States on October 4.



and conductors, even if they are thereby forced to spend less money on the empty and the ephemeral—the newest novel, for example, wet, as Ruskin would say, with the latest spray of the fountain of folly.

But the library is no credit to the name of "university" that rejects a book merely because its ideas may be too radical. The utterly bad books are those without ideas—those that leave the reader just as empty-headed as before; as ill nourished mentally as he would be physically if he fed upon the gay pasteboard wrappings of all the latest breakfast foods. The public library will be more worthy the name of "The People's University" when it spends less money on cheap books and more money on rare human beings, selected for their power to guide the people to good reading, and, haply, to really great literature.

Portland, Oregon

## Big Bertha Makes Low Score

The high-explosive shell is by far the deadliest and most destructive weapon ever fashioned by man. Yet Dr. Mercher of the French Academy of Medicine estimates that it required on the average 395 shells to kill one soldier during the Great War and half that number to wound one.

This estimate was reached after an investigation of the number of shells which fell on the French lines during five months in 1917. This number has been placed at a total of 3,690,000. By comparing with the French casualty list of men killed or wounded by shell explosions during the five months in question it was possible to estimate the average number of shells required to



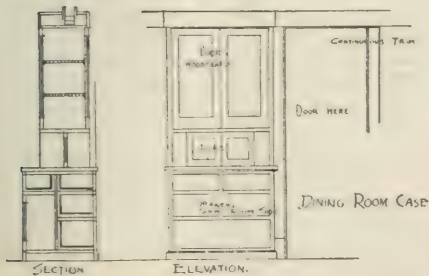
kill one individual. As no one contends that the German artillery consists of incompetent men, the huge expenditure of ammunition seems evidence rather of the magnificent defensive qualities of earthwork trenches than of the inferiority of German marksmanship. Certainly in the Middle Ages an archer who had to expend 395 arrows before slaying his first foe would have been regarded as very wasteful of his arrows. The weapons which are in themselves the most formidable seem least effective in the cheap and rapid annihilation of the enemy because of the improved defensive tactics which they make necessary.

## A Cupboard That Looks Both Ways

By Caroline Keife Myers

The double cupboard built between our dining room and kitchen eliminates so much useless work that we call it the best thing in our new house.

It is built of oak and is seven feet high. The upper section is a dish and serving closet. Wooden doors open into both kitchen and dining room. We keep our table dishes, relishes and condiments here. Hav-



ing been washed at the sink nearby, the dishes are easily placed on the shelves and are at hand when we wish to set the table.



The lower part is divided vertically. On one side is a large cupboard for kitchen utensils, while the other side has buffet drawers for linen and silver. The top of the lower section forms a roomy serving table, divided lengthwise by vertical panels into two parts, with slide between.

Kitchen stove and dining room table are conveniently near. Using cup-



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## Use Your Garbage By Harold A. Caparn

Garbage is commonly regarded as an entirely unpleasant and useless product, an unavoidable nuisance, to be gotten rid of utterly, to be carried away as far out of sight and smell as possible. But garbage is only the concentrated and unconcentrated product of the soil, the concentrated being the animal, the unconcentrated the vegetable matter, and both should be returned to the soil from which they came, this being the method by which Nature has made the earth habitable for man.

In 1916, the writer having no pigs or chickens to consume the garbage, spread a little soil and sifted coal ashes over

the daily deposit—just enough to cover it. The ashes were used to lighten the soil which was too stiff and soggy for a good garden. By the summer of 1917, when the mass was turned over, the garbage had disappeared; in its place was a pile of rich soil highly charged with disintegrated vegetable matter. So simple it is to get rid of your garbage by saving it to become valuable and useful.

To do this properly there should be a receptacle with a lid and the best kind is a pit lined with concrete, say three feet deep and four feet wide or more, depending on how much garbage you have to dispose of. The use of the lid is not to keep in the smell—the dressing of soil will do that—but to keep out dogs, cats, chickens, rats and mice which would upset it and attract flies.

Of course, you can mix in all the weeds, dead leaves and lawn sweepings that you can get, but the receptacle would have to be proportionately larger to hold them all. This is an excellent way to dispose not only of your own leaves, but of those from the street and your neighbor's as well, which are usually burned. On an acreage place it is quite practicable to have a garbage pile without a receptacle, which really means having one compost heap for leaves, garden refuse and garbage; but it is not a sightly thing, so should be screened from view, and it is not so easy to keep covered with soil. If the pile is turned over once in a while it will disintegrate quicker.

Thus, instead of paying somebody to take away your garbage, you can put it on your gardens or lawns as a fertilizer for your choice trees, plants or bushes, or use it to make specially fine soil for flower beds. It will take hardly any longer to put it on the pile than for the garbage man to call for it and load it on to his wagon; and if you have a hired man, he can do it without the added expense of the garbage man, so that you save to gain instead of paying to lose. And it will add to the soil just what so many soils are woefully deficient in—humus, or vegetable matter.



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### THE DOOMED

This statue, created as propaganda against capital punishment, has aroused much discussion, particularly in New York state, during the legislature's discussion of a bill to abolish capital punishment. The sculptor, Ruotolo, is an Italian-American. His native land long since abolished capital punishment and he is eager to see his adopted country achieve the same standard



Keystone View

Twenty o'clock is the breakfast hour at Riga on the Lake of Garda, if one is to go by the twenty-four hour timepiece over the marketplace

board, table, and slide, food is served very easily. After a meal dishes are passed to the sink by the same method.

It is surprising how this plan minimizes the work before and after a meal.

## Domesticating Radium

Radium is the rarest metal known to the world. There is, it is supposed, less than a pound of it in existence. And the present price of it is \$3,260,000 an ounce, compared to platinum for instance, which is only \$150 an ounce. A whole ton of carnotite, the ore from which radium is derived in the American mines in Utah and Colorado, yields only five milligrams of radium, an amount smaller than the head of a pin. And yet, radium is being used to illumine electric light switches, light pull chains, bedroom slippers, dark hall angles, key holes and aisle seat numbers in theaters.

Other luminous articles in common use are clock dials and watch dials, hospital call buttons, gasoline gauges for the motorist, automobile and motorcycle speedometers, numerous airplane instruments of exceeding usefulness, compasses, ships' telegraph dials, mine signs that are dependable and eliminate the danger from explosion by coal gas, steam gauges, pistol sights to increase accuracy of aim at night, keyholes, automobile steering wheel locks, and safe combination dials. For the sportsman there are fish bait painted luminously. For the child there are numerous toy animals and dolls with bright eyes. Even poison bottles are marked with radium buttons.



Keystone View

As primitive as the wigwam of the American Indian or the igloo of the Eskimo is the capanne which shelters families of Italian farm laborers. At its single door-window one indeed needs a talisman to guard away the Evil Eye, for malaria ever sweeps from the low-lying marshes, taking toll of work people and children



## Politicians

(Continued from page 364)

campaign possible with small amounts of money, they will rally to themselves those elements of the political entity intelligent enough to appreciate them. The vast mass of the people will have an opportunity to make comparison. Probably the men of high standards would be defeated the first time. Perhaps they would be defeated the second time, and even the third time. Democracy is a slow-moving machine. Nearly every big idea recently written upon fundamental law has been defeated again and again and again. But if these men will go patiently on—they need not be the same men every time—the peanut politician cannot stand the comparison. It would be only a matter of a few years until the great mass of the people would avail themselves of the opportunity to raise the standard for public service.

The complaint of the intelligent voter is that both camps offer about the same types. It is this fact which has suggested to the minds of some analytical thinkers the initiative and referendum. They said in effect: "Our so-called leadership does not lead. It merely adopts as truth anything popular with the majority. Our leadership is like the old school teacher out of a job who was willing to teach that the world was flat or round just as the school board might decide. We will remedy this by letting the voters initiate legislation and by giving them the right to pass upon it by vote." But this remedy has a tendency to result in confusion.

I believe there are two essentials to successful democracy. One is education for the masses of the people; the other is willingness, on the part of men of outstanding ability, to serve the country and consider themselves richly paid in honors.

The mass of the people cannot initiate. The mass of the people is clumsy. The mass of the people is better able to judge men than measures. Over a long period of time the mass of the people is nearly always right about the man. But suppose the man who has something to offer prefers to go into the lumber business and make money.

Theoretically, our politician ought to be making his money as a miller or as a jeweler, as a grocer or a lawyer. But in fact, our politician makes his money as a politician. Defeat to him is disaster. He fears to go educating the people, he prefers to find out what they think and please them by asserting that he also holds that belief. The next step is obvious. He charges that his opponent does not hold those beliefs. The whole thing degenerates into mud-slinging and nothingness.

Some petty person goes to Congress at the highest salary he has ever received in his life. It becomes necessary for him as a Congressman to decide whether specialists and scientists shall be employed by the Government, and he refuses to pay anybody more money than he is receiving. He likes to hire



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large numbers of men and women at approximately one hundred dollars a month. Washington is a seething mass of them; so is every state capital. But they are all woefully deficient in experts, in scientists, in accountants and in trained executives for institutions and for plants.

In a preceding paragraph I said that education for the masses of the people is an essential to successful democracy. No proponent of democracy or defender of it has ever failed to state this essential. But our public school system has been going backward for ten years. Its condition today is alarming. Can we blind ourselves to the fact that this is in part due to our acceptance of leadership which does not even realize that our whole form of government rests upon the primary school? Without schools we fail utterly. I believe that ten years more of our present condition of the public schools will bring actual revolution in this country. Fortunately the mass of the people is awake to that now. Our leadership is going to be forced into remedying that condition. But can we blind ourselves to the fact that our form of government has been more attacked during the last ten years than during any period of our independence? The number of voters in our country who do not really understand our theory of government was never so large as it is today.

The author of a recent book discussing capitalism reaches the very sound conclusion that the remedy for the faults of the capitalistic system is more capitalists. If the capitalistic system is to survive, we must have more home owners and more depositors in banks, more bond holders, more graduates of high schools. And so the remedy for the faults of the democratic system and the primary election system is more democracy, better democracy, a higher standard of democracy, sincerer appreciation of the benefits of democracy, a firm desire to serve democracy and to reap a benefit from that service by enjoying the high privilege of loving democracy. You don't really love anything that you don't serve; any more than you can serve anything that you don't love.

We have got to get rid of the type of man who burglarizes the capitol and the courthouse. We have got to get rid of the man who claws and bites and jimmies and vilifies his way into public office. We can't kill him. We can't prevent him from running for office. We can't prevent him from forming a political party. We can't put his friends in jail. But we can, if we will, furnish a contrast. We can make him face the contrast every time he runs for office.

If we really love democracy, if we have faith in our form of government, if we believe, like Abraham Lincoln, that you can fool all of the people part of the time and part of the people all of the time, but that you can't fool all of the people all of the time, then we will not have the slightest doubt about the outcome.

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## Our Greatest Victory

(Continued from page 369)

ton's division were in the battle line by October 12 but, beyond taking most of the Bois de Consenvoye, the Blue and Gray Division had gained little ground for the German fire, sweeping across the ravine of Molleville Farm from the slopes of the Grande Montagne and the Bois d'Etrayes, east of it, was so terrific that it eventually mowed down all the thick underbrush in the Bois de Consenvoye. In conjunction with General Bell's Illinoisans, the left of the 29th had also struggled ahead on the 11th in the Bois de Chaume and the Bois Plat-Chene. Progress northward on this part of the front grew steadily more difficult, however, as the troops to the right swung eastward, thus exposing these in the two woodlands to flanking fire from the mountain. Nevertheless the 33rd Division had gained the ridge running down from the mountain toward Sivry and was nearly up to the latter village in the river valley when, about October 21, it turned over its sector to General Guerin's 15th Division of French Colonial Infantry, which had been relieved on the Woivre front to come into the battle.

General Morton's men, remaining in line, gradually worked their way around the Molleville Farm ravine and up the slopes of the Grande Montagne until, on the morning of the 23rd, after a heavy artillery preparation, they made a strong attack in conjunction with General Edwards' 26th Division which further to the right in front of Le Houppy Bois, Belleu Bois and the Bois d'Ormont, had meantime relieved the 18th French Division. Near their point of junction the two divisions conquered the ridge in the Bois d'Etrayes and seized the important German observatory on its crest, holding their gains against violent counterattacks. The New Englanders further to the right also made a handsome advance but, tho they succeeded in taking and holding the nearer woodlands and in entering the Belleu Bois and the Bois d'Ormont, the German counterattacks were so desperate that they were driven back from these elevated spots which, lying close to the eastern edge of the hights, gave observation to the Germans as far as the Meuse and which, if lost to them, would serve the Americans equally well for looking out over the plain of the Woivre.

Thruout the 24th and 25th of October the 101st Infantry, in the Belleu Bois, and the 102nd Infantry, in the Bois d'Ormont, fought a stubborn battle against a hurricane of artillery and machine gun fire and furious counterattacks. But it was not until the 27th that the Belleu Bois was finally taken by the 104th Infantry, while the Bois d'Ormont remained in the enemy's hands until November 7. Meantime, General Joseph E. Kuhn's 79th Division came in on the left of the 26th, relieving the 29th Division and taking over a part of the sector of the 26th Division so that the latter could side-



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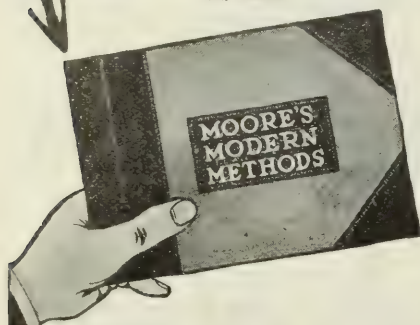
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slip to the right and relieve General Belenet's 26th French Division north of Beaumont.

Toward the close of October the right of General Claudel's corps was thus advancing in a general northeasterly direction and approaching the escarpments of the Heights of the Meuse on that side while the divisions of its left were still exerting their pressure northward. Since the beginning of the attack the artillery cross-fire on the American troops west of the Meuse, tho not entirely eliminated, had been greatly diminished. It is hard to estimate precisely how much the general situation of the German armies was influenced by the advance in this quarter, but in his memoirs General Ludendorff indicates the urgent haste of the measures which they were taking all along the Western front at about this period. After telling of the German retirement to successive rear defensive lines, he says:

The evacuation of the ground behind the new positions was carried on with all speed. The railways were continually worked to the utmost limit of their capacity. Enormous masses of war material had to be dealt with, involving weeks and months of work. I laid great stress on the importance of thorough preparation for the destruction of lines and bridges, which could not but have its effect on operations, and upon the removal to Germany of our own material. I continually discussed with the chiefs of staff the problems of evacuation and destruction. . . . Further in the rear we were working hard on the Antwerp-Meuse line, and I had a new line surveyed along the German frontier.

Up to the end of October the closest threat to the main German railway line paralleling the southern part of their battle front was the advance east of the Meuse. Altho after the break-thru of November 1 on the Meuse-Argonne front this ceased to be true and altho the rapid advance of the First American and the Fourth French Armies to Sedan then rendered entirely impracticable the Antwerp-Meuse defensive line mentioned by General Ludendorff, previous to that date the operations of the 17th Corps constituted the most serious danger to such a proposed retirement position.

General Claudel's corps, having in line from right to left the 26th and 79th American and the 15th Colonial Divisions, did not participate in the general attack which was made west of the Meuse on November 1. But on the morning of the 4th, concealed by a heavy fog and well covered by artillery fire, General Kuhn's men assaulted the Borne de Cornouiller, or Hill 378, the highest spur of the Grande Montagne, while General Guerin's Colonials moved against Villeneuve and Sillon-Fontaine Farms, lying at the top of the steep slopes running down to the valley of the Meuse near Sivry. After a hard struggle both divisions were repulsed. They renewed their attack, however, on the next day and both gained their objectives, clearing the summit of the Grande Montagne. General McMahon's 5th Division, on the

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right of the 3rd Corps, had meantime crossed the Meuse at Brioules and below on November 4 and was sweeping eastward up the wooded heights north of General Claudel's corps. But the enemy, tho he was being rapidly outflanked by General McMahon's men, held with determination to the lines of trenches on the ridge next north of the Grand Montagne, about Solferino Farm and Hill 398, and the attacks of the American and French troops on these positions during the 6th were all put down.

But next day the battle was more successful. The Germans, after a bitter struggle lasting until evening, were ejected from their last line on the heights around Hill 398. Both the 79th and the 15th Colonial Divisions then turned the direction of their advance due eastward to drive down the slopes into the Woivre plain, while further north the other American corps were crossing the Meuse and advancing on the axis Longuyon-Longwy in the same general direction.

Rehabilitated after its hard battle around Romagne-sous-Montfaucon, General Hahn's 32nd Division was introduced into the line on the night of November 8 between the 15th Colonial and the 5th American Divisions. General Blondlat and the staff of the 2nd Colonial Corps had now replaced General Claudel's 17th Corps staff, which went to General Bullard's army. With the whole battle line gradually straightening out from the Meuse at Stenay down the front of the 2nd Colonial Corps to Beaumont and thence along the eastern edge of the Heights of the Meuse to the front of General Bullard's Second Army, the divisions of General Blondlat pushed forward during the 9th into the low ground ahead of them, at Pouvillers and Damvillers and past Flabas, the last-named village, tho strongly fortified, falling to General Edwards' men. The front now lay in the valley of the little Theinte River with no more organized German positions ahead of it excepting those on an irregular line of isolated hills east of that river, chief of which were the Jumelles d'Ornes, the Cote de Romagne, Cote de Morimont and Cote d'Orne. All were in the sectors either of General Edwards or General McMahon's divisions and their troops were pressing the attack and on the point of clearing away these last obstacles to their advance into Etain and Spincourt when the armistice came into effect on November 11.

Before concluding the narrative of the Meuse-Argonne operations of the First American Army, a few words should be said concerning the offensive whose opening phase was begun by General Bullard's Second Army on November 10; an offensive which, supplementing the advance of General Liggett's forces, would have been productive of the most far-reaching results had time permitted its full development. Anticipating the advantages of an extension of the front of attack General Pershing as early as the first of November gave detailed instructions

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to General Bullard for an advance on Conflans and Briey. This advance was not to be executed until ordered; meantime General Bullard's men, as they had been doing ever since the beginning of the battle between the Meuse and the Argonne, kept the Germans in their front in a constant state of alarm by vigorous patrolling and formidable trench raids. Following the collapse of the enemy in the Meuse-Argonne and the northeastward sweep of the First Army across the river, the moment arrived for the Second Army to swing into line, pivoting on the Moselle north of Pont-a-Mousson.

General Bullard, as before stated, ordered the advance to commence on the morning of November 10. At the time he had only four divisions in line on his fifty-kilometer front, but five more divisions were in motion to reinforce him. The divisions in line were the 92nd, General Charles C. Ballou, astride the Moselle on the right; then the 7th Division, General Edmund Wittenmyer, extending to the Rupt de Mad; then General William H. May's 28th Division, reaching to a point north of Hatton-Chatel, and then General Bell's 33rd Division, which covered the front to Fresnes-en-Woevre. Preparatory to an immediate increase in the number of divisions, three corps staffs were already functioning under the Second Army; General Omar Bundy's 2nd Corps with, at the time, the 92nd and 7th Divisions under it, General C. H. Muir's 4th Corps with only the 28th Division under it and General Claudel's 17th French Corps with only the 33rd Division under it.

The plan was for the Second Army in its advance to avoid the fortress of Metz, its right flank passing to the west of the outer defenses of the place. On November 14, when it was judged that General Bullard's attack would be well developed and making progress, General Mangin with the 10th French Army was to open a similar attack along the front southeast of Metz, directed against Chatcau-Salins, the valley of the Sarre River and eventually the Rhine. General Mangin's offensive was to be conducted with twenty French divisions while, by an extension of the right flank of the Second American Army, six American divisions were to cooperate with him in front of and on the eastern side of Metz. The consequence of these dispositions would be that Metz would be isolated and surrounded by American troops. As the enemy, on the whole line to be assailed, had only about sixteen depleted divisions of inferior quality, with none whatever in reserve, this combined attack of the Second American and 10th French Armies could only have resulted in immediately throwing the enemy back across the Rhine not only on the 120-kilometer front of the offensive but also down to the frontier of Switzerland thru the outflanking of the rest of his defensive line in the Vosges Mountains.

As the situation developed, General Bullard's forces had only time to make a beginning. The Second Army front

was lying, as it had been since the close of the St. Mihiel operation, directly in front of the heavily fortified Michel Position of General von Fuch's Army Detachment "C." On the morning of November 10, General Ballou's colored troops pushed forward about two and one-half kilometers and occupied a large salient of woodlands and open ground which the enemy had long occupied on the east side of the Moselle. The 7th Division advanced thru the rough country on both sides of the Rupt de Mad, closely approached Rembercourt, took Mon Plaisir Farm and stopped in the edge of the mats of enemy wire. The 28th Division drove the Germans back for three kilometers on both sides of Lake Lachaussee, bringing the whole lake within the American lines, while the 33rd Division, in the flat plain still further to the northwest, gained from two to three kilometers and took the villages of St. Hilaire, Butgneville and part of Marcheville.

Beyond the left flank of General Bullard's army as great activity prevailed. General Charles J. Bailey's 81st American Division and the French 10th Colonial Division, which, as the right divisions of General Liggett's army, formed the link between it and General Bullard's forces, carried out their part of the general advance by fighting their way forward into the Woevre plain five or six kilometers, releasing several villages from the hands of the invaders. Thus at the hour of the armistice General Pershing's Army Group, with thirteen American and two French divisions in line, was moving forward toward Germany on a front of 120 kilometers, driving thirty-six divisions of the defeated enemy ahead and with every prospect of shortly reaching the Rhine at the cost of losses which would have been slight in comparison with those which had already been suffered.

From the western edge of the Argonne to the Moselle between September 20 and November 11, twenty-three American divisions shared in the greatest victory American arms ever achieved on the field of battle. Of these divisions eight went into line twice and one went in three times. The divisions were, the 1st (twice), 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th (twice), 7th, 26th, 28th (twice), 29th, 32nd (twice), 33rd (twice), 35th, 37th, 42nd (twice), 77th (twice), 78th, 79th (twice), 80th (three times), 82nd, 89th, 90th, 91st and 92nd. As has been previously stated, the greatest number of American troops of the First Army for whom supplies were provided on any one day was 896,000 on October 6. To this should be added, as part of the First Army strength, the number of French troops operating under its orders which reached on October 10, according to the figures of the French Mission at American General Headquarters, a total of 133,300 men. Thus, at its maximum, the First Army had a total strength of 1,034,300 men. Since these figures are for dates previous to the organization of the Second Army, they include the forces which later



came under the command of General Bullard. No exact figures are available for the strength of the latter, but they probably amounted at the date of the armistice to not less than 275,000. If reconstituted divisions be counted each time they returned to the battle, the total of purely American troops engaged during the whole course of the operations amounts to the formidable figure of about 1,200,000.

Brigadier General Fox Conner, Chief of the Operations Section (G-3), American General Headquarters, has stated that thruout the course of America's participation in the war, "in the defense no American division lost ground intrusted to it except locally and then only for a few hours and no American division failed in attack." This statement applies with particular force to the bitterly contested battle of the Meuse-Argonne and the fact justified every word of the tribute paid by General Pershing to his men in his General Orders No. 203, published on the 12th of November, 1918, which read, in part, as follows:

The enemy has capitulated. It is fitting that I address myself in thanks directly to the officers and soldiers of the American Expeditionary Forces who by their heroic efforts have made possible this glorious result. Our armies, heroically raised and hastily trained, met a veteran enemy and by courage, discipline and skill, always defeated him. Without complaint you have endured incessant toil, privation and danger. You have seen many of your comrades make the supreme sacrifice that freedom may live. I thank you for the patience and courage with which you have endured. I congratulate you upon the splendid fruits of victory which your heroism and the blood of our gallant dead are now presenting to our nation. Your deeds will live forever on the most glorious pages of America's history. . . .

Yankton, South Dakota

## Appleville

(Continued from page 365)

to this ceaseless labor, if these women had near neighbors to chat with, movies to go to, any sort of easy entertainment, to say nothing of time to rest, they would not so readily fly from home to the grave or the insane asylum.

Under the stress of all these difficulties the farmer is growing discouraged, and it is being forced in on the public mind that food is rather an important factor in life.

To raise food we must have farmers, and farmers must have wives.

So it begins to look as if it was worth while to do something to make life more comfortable for the woman on the farm.

This is no longer an academic question; it is one of immediate practical importance.

The general cause of all these troubles is in one word—isolation.

It is the loneliness, the primitive individualism of the farm, which makes it so hard for women and children.

It is hard on the men, too, but they have some little contact with human life; they sell their products to other people and for other people; they have



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dealings with those who sell livestock and machinery; and in most cases the farmer "goes to the store" more frequently, and has more and longer talks with his fellow men.

There is no real reason for our isolated farms, except in the remote and extended ranges and ranches of the West.

In all our settled states there is absolutely nothing to prevent our adoption of the system of village farming.

This is no novelty. On the contrary it is the method employed over almost all of the world's surface.

The primitive village is only a group of huts, without any collective features save some central "common" or market place, or a church of some sort.

We, in the life of today, need more.

There is a certain minimum requirement for normal human living today. Let us measure it by the children.

A good kindergarten and school is required for the right rearing of children. How many families, living within close walking distance, would be needed to support a kindergarten?

Children are a permanent class in the community, but a very transient one in the family.

To keep up an attendance of some twenty little ones would call for perhaps a hundred families.

A hundred farms, at present, even if we take those nearest together, lie straggling over a wide stretch of country, "remote, unfriended, solitary, slow." As to shape, they do not consider it. Each one is forced to be a self-supporting unit like an island. It must have a wood-lot, to furnish fuel; a pasture for the cattle, enough meadow land to give hay for winter feed, and enough more to raise whatever the farmer sells to buy the other necessities of life.

On these scattered farms the men work hard and long, for very small pay, and the women work hard and longer, for no pay at all. Any efficiency expert, applying the rudiments of his science to this economic problem, would utterly condemn it.

Perhaps they own among them an average of one hundred acres apiece, ten thousand acres. This land, as a producing agent, is pitifully ill-handled. There is a maximum of effort, and a minimum of result. Each of the hundred families drags out a laborious life, over-burdened and under-supplied with all that makes for the joy and stimulus of real civilization.

Now let us suppose that this amount of land be differently arranged, each farmer retaining his individual ownership, of the same number of acres, but all "pie-shaped," radiating from a common center.

It is this center which makes all the difference in the world to the women and children.

Here would be a "common" or park, with a band-stand, seats, and shade trees; with a playground for the younger children, with, if possible, a bathing pool at least for the little ones—every child has a right to learn to swim.

Around this would stand the neces-

sary buildings to meet the common needs of a hundred families, some five hundred persons.

A school, with kindergarten and nursery, connecting with the playground and park; a church, a store and post-office; and that great necessity, a Community House. This should connect with a small hotel, and model kitchen, and should include a library, a good hall for lectures, dances, movies, all manner of general use in entertainment; and also ample provision for clubrooms, for men, women and children.

Then there is the necessary blacksmith's shop; there should be a well-supported tinker and cobbler, and a first-class cleaning and laundry establishment.

Around this social center would be the hundred homes of the owners, arranged on circular streets, with pleasant gardens.

Behind these private homes would stretch the private farms, widening as they went, with radiating roads and lanes between.

The vegetables and small fruits would be nearest to the houses, the larger crops coming next, and the pasture and woodland on the circumference. This is not intended as a rigid geometrical design; it would have to vary with the nature of the land, of course, but the great issue is to have the dwelling houses near together, and in close touch with social conveniences.

The advantages of this long established system of "village farming" are not yet understood in our country.

We are so set on "independence" that we would rather suffer, starve and go crazy alone than unite for our common advantage.

Yet the very spirit of this same great country is Union. United we stand and divided we fall, just as truly in economics as in politics.

So long as each family has its own house and grounds there is no danger of too much companionship; and so long as each farmer has his own land to work as he chooses, he need not fear losing any of his individuality.

But farmers as well as other men are learning the benefits of organization. Such a group as is here outlined would soon find the advantages of having one creamery to handle their milk, one competent selling agent to market their produce, and the purchase and use of expensive farm machinery in common.

They might find it wiser to throw their wood-lot holding together, have the whole scientifically forested, and take each his share of the annual output. If this gave them more and better wood for less labor why should they object?

But the basic reason for adopting such a form of group farming is the advantage to the women and children.

At present a hundred farmers require the services of a hundred women merely to do the housework; and usually get more than that out of them too in labor with the poultry, and dairy products. The short-sighted farmer thinks it economical to do this. He never measures



the money value of the woman's labor—because she is not paid.

Yet even at the wages now paid to a common "char-woman," which is three to four dollars in our cities, the earning power of the most ordinary woman is now about a thousand dollars a year—"and up."

If our hundred farmers realized that they were using a hundred thousand dollars' worth of labor a year, in their kitchens and poultry yards, they would be rather horrified.

It need not take a hundred women, nor anything like a hundred women to do this.

With organization, specialization, and proper mechanical appliances, twenty or twenty-five women could do the cooking, with hot meals delivered to the homes in "thermos"-like containers; the cleaning, laundry work, sewing and mending, and nursery-governessing that is now done by a hundred, and do it in an eight hour day.

This would leave seventy-five to specialize in other work, to raise vegetables and small fruits and preserve them for the market; to keep bees; to raise poultry on a paying scale; or whatever industry they like and found practicable.

With congenial work for shorter hours, with their children having the best advantages in education, with neighbors and friends close at hand, with easy access to various amusements, we should soon see the farmer's wife thriving and happy.

Admitting that our inherited prejudices will object at first to any such organization of labor among women, the business sense of both man and wife can hardly fail to see its advantages. The organization among the men will somewhat increase the family incomes, but that of the women, by freeing seventy-five of them for productive industry, could add something like seventy-five thousand to the income of that group, or \$750 a year to each family.

This would vary, naturally, according to the ability of the woman, and the character of her work, but whatever that might be the family would be the richer, not only by what she earned, but by her greater health and happiness.

Stronger, happier mothers, better education for little children, a pleasant and stimulating social life, and a larger income—are not these things worth the sacrifice of a few pet prejudices?

*New York City*

There's trouble in the Balkans.  
And Poland's in a mess.  
They're fighting now in Persia.  
And everywhere, I guess.

The Greeks are fighting Turkey.  
The Irish want a scrap.  
And wars and fights and riots  
Are spread across the map.

The world is in a pickle.  
There is no doubt of that.  
But I have some real trouble.  
I've got to find a flat.

—*New York Evening Mail.*

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During its existence the company has insured property to the value of .....	\$32,804,754,598.00	
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Issued certificates of profits to dealers .....	\$102,412,590.00	
Of which there have been redeemed .....	\$96,523,710.00	
Leaving outstanding at present time .....	\$5,888,880.00	
Interest paid on certificates amounts to .....	\$25,206,690.15	
On December 31, 1919, the assets of the company amounted to ..		\$16,958,683.35

The profits of the company revert to the assured and are divided annually upon the premiums terminated during the year, thereby reducing the cost of insurance.

For such dividends, certificates are issued subject to dividends of interest until ordered to be redeemed, in accordance with the charter.

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## DIVIDENDS

**AMERICAN TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY**

Three Year-Six Per Cent. Gold Notes  
Due October 1, 1922

Coupons from these Notes, payable by their terms on October 1, 1922, at the office or agency of the Company in New York or in Boston, will be paid in New York at the Bankers Trust Company, 16 Wall Street.

G. D. MILNE, Treasurer.

**American Telephone and Telegraph Company**

A dividend of Two Dollars per share will be paid on Friday, October 15, 1920, to stockholders of record at the close of business on Monday, September 20, 1920.

G. D. MILNE, Treasurer.

**THE AMERICAN BRAKE SHOE AND FOUNDRY COMPANY**

NOTICE OF DIVIDENDS ON NEW PREFERRED AND NEW COMMON STOCK.

The Board of Directors of the American Brake Shoe and Foundry Company has this day declared a quarterly dividend of one and three-quarters per cent. (1.34%) upon the new preferred stock of the company and a quarterly dividend of One Dollar (\$1.00) per share upon the new common stock of the company, said dividends to be payable, in the case of each class of stock, on September 30, 1920, to stockholders of record at 3 o'clock P. M. on September 22, 1920, and thereafter to the holders of all such new preferred and new common stock of the company as may be issued and exchanged for preferred and common stock of the company authorized prior to and outstanding at the time of the amendment to the certificate of incorporation of the company.

Checks will be mailed.

GEORGE M. JUDD, Secretary.

Dated, New York, September 14, 1920.

**UNITED FRUIT COMPANY**

## DIVIDEND NO. 85

A quarterly dividend of three per cent (three dollars per share) on the capital stock of this Company has been declared, payable on October 15, 1920, to stockholders of record at the close of business September 20, 1920.

JOHN W. DAMON, Treasurer.

**WESTINGHOUSE ELECTRIC & MANUFACTURING COMPANY.**

A Quarterly Dividend of 2% (\$1.00 per share) on the PREFERRED Stock of this Company will be paid October 15, 1920.

A dividend of 2% (\$1.00 per share) on the COMMON Stock of this Company for the quarter ending September 30, 1920, will be paid October 30, 1920.

Both dividends are payable to Stockholders of record as of September 30, 1920.

H. F. BAETZ, Treasurer.

New York, September 18, 1920.

**RAY CONSOLIDATED COPPER CO.**

25 Broad Street, New York, September 10, 1920.

The Executive Committee of the Ray Consolidated Copper Company has this day declared a quarterly distribution of \$.25 per share, payable September 30, 1920, will be paid October 30, the close of business September 18th, 1920.

E. P. SHOVE, Treasurer.

**UTAH COPPER COMPANY**

25 Broad Street, New York, September 10, 1920.

The Board of Directors of Utah Copper Company has this day declared a quarterly distribution of \$1.50 per share, payable September 30, 1920, to stockholders of record at the close of business September 18, 1920.

JOHN RIDGWAY, Assistant Treasurer.

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New York, September 15, 1920.

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MILTON S. BARGER, General Treasurer.

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# How to Study This Number

## THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

### English, Literature and Composition

### History, Civics and Economics

**I. Politicians!**

1. What does the author mean by the statement, "It is my observation that our politicians, figuratively speaking, try to burglarize our capitals"? On the assumption that burglary is a crime, write a paragraph giving any reasons that may occur to you as to why this alleged burglary by politicians is not considered criminal.
2. Notice the subheadings. How do they improve the text? Suggest other subheadings, at other places in the article.
3. "The names which live in our history are nearly all the names of men who went forth to serve ideas and who did not fear to advance them before hostile audiences." Write a paragraph on three other such men, comparing the ideas espoused by each.

**II. Applepieville.**

1. What is the style of this article? How does the author gain the reader's interest? Give two instances of the principles of contrast, reiteration, illustration.
2. "She is no longer contented with her 'lot.' She thinks that 'lot' should be cultivated to better advantage." Define "lot" as used in the first and in the second sentence.
3. Give an oral recitation on the form of community suggested by Mrs. Gilman. What points of similarity has it with a pie? Why is the article headed Applepieville? Can you suggest other titles?
4. "It is the loneliness, the primitive individualism, of the farm, which makes it so hard for women and children." Using this sentence as the point of departure, write a synopsis for a short story.

**III. Planning for Tomorrow.**

1. Give five reasons stated in the article why "planning for tomorrow" is a good slogan for the United States Geological Survey.
2. Give a résumé of the work that has been accomplished by the Survey since it was established forty years ago.
3. In what ways do the problems confronting the Survey today differ from its problems of 1879, according to the author?
4. Define expansion, insatiable, equilibrium, geologist, exploitation.
5. Write an exposition on why "it is the duty of every American to think in terms of the America of tomorrow."

**IV. The War Bills.**

1. Give a short oral explanation of the statement, "The war was fully paid for on the day it closed."
2. Define the following words: Repudiate, posterity, psychological, economic, reimbursement.

**V. Election or Elimination.**

1. "Hate's the driving force." Write an essay or a story with this statement as its basic idea.
2. Who is Mr. Dooley? Who is H. G. Wells?
3. Find some striking examples in the editorials or cartoons of the daily papers to fit Mr. Slosson's description of campaign propaganda "directed against something." Can you find equally good examples of campaign propaganda that "point with pride"?

**VI. The Story of the Week.**

1. List the important events of the past week (a) in the United States, (b) in foreign countries.
2. Give a short talk on any one of the foreign topics discussed in "The Story of the Week."
3. Write a colorful description of the Communist uprising in Italy.
4. Explain the significance of Tom Watson's nomination as Democratic senator from Georgia.
5. Pick out from the foreign news items half a dozen names that have been made famous in literature.

**VII. Come With Me to My Garden in Spain.**

1. What is the significance of the title?
2. Choose one or two of the best bits of description and examine the technic by which the author succeeds in painting word pictures. Get a similar effect in a description of some scene familiar to you.

**VIII. Back to School.**

1. What form of writing is this editorial? Why is it effective?
2. Write an entirely different editorial on the same subject.

**I. Science and the Federal Government—Planning for Tomorrow.**

1. Under what Department at Washington is the Geological Survey? What other functions has this Department?
2. By what clauses in the constitution is the Federal Government authorized to undertake scientific research?
3. Suppose the budget system were adopted by Congress and you were required to make estimates for the expenses of the coming year. About what percentage of the year's appropriations would you devote to scientific research in geology? In what ways would the money so spent increase the wealth and taxpaying capacity of the nation? Can it be considered investment as well as expenditure?

**II. The Campaign—Politicians. As Goes Maine, Harding Lauds Railroad Law. Cox Among the Drys.**

1. What does Mr. Crowell think of the charge of excessive campaign expenditures? Do you agree that this is a false issue?
2. State the issue which Senator Harding has raised in connection with the railroads.
3. Why is neither candidate willing to champion the "wets"? In what parts of the country does anti-prohibition sentiment linger? Why?

**III. The Primary System—Some Republican Straws. Tom Watson Sweeps Georgia. Suffrage Connecticut.**

1. Does your state have the direct primary? What do people say about how it works? Does it add to the cost of elections? Does it prove a check on the "machine"?
2. Does your state retain the party "state convention"? If so, how was it chosen?
3. Do you think that woman suffrage has had any influence on the results of recent primary elections?
4. What was the Populist movement? Compare it with the Progressive Party, the Farmers' Non-Partisan League, the Farmer-Labor Party, the Socialist Party.

**IV. Radicalism in Italy. — Communism Spreads in Italy. Italian Labor Favors Communists.**

1. What reasons can you find for the spread of radicalism in Italy? Do you think that revolution will go as far as in Russia?
2. What has been the recent attitude of the Italian Government towards intervention in Russia? Why was the American note on Russian affairs sent to Italy? If there had been syndicalist outbreaks in France as extensive as those in Italy what effect might it have on French foreign policy?

**V. Russian Problems—Why Not Lithuania? The Wrangel Campaign. British Attitude Toward Wrangel.**

1. What was the "Colby note"? What principles of American policy did it lay down?
2. Why did the United States make an exception in favor of Finland, Poland and Armenia in withholding recognition from independent Governments which have broken away from Russia? Can you suggest a reason for this policy in the history or geographical position of these three States? What parts of Armenia and Poland were formerly Russian?
3. On an outline map of Europe or of Russia shade the regions under control of the Bolsheviks. Shade the regions dominated by the armies of Wrangel. How does the war in southern Russia affect the war between the Bolsheviks and the Poles?

**VI. The American War—Our Greatest Victory.**

1. Why did the Germans devote so much effort to the attempt to take Verdun? Compare the German attack on Verdun in 1916 with the American and French advance from Verdun in 1918. Why in each case was this portion of the line selected as the most important for an offensive?
2. If the Germans should start a war of invasion against France today, without passing thru any other country, what lines of defense would they have to conquer to reach Paris? How has the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine simplified the military problem of defending France?

**VII. Rural Housing—Applepieville.**

1. Compare "Applepieville" with any country village you know. What advantages arise from the mere shape of the village? What advantages depend on community buildings and other improvements?



# The Independent

## An Old Philosopher's View of the League of Nations

By Benjamin Old

What's this here League of Nations? Tell you what  
It's one good thing this country might 'a got  
From out the hides of them world-conquerin' Dutch,  
Leastways I think it such.

I gives no tho't to high falutin' phrase,  
And them great statesmen quar'lin' for the praise  
They're matchin' human lives 'gainst politics,  
With all its turns and tricks.

I'm one of them the books calls "pioneers";  
I cros't the hills for gold them early years  
And lived my time in growin' minin' camps  
With God-forsaken scamps.

We fit—as every man will fight some times,  
No other way to square things in them climes,  
And many a good man turned untimely toes  
To where the daisy grows.

"Pot luck," we calls it, when he hits the skids,  
But what about his woman and the kids?  
That's it! Men's allus braggin' 'bout their guns,  
God sees the sufferin' ones.

In Jim's saloon one bloomin' hot July  
Some twenty kilt and no one knew just why,  
And when we'd sobered then we realized  
'Twas time we civilized.

We got a small committee to begin  
And swore we'd back 'em up thru thick and thin,  
They tells us that we got to change our aims  
Keep off our neighbors' claims—

Stop trigger shootin'—settle up our "busts"  
Before Tom Smith—a man we miners trusts,  
And then the hardest—'gainst the grain it runs—  
We must—stop totin' guns.

Give up our rights? Give up our guns? Oh, Lord!  
There was some yelpin' when we got the word.  
And Henry Cabbage, from the Old Bay State,  
My God! he did orate.

And yet we tried it—'twarn't just perfect—no,  
But a perfessor told me wunst 'twas so  
That our small camp was but a picture show'n  
Just how the world had grown.

I've read this League of Nations plan and say  
It's just the same—they promises to stay  
On their own claims, stop makin' guns and wait  
While judges arbitrate.

That's all? Sounds simple? Most things really air,  
If you just hunt for what is right and fair,  
And good men don't assert their rights; if so  
They quit on what they owe.

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This Hiram Johnson—he's a candi-date  
And Borah kind of thinks he'd fit the slate,  
And Lodge—he hates old Woodrow man to  
man,  
And so—they spoilt the plan.

Eight million kilt and marched to'rd heaven  
or hell,  
And thirty million wrecked by shot and  
shell!  
They fought for peace—By God, some day  
they'll call  
The men who spoilt it all.

## Remarkable Remarks

BONAR LAW—I would much prefer to  
say nothing.

GOVERNOR COX—The issues are supreme  
and rise above any party.

WINSTON CHURCHILL—It is no part of  
my duty to read "John Bull."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT—The Repub-  
lican platform is a hymn of hate.

DAVID W. GRIFFITH—On every tongue  
in the world are the words "I want ap-  
preciation."

W. L. GEORGE, Novelist—I do not be-  
lieve that complete equality of the sexes  
will ever exist.

MARY PICKFORD FAIRBANKS—We've 16  
Alaskan dogs, 12 cats, 20 canaries, a Jer-  
sey cow, and 6 horses.

OTTO H. KAHN—England has secured  
greater advantages from the Peace Treaty  
than any other nation.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, JR.—Franklin  
Roosevelt is a maverick—he does not have  
the brand of our family.

DOROTHY DIX—Nobody has a heart or a  
soul at breakfast time; these are organs  
we develop later in the day.

MRS. VINCENT ASTOR—Anybody who  
expects me to typify the "social whirl"  
will be greatly disappointed.

GOVERNOR COOLIDGE—The people who  
start to elect a man to get what he can  
for his district will probably find they have  
elected a man who will get what he can  
for himself.

## New Plays

*Welcome Stranger*, a good comedy by  
Aaron Hoffman, dealing with Jews, Chris-  
tian Science and electricity. A combination  
that George Sidney, in the role of Isadore  
Solomon, makes exceedingly humorous.  
(Cohan and Harris Theater.)

*An Enemy of the People*. Of all Ibsen's  
plays this is the one that nobody can call  
"obscure," "psychological" or "highbrow."  
Its satire is plain and its points are, un-  
fortunately, still pertinent wherever the  
solid majority suppresses the truth. (Lex-  
ington Theater.)

*Poldekín*, by Booth Tarkington, lives up  
to the author's theory that the cure for  
Bolshevism is to laugh at it. Unfortunately  
there are dreary wastes between the  
laughs, but the play has moments of real  
brilliance and a never failing charm when  
George Arliss is on the stage. (Park  
Theater.)



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# The Independent

October 2, 1920

## The Way to Peace and Progress

A Message from the Democratic Candidate to the American People

By Governor James M. Cox

**W**HAT kind of government is America to have for four years?

That is the real issue before the American people. It really underlies the discussions that have taken place in the days that have passed since the nominations were made by the two great political organizations.

Are the American people to have a government which is willing that America shall take her proper place at the table of the society of nations, or do they wish a government which shall desert its associates, make a separate peace with Germany, and set about on a career of arrogant dictatorship, while the dark forces of the world make real peace an impossibility for another generation? Shall we on domestic issues appeal to conscience or to the power of might?

These questions are raised by the utterances of the two great partizan organizations and still more definitely raised by the candidates themselves. The record of both is known to the country. They have lived in the same state and both have had a part in its history.

It is not necessary to review my own record here and I shall not do so. It speaks for itself, and tho I have experienced temporary reverses because I took my stand for progressive measures and principles, I am well satisfied with the permanent record that has been written in Ohio. That record as expressed by legislation is so well established in Ohio that it will not be repealed, it dare not be repealed by any set of officials who value their official careers.

I mention this to give point to what I have said about the issue—the supreme issue in this contest. Senator Harding's course in connection with the progressive changes in the state government gives us the bent of his mind. At the time when popular distrust of government was great because of abuses in the courts, he referred to those who proposed modern changes and reforms as "revolutionists." It has always been the thought of the people of Ohio that he was sincere in this statement and no one has contradicted this view.

When legislative changes to carry out the mandatory reforms which the people had voted into the Ohio constitution were to be carried out, Senator Harding led the opposition. He even established a weekly newspaper at the Capital in order that it might be circulated among the members of the General Assembly. This newspaper decried the legislation to require the registration of lobbyists,

and it opposed the workmen's compensation law and every progressive piece of legislation proposed. It sneered at the efforts to bring about better conditions in the schools and it scoffed at prison reform. In truth, there was not a single departure proposed which it did not ridicule.

Doubtless its work was a factor in the elevation of Senator Harding to his present position and to the temporary reverse sustained by the progressive forces in Ohio. But the utterances which were contained in the publications could not be repeated by Senator Harding today without his being regarded as lacking in mental equipoise. The point to this is that he was so entirely given over to reaction that the reactionary forces of today would find him too far behind them. But while the statements of those days are no longer made, the spirit that prompted them still lives in the candidate for President. It has assumed a different form. That is all.

Partizan rancor and bitterness were responsible for the framing of the opposition of the senatorial oligarchy to the Peace Treaty and Senator Harding was docile under its direction. He did not even utter a protest against the attempts of this band when it was seeking to undermine the standing of America before the world.

Of very necessity a cry has been raised to deceive and that cry has been shouted with flagrant insincerity to all the world. American nationality is at stake, said the enemies of the League of Nations. American sovereignty will be surrendered, was another sentiment expressed. And those who uttered these cries knew that they were false and wilfully so.

American nationality will be scrupulously guarded under the League of Nations and honestly and properly so. Americans who have made sacrifices to sustain the American honor will see that it is so. And nearly a score and a half of other nations which have entered the League will guard their own nationality as rigorously as do we. Friendship and amity among the nations will teach each to respect the other's rights.

The inner reason which motivates those who raise this cry is simple. They are true disciples of Prussianism and their arguments, reduced to simple terms, have a strange similarity to those advanced by the junkers in explanation and justification of their policy.

This brings me to a short analysis of the various ele-

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Before election each candidate for President of the United States will present in The Independent his message to the American people. This article by Governor Cox begins the series

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ments that have opposed the Treaty of Versailles, elements of which those who have been sponsor for and have directed the utterances of Senator Harding and his associates have sought to take full, even if questionable, advantage.

The largest single element is the frankly disloyal. It is composed of those who were pro-German before the war, pro-German when the acts of the Kaiser's Government made it impossible that we remain neutral, and pro-German during the war. I have had experience with the class in the Liberty loan, War Savings Stamps, food conservation, Red Cross and other activities. If there is a community in Ohio in which anti-treaty sentiment is militant that community is one in which we had trouble in organization of the various things that were necessary to the winning of the war. My travels have disclosed that this is true of other parts of the United States. I make this observation with shame.

Then there is the element which does not believe that various racial entities have attained the ideal under the Treaty. The sympathy which does not divide allegiance may be forgiven, but that which challenges true faith and allegiance is questionable in peace time and treason in war. It will be understood in good time that the League of Nations Covenant provides a method for bringing to the attention of the council and the assembly provided by the League the grievances of peoples who are qualified for self-government and have not yet attained it. Any nation, Ireland, Egypt, China, or any other may be heard under this provision.

There is no reason why the second element which has been mentioned should associate its fortunes with the first, either purposely or by chance. It is not surprising that the third element which I shall mention should employ the first for its purposes for it, like the Kaiserites of Berlin, knows no difference between right and wrong. This is the element of munition makers and those who expect to fatten on the profits of discord. It is represented by the war profiteers, the powder makers and those who would subvert patriotism to gain. Has it struck the discernment of the people that every single one of the representatives of these forces that profit by chauvinism have already aligned itself with the junker candidate for President?

A fourth element opposed to the Treaty is that of the radical Socialistic or Communistic forces. Its reasons for adherence to the Moscow Internationale is plain. Pretending to represent the cause of international brotherhood, its members have upheld the cruelties and barbarities of the Bolsheviki régime, and are hostile to any attempt on the part of the forces of civilization to form a compact for mutual protection. They reason, and I fear they reason rightly, that another war would destroy civilization itself and they might come to control as they have done in Russia.

There has not been included herein the smaller groups of persons who are fearful that America will recognize that isolation is no longer possible. It is a sentiment credible in

the remote mountains of the South to which modern communication and means of transport have not penetrated, but it is a feeling which cannot be accounted for among a people who have felt the grip of world movements in the pains and triumphs of the past few years.

I have spoken with a great deal of frankness about the forces which make for rejection of the Treaty and, doubtless aside from the obviously disloyal, containing many who believe themselves to be as good patriots as those who with heart and hand, and mind and tongue, and even with life itself, sought to work out the great conception of war banished from the earth.

It was not surprising to me that those who attempted to turn these forces to partizan advantage in this campaign hoped to fortify their chances with an enormous campaign fund. I sensed this more than a year ago and gave solemn warning of what was to happen. But those who had determined upon their course believed that the matter could be kept from public knowledge until the election was over and then it could be laughed down. They boldly prepared their career of money-getting, stopping at nothing, and when the evidence against them was produced, there was dismay in their camp—but dismay only that the truth was found out—in part at least.

The complete facts will come to light in the course of this campaign, and the American people will know the truth, if it is possible for it to be told them. Every fact that I have shall, in all frankness, be given them. There will be nothing concealed, and the Senatorial committee conducting the inquiry will have the opportunity of trying at the bar of public opinion this criminal cabal which has been at work. Developments will continue during the campaign.

And now I have a suggestion to make to you who are not of the money-givers. Granted that you honestly believe in the type of reaction represented by our opponents, what will be your fate if victory is theirs? You have the lesson and experience of other years before you. Services are little valued in money campaigns. The ideal begins with and ends with the dollar. Nothing else counts. You may help in every way by giving your

time and your thought to the campaign of the Republican candidate, Senator Harding. But when preferment is to be determined or when policies are to be determined, you will find the check-book man will be preferred. His voice will be heard and his wishes met while others stand in the outside reception room at the White House. Senator Harding has undergone reproach of conscience for these men and they have for him, and between him and the group who have yielded their check-books is a bond of sympathy and affection and of mutual understanding that those who are not large contributors cannot pierce. You may link your fortunes to his but he cannot link his to yours. That is impossible. I address this especially to young men for these records now made or soon to be made will be remembered. [Continued on page 28]



Paul Thompson

We are thinking in terms of tomorrow while our adversaries go back to the days of yesterday—Governor Cox



Eighth article in the Independent's Industrial Series on the big plants that are finding a successful answer to the problems of labor unrest



The Shop Committee of the Nunn, Bush & Weldon Shoe Company, of Milwaukee, discussing the pros and cons of a department's grievances

# The Shop Committee in Control

By Professor John R. Commons of the University of Wisconsin

In collaboration with A. P. Haake, O. F. Carpenter, Malcolm Sharp, Jennie McMullin Turner, Ethel B. Dietrich, Jean Davis, John A. Commons

THE chairman of the shop committee was formerly the acting business agent of the shoe workers' union. After the disastrous strike of 1914 this was the only shoe factory that would hire him. Now he is the business agent of his "shop union." He is elected by the employees and paid by them the same wages that he had been earning at the bench. He has his private office, gives all his time to grievances and shop management, works under the direction of a shop committee also elected by the employees.

A foreman comes in with a discharge slip. A boy had poured a can of oil into a batch of cement. His discharge had been approved by the Joint Council, the highest authority in the shop, composed of four representatives of the company and four representatives of the employees. But the boy cannot be discharged unless that business agent of the employees O. K.'s the discharge slip. He hesitates, makes inquiries, flatly refuses. The foreman is surprised, chagrined, "beats it."

The facts were there. The boy had committed the offense two months before. The foreman had not discharged him then but had waited two months, until he did not need him. The business agent of the employees did not approve that style of discipline.

A new employee is hired by the company's employment department and put to work. He cannot continue at work unless he joins the shop union and pays the dues. But he cannot join the union unless the chairman and the employees approve. So he is sent to the chairman for an interview. The chairman usually knows whether he has been a "scab" or a professional troublemaker. He has had experience with such. So he tells the new employee there is no chance for him in the factory. Or, he tells him that he can go to work and explains to him the advantages of the shop union and why he should be a member and pay the dues.

Thus the business agent, along with the shop committee, has the last word in hiring and firing.

This government by employees did not drop down suddenly. It was not a brilliant thought of the Nunn, Bush & Weldon Shoe Company of the city of Milwaukee. It was not thrown at the employees without previous notice. It was not fought for and won by them to make the shop safe for democracy. It was not a struggle for power. It just grewed, like Topsy and the British constitution. It has taken seven years to reach its present shape, but it keeps on growing—rapidly. You have to visit it at least once in three months, or else you will be talking about history instead of a live up-to-the-minute representative democracy.

Seven years ago Mr. H. L. Nunn, general manager of the company, did all of the hiring and firing. The firm was rapidly expanding. Superintendents and foremen got between him and the workers. It occurred to him that it would be a good thing to organize the older employees and give them a voice in affairs that concerned them. The older ones took to it. They organized the Nunn-Bush Coöperative Association. Membership was limited to those who had been with the company three years or longer. The "board of directors"—not of the corporation but of the Coöperative Association—was equally divided, three appointed by the company, three elected from the association by its members.

The general manager of the company turned over to this board the right to discharge any member of the association, as well as the settlement of all grievances affecting any member. If the board could not agree the case was to be settled by arbitration.

The board soon discovered that it was not big enough. There were twelve departments in the factory, but only three could find representation on the board. So a new board was created—a grievance committee. The board of directors of the association appointed this grievance committee of twelve members, one from each department. The grievance committee could only investigate and recommend. It investigated grievances,



made findings of fact, then made its recommendations to the board of directors.

The next step in constitutional history was the extension of the suffrage. Only members of the Coöperative Association vote for the employee representatives on the Joint Council.

After a short experience the membership was enlarged by admitting employees after two years' service, instead of three. Then, after a little more experience, it was reduced to one year. Then, an attack from the outside convinced them that they must admit every regular employee to membership in the association.

The United Shoe Workers, a seceding union from the Boot and Shoe Workers of America, began organizing one of the departments. About a dozen of the forty employees in that department had signed up. They were the more recent employees not eligible to the association. The situation became acute. A meeting of that department was called. Each side presented its case. The decision was reached to remain with the association. So the suffrage was widened to admit all employees who might otherwise be admitted to the United Shoe Workers' Union.

It was before this trouble that Louis Karl, formerly the acting business agent of the union, found employment in the shop and membership in the Coöperative Association, altho retaining his membership in the Shoe Workers' Union.

The extension of the suffrage was followed by a revision of the constitution. The old "board of directors" of six members now gave way to a "Joint Council" of eight members—four company appointees, four employee representatives, the latter elected by all the employees.

Much more important was the change in the grievance committee. The former committee was *appointed* by the board of directors. The new one was *elected* by the employees. Each of the twelve departments elects separately its representative on the grievance committee of twelve. The grievance committee now becomes a House of Representatives and its name is changed to shop committee.

The next step was evidently for this shop committee to take over power from the Joint Council. The shop committee represents solely the employees, elected by departments. The Joint Council is equally divided between employer and employees, the latter elected by the whole shop.

The shop committee began to grow in several directions. It added a chairman, nominated by itself, elected and paid by the employees. This is Louis Karl, the business agent. Karl presides at all meetings of the shop committee. He personally investigates all grievances in the factory, takes them up with the foreman or superintendent, and in this way settles 80 per cent of the grievances. He investigates wages and hours in other shops.

The company gives him access to every part of the factory and all its records and books. He is a bureau of investigation and statistics for the shop committee and the employees.

But the shop committee finds itself too bulky to handle all the grievances. So the next step was to appoint an "investigating committee," composed of its chairman, the representative from the department where the trouble arises and three others from its own membership. Karl is chairman also of this investigating committee. He brings before it any of the troubles he has not been able to settle directly with the foreman, superintendent, or general manager. The committee notifies both sides to appear and present their respective sides of the controversy. Here the dissatisfied worker is not afraid to express himself. Karl tells him to forget his "grammar" and tell the committee just what his trouble is and what he thinks about it.

Seldom is a matter seriously contested. Before the investigating committee recently a small group of employees asked an increase in pay and submitted what they claimed were the "facts" to the committee. The company took issue on these "facts." The committee had previously gathered information which conflicted with the statements of the complainants. It concluded that here was a bald attempt to deceive them. It sent back the reply: "If you want this committee to represent you, you must tell the truth."

The investigating committee completes its work on Wednesday, reports its findings and recommendations to the shop committee of twelve which meets on Thursday at 4 o'clock.

Here Karl again is chairman. The shop committee may also take testimony if it wishes. One of the best workmen had been transferred to a new job with the understanding that he would receive the same pay by the week. After several months he showed no improvement. The company, suspecting that he was taking advantage of the situation, appeared before the shop committee and asked permission to substitute a piece rate. The worker stated that he would have his own price or quit. The committee decided against him and he quit.

One of the representatives of the shop committee reports that two workmen in his department wanted "more money." The committee voted to investigate this claim. The next Thursday the same representative reports two or three others in the same department who had asked him to get them a "raise." This time the committee decided to investigate the entire wage scale in that department, and agreed that it was their business to do justice, not merely for those who had the "nerve to kick," but for everybody. So they instruct

Karl and the investigating committee to find out what the other shoe factories are paying for the same kind of work. They reason that it would not be fair to ask the company to pay wages that would [Continued on page 33]



H. L. Nunn, the General Manager, who used to do all the hiring and firing, — now done by the business agent along with the shop committee



Louis Karl, business agent, chairman of the shop committee, chairman of the investigating committee, and settler of 80 percent. of the grievances in the factory.

### Next Month—Lizzie Likes Her Job



# Our Most American City

By  
Chester T. Crowell

OF all the cities along the eastern seaboard I think Philadelphia has the most "class"—to use an expressive slang phrase. Since departing from my Texas prairies last November I have seen all of the larger cities of the East—and I like them. Readers of *The Independent* will recall my observation that the Boston of tradition is somewhat submerged by the tidal waves of immigration. New York is a collection of clans, races, nationalities, and religions. Buffalo Bill used to have a feature in his show that he called "The Congress of Nations." That is New York—and Buffalo Bill would make a very acceptable bally-ho man for the town if it needed a bally-ho man.

Philadelphia also has received many thousands of immigrants, but they are a distinct minority. So far as I can observe, their ideas have not impressed themselves upon the city in any manner visible to the man who makes a short visit. Philadelphia is what I wanted it to be and hoped it would be.

There is no inconsiderable amount of excellent architecture in Philadelphia. Many of the principal streets have width and dignity, while miles and miles of the residence streets are shaded by beautiful trees. I noticed also that the queer little brick coops people in the East call homes had pathetic efforts at porches—galleries, we call them in Texas. Still the effort to have a gallery pleased me. My idea of an ideal home is eight to ten rooms arranged in a rectangle with an interior court—Mexican style—and galleries all the way around the exterior. At least two sides should afford room for dancing, and the rear gallery would be the summer kitchen. One gallery would be the nursery and children's play room. I realize that such a house would not be entirely suited to the climate of the East. Nevertheless, it is my idea of a house, and I approved of the little porches I saw in Philadelphia. I suppose a gallery is a porch in Philadelphia.

I went over to Philadelphia twice last winter to lecture. One evening I ate dinner à la Broadway on the hotel roof. I was particularly interested in the crowd. About three-fourths of those present were young men and women who had come to dance. Several hundreds were present. I do not think I have ever seen their equal for attractiveness of face and figure.

The newspapers of Philadelphia are an interesting revelation of the character of the city. In the first place they are very numerous. That, in itself, is an index. And I did not observe a single sensational, really yellow newspaper in the whole collection. The competition between them seems to be along the line of better service, accuracy, completeness, and decent conserva-



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Philadelphia impressed me as a worthy city to possess the Liberty Bell and Independence Hall

*Another entertaining sketch in which a Texan gives the impressions of his first visit to the "effete East"*

tism without leaning over backward. I do not think there is another city in the United States with as many daily newspapers as Philadelphia has which can show such uniform good quality. Philadelphia's best is good enough for any city on earth. Philadelphia's worst I considered several thousand per cent superior to New York's worst.

For pure American types, Texas cannot be excelled, but the Texas climate does not produce good complexions. "Peaches and cream" skin, however, is not infrequent in Philadelphia.

The places of amusement are generally a reliable index to the character of the people they serve. I went out to Willow Grove, near Philadelphia. It is the cleanest and neatest, and prettiest amusement place of the sort I have ever seen. I did not suppose it was possible to keep such a place so clean. It had the appearance of having been opened to the public about five minutes before I arrived. The crowds were orderly and happy. The only time I heard their voices was when they laughed. In New York, when a crowd gathers, there are always voices, shrill, hysterical, furious and threatening. I turn expecting to see the excited man who is yelling and gesticulating slaughter the woman by his side. But it subsequently develops that he is entertaining her with an account of what happened at the lodge meeting or he is reporting the news he received in a letter from his mother. What sounds like a stream of European profanity turns out to be a request for her to hurry. The change to Philadelphia crowds was quite restful.

I also noticed that prices for little things which may properly be compared are lower in Philadelphia than in New York City. As for staple commodities I doubt if the difference would be notable. Admission to the baseball park grandstand there is one dollar, including war tax. The management, in order to make the price an even dollar, simply fails to collect the sum of one penny in addition to each dollar. That is a very decent and sensible way out of a clumsy situation with regard to making change. But it impressed me because the way to meet a situation like that in New York City is to add twenty-four cents to the penny and collect a dollar and a quarter. Drinks and cigars are sold at Philadelphia places of amusement at the standard prices. At the baseball park I bought an excellent ham sandwich for ten cents. In New York City, at the Polo Grounds, an atrocious thing erroneously called cigar sells for twenty cents. That is the minimum.

One afternoon in Philadelphia I decided to while away the time riding street cars. In this manner about ten or twelve conductors came under my observation. Every one was American; I noticed that they were polite and that their voices had [Continued on page 30]



# Remaking Men

A Message from the United States Government to the American People

By Uel W. Lamkin

Director of the Federal Board for Vocational Education

**T**O help the man disabled in the military service of the United States, whose disability is a handicap to him in making a living, overcome such handicap by restoring his former or creating in him a new earning power, is the purpose of the Vocational Rehabilitation Act passed by Congress in June, 1918.

This task was committed to the Federal Board for Vocational Education which had been created in 1917 for the purpose of cooperating with the several states in the promotion of vocational education. Four *ex-officio* and three appointed members compose the board—the Secretaries of Agriculture, Commerce and Labor, and the United States Commissioner of Education, and persons named by the President representing the fields of manufacturing and commerce,

labor and agriculture. The board has recently been charged by Congress with a third responsibility, that of cooperation with the states in the rehabilitation of persons disabled in industry. In two of its three functions, therefore—vocational education and rehabilitation of the disabled in industry—there is a joint national and state responsibility.

But the rehabilitation of the disabled in military service is the duty of the Federal Government. The men served the United States, not the several states as such. As a matter of right to the man, and as a wise national economic policy, he should be helped by the nation as a whole to overcome every handicap resulting from a war disability.

This duty of the Government must not be confused with money compensation for injuries received. The War Risk Insurance Act, an entirely different statute, makes provision for such payments thru the Bureau of War Risk Insurance—the amounts and the length of time for which they are paid varying with the disability. The War Risk Insurance Bureau and the Public Health Service provide for hospital and medical care for war disabilities in order that physical restoration may be complete, while the work of the Federal Board

is that of vocational rather than physical rehabilitation.

For a disabled man to be entitled to training the law provides that four conditions must be met:

- (1) Honorable discharge from military service;
- (2) A disability incurred in or increased by such service;
- (3) That such disability is a vocational handicap, and
- (4) That training is feasible.

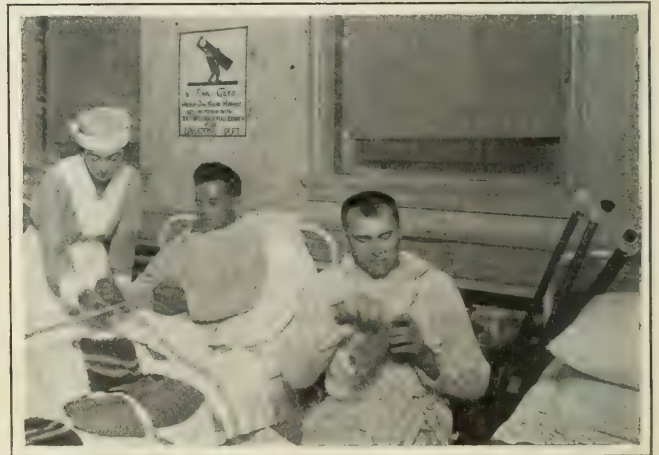
To such as meet these conditions the board offers training with maintenance allowances varying from \$80 to \$170 per month during the training period, the amount determined by the number of dependents. During the time this allowance is being paid, compensation is suspended by the Bureau of War Risk Insurance. To others who have disabilities for which the Bureau of War Risk Insurance has awarded compensation, but whose disabilities do not constitute vocational handicaps, similar training can be given but no maintenance payments can be made by the board.

Two of the conditions named require no exercise of judgment—while the question of whether the disability



French Official Photograph  
© Western Newspaper Union

It's a doubly long row to hoe when you have to keep one eye on an artificial limb that wants to balk and the other eye on your watering can



© Press Illustrating

Education began not at home but in bed in the case of wounded soldiers, who were put into regular classes in basketry, hand and frame knitting, toy making and weaving as soon as they were at all able to take up the work, the theory being that the sooner you can get a man's mind off his ailments, the sooner you will have him well again

constitutes a vocational handicap, and whether or not training is feasible, are matters which must be determined by the board or its representatives acting upon the best advice it is able to secure. For instance, a disability which for one man is no handicap in his occupation may totally disable another. An injury to the left hand might interfere very little with a bookkeeper in his occupation, but would prevent a professional pianist from making a living as he formerly did. It is not feasible to place a man suffering from tuberculosis which is in an active state in training until after the disease becomes arrested. In general the board holds that wherever it is feasible for a man to be employed, training for that employment is feasible.

Five elements enter into the determination of the



kind of training which can be given:

- (1) The man's education;
- (2) His previous industrial experience;
- (3) The nature of his disability;
- (4) His preference as to kind of training;
- (5) The opportunity for employment after training.

In education the range is from the illiterate to the college graduate; in industrial experience from one who has had no settled trade or occupation to the highly trained professional man or the skilled mechanic; in degree of disability from those which are slight to the double amputations or the totally blinded; in preference from the occupation which requires no skill to the highest trained specialist, and in employment opportunity from those trades where labor is always in demand to those which are always overcrowded.

The giving of proper advice and continued counsel to the men who are being trained is one of the most difficult and complex tasks of the board and its employees. Many mistakes are made and will continue to be made. Frequently the disabled man does not know what he wants to do, his education has been meager, his experience limited, while his disability makes it uncertain as to what he can do. Consequently every course of training must be more or less a "try out" course. Continual contact must be maintained with the men. Shifts must be made from time to time so that every man may, to the extent of his ability, profit by the opportunity afforded him.

The ultimate aim of the work of the rehabilitation service is gainful employment for the disabled men. Training, therefore, must have a definite employment objective and last as long as is necessary (but not longer) to fit the man to "carry on" successfully. The board recognizes ability to carry on as the best test of training. In some instances that ability may be determined by examination, such as state examinations for admission to the bar, or for embalmers' licenses. In other cases it must be ascertained by observation in actual employment. Where the training has been begun in educational institutions, it is completed under employment conditions.

It is doubtful whether the size or the complexity of the problem has been or is understood. When the matter was being considered by Congress it was estimated by Canadian authorities called in for consultation, and by others, based on the experience of other countries, that there would be some 13,000 to 15,000 men to be trained. On September 1, 1920, more than 55,000 men had entered training



French Official Photograph © Western Newspaper Union

Man's ingenuity and courage would seem to have no limit if one is to judge by this ex-soldier who blinded and maimed still succeeds in reaping his fields

and more than 46,000 were actually in training. In addition some 25,000 had been declared eligible for training with maintenance allowances, and about 40,000 were entitled to training without maintenance allowances. Men had been sent to more than 2000 educational institutions, scattered throughout the United States, while about 9000 factories, shops, mills and offices were being used to give training under actual employment conditions. Training was being given for more than three hundred different trades or occupations. Of the men taking advantage of the act about 15 per cent were in pre-vocational work such as English,

civics, and "try out" courses; 35 per cent in trade and industrial courses; 26 per cent were fitting themselves for "commercial" occupations; 11 per cent for agriculture and 13 per cent for the professions.

The United States was the only country in the war which discharged its men from military service before the questions of compensation (or pensions as called in some countries), rehabilitation, where provided at all, and continued medical care were settled. As a consequence, more or less disabled service men who may be entitled to vocational rehabilitation are scattered throughout the country. These the board, thru its fourteen district offices, each of which has ample authority to act without delay and without reference to the Central Office at Washington, is attempting to reach. Agents are being sent to various centers to interview men and make awards, thus decentralizing its operation to a greater extent than has ever [Continued on page 35]



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Farming according to Hoyle is the problem these ex-service men were intent on mastering while they were still convalescent



# Sun Dogs

By Edwin E. Slosson

THESE mathematicians are insatiable. Give them an inch and they will take an elevated railroad. Grant them three dimensions and they ask for four. Grant them four and they ask for five. They said they needed a fourth dimension to give room for the curvature of three-dimension space. So they took time as a fourth dimension. They constructed out of these four dimensions—three of them spatial and the other temporal—a playhouse in which they could exercise their imaginations. But now they come clamoring, like spoiled children, for a new dimension. "What for?" we ask. "To roll up our four-dimensional universe in," they reply. "Why do you want to roll up space, anyhow?" we ask. They do not answer, but we suspect it is merely to prove old Euclid wrong. For the students who pass in geometry and grow up to teach it seem to have a grudge against Euclid just as much as the students who had to leave the university at the end of the term on account of sore eyes.

But never mind, let them have all the dimensions they want since empty space does not cost us anything and it is about the only thing that does not nowadays. Besides it is interesting to watch what they will do with this new play space. But, look, two of the liveliest youngsters of the lot are quarreling over which way to roll up the four-dimensional universe. One of them, a Swiss Jew named Einstein, wants to roll it up into a cylinder, leaving the time dimension sticking out at the ends. The other, a Dutchman named de Sitter, wants to make it round like a ball. But both of them agree that the space-time world is curved so as to come back on itself some time or somewhere—if such expressions can be applied to the new notions. That is, space is not endless but has a definite, possibly measurable size. In fact they go so far as to figure how big it must be and they make out that the radius of world space, that is the distance from anywhere to nowhere, is equal to the distance from the earth to the sun multiplied by the thirteenth power of ten. Paper costs too much to print it cut, but you can just put down 93,000,000 miles and add thirteen zeros.

From this idea some curious consequences may be drawn, but I had rather let Professor Eddington of Cambridge draw them lest you should think I am drawing the long bow. Professor Eddington is the foremost champion of Einstein in English. When he lectured on relativity before the Royal Society of London, Sir Oliver Lodge, who opposes the new theory on account of his attachment to the ether, opened the discussion with the remark that one of the things that astonished him most about it was that Professor Eddington thought that he understood it. But since Professor Eddington does—that is, does think so—I will quote what he says on this point:

A ray of light from the sun would thus take about 1000 million years to go round the world; and after the journey the rays would converge again at the starting point, and then diverge for the next circuit. The convergent would have all the characteristics of a real sun so far as light and heat are concerned, only there would be no substantial body present. Thus corresponding to the sun we might see a series of ghosts occupying the positions where the sun was 1000, 2000, 3000, etc., million years ago, if (as seems probable) the sun has been luminous for so long.

It is rather a pleasing speculation that records of the previous states of the sidereal universe may be automatically reforming themselves on the original sites. Perhaps one or more of the many spiral nebulae are really phantoms of our own stellar system. Or it may be that only a proportion of the stars are substantial bodies; the remainder are optical ghosts revisiting their old haunts.

This means that if the world—I mean the whole universe, not our own minor planet—is really round, a ray

of light would roll round and round in it like a ball inside a roulette wheel, or rather, since that simile will be incomprehensible to my readers, like the marble of pigs-in-clover. Altho the light from the sun disperses on every direction all the rays come together again at this antipodal focus only scatter again to meet at their original rendezvous. Tho of course many of them must get lost on the way by running up against planets or being absorbed by drifting dust or pulled out of the straight track by the attraction of gravitation as Einstein discovered.

It is an interesting idea anyhow and probably some preacher will pick it up and make a sermon out of it. For the sun is not the only thing that is dogged by the images of its past selves. We shine too, altho only by reflected light. It must be then that our radiations are traveling about somewhere in the world and will be reproducing our looks and acts on the cinema screen of the farthest horizon of space and time a thousand million years after we are dead. If we are going to have that sort of immortality imposed upon us we would prefer to pick our poses. The moral of it is—altho probably the preacher would draw a different one—that if we are going to do anything we are ashamed of we should go inside the house and pull down the blinds or wait till it is dark. But this lesson is needless, for such precautions are customary. Even then one can't feel quite safe in sinning. There are the x-rays, you know—and nobody knows what other invisible pencils may be registering all our actions or even thoughts—or what's worse, the desires that we don't dare think. They, too, must leave their mark somewhere.

## Woman Suffrage

NOW watch all the dire predictions of the ill effects of women on politics and politics on women start not happening.

## Wanted: A Book Binding

THE cost of bookmaking is rising so rapidly that publishers do not dare to announce the selling price in advance and they often have to raise the figure after the slip cover is printed. A large part of the expense, twenty to thirty-five per cent. of it, goes for the binding, so the suggestion is frequently made that American publishers might follow the example of the French and sell their books unbound. But a French book is a botheration that Americans would never endure. Covered with thin paper and held together by a single thread it is dogeared and disheveled by the time it has passed thru two hands. Sections fall out and the volume splits in two.

The leather bindings we get now only last a few years before they rub off in brown powder. The ordinary muslin cracks and peels. Buckram is too costly. Some material must be found that is more durable than paper, more flexible than boards and less expensive than cloth. With the infinite variety of new fabrics of the soluble cellulose order to draw upon there must be something that would be almost as cheap as paper and almost as lasting as cloth. It must be found if we are not to be wholly dependent upon periodicals for our intellectual provender. Assuming that periodicals of the better class derive half their revenue from their advertizing, there is no reason why a book should cost more than twice as much as a magazine of the same amount of matter. In fact it could be sold for less because it is less ephemeral. Actually the book costs more than ten times as much and does not reach one-hundredth as many as a mag-



azine, tho the matter may be the same. If the American publisher will devise a new form of binding and new methods of marketing he will sell books by the million instead of the thousand.

## How Will the Farmer's Wife Vote

By L. Wayne Army

THE women's vote in the coming election is, of course, an enigma. It is a political factor without precedent upon which either party seems to be able to find some justification for counting with some degree of confidence. As with many other issues, however, the city and country can be divided along fairly clear cut lines. The women of both groups have distinct viewpoints that are markedly dissimilar.

It would be futile as well as misleading to predict the trend of the rural feminine vote for the country at large or for any group of states without first making a careful survey of the territory in question. It may be significant, however, to examine a specific locality, small enough to make possible a detailed forecast, but yet one that is typically rural.

I find myself in such a one at the moment. It is a truly rural and agricultural region in which the women regard their right to vote with a mixture of excitement over the novelty of the situation and bewilderment at the responsibility that it entails. There are, however, a large number of women here who will not vote. The majority of them will dutifully follow the wishes of their timid husbands for whom equal suffrage is a much too radical departure to be embraced without first seeing where the experiment will lead. Several farmers have said to me that "No women folks of theirs would vote if they could stop it," and one especially nervous individual went as far as predicting that "this business would be the ruination of the country."

But confining the discussion to those women who will vote, and the number undoubtedly will be large, one is impressed with the fact that in the cities hereabouts the issue is divided chiefly over the League. In the country one hears little of the League. The party platforms are translated into the more familiar terms of pro-farming or anti-farming. This is natural and logical, for it must be remembered that the farmer's wife has a much more personal interest in and knowledge of her husband's business than does the woman of the city in that occupation which provides her necessities. Legislation that affects agriculture—particularly that which affects it unfavorably—is known to the farmer's wife. A drop in the price of corn at the local mill of a few cents a bushel is a topics of household conversation. Most city women on the other hand are ignorant of the *minutia* of business or the politics pertaining to it.

Viewing the situation from this point of view, it is logical that the majority of country women here—the large majority—are planning to give their first vote to Mr. Harding. The war experience, especially the farm woman's war experience under a Democratic administration, is too fresh in her mind to make any other choice possible. She remembers with a good deal of bitterness the fall of 1918 when wheat was a paramount issue of the war campaign. Her husband drove wheat to the mill only to be told that an order had been received making it unlawful to mill more than 10 per cent of the previous year's milling. The miller already had that much and so refused to accept more. She remembers her wonderment at a Government that would force her husband to feed his wheat to hogs and chickens at a time when the greatest cause in history was weakening for lack of it.

Why did those farmers not ship their wheat in carload lots to the grain corporation? That question was asked many times. But these farmers do not think in terms of

carload lots. Most of them never heard of the grain corporation; they only knew that their Government, under a Democratic administration, made it impossible for them to sell their wheat at the local mill when wheat was a paramount war issue.

The farmer's wife also remembers the assurance to protect farming interests that was given prior to the conscription law. Her husband approved the law on that basis, believing that it would be carried out and that he would be permitted to harvest the crops that were then in the ground. She also remembers, however, the complete disregard of this assurance after the law became operative and her relatives and hired men were drafted into the service when every ounce of energy was needed on the land to harvest the crops that were to sustain our armies.

The heroic work that was done by women on the farms during those trying months is too little known. They had to go into the fields themselves and do even the heavy work or let the sorely needed crops waste away. They did all this and did it uncomplainingly in the same spirit with which their relatives shouldered guns for foreign service.

All of this is now merely the memory of an experience, but it has left its mark. It is an ugly remembrance correlated in the mind of the farmer's wife with a Democratic administration. It is a remembrance that Mr. Cox must needs do a vast amount of reassuring to overcome.

## Nine Points of Law

IN the old days when it used to be held that "the best government is that which governs least," some extremists of this *laissez-faire* theory went so far as to say that eventually the functions of government might be reduced to three, the protection of life and property and the enforcement of contracts. This was regarded as the irreducible minimum below which government could hardly be said to exist at all. Since then the tide has been running the other way and governments have been continually taking on additional duties.

But now in Italy, where the workmen in the machine shops have seized the plants and are running them for their own profit, refusing to recognize any rights of property or any contracts whatever, the Government has declared its "neutrality" and refuses to take any action so long as the shop soviets do not invade the "political" field. That is to say the Italian Government has calmly relinquished without a struggle two-thirds of the minimum duties that a government is supposed to perform.

The Italian situation reminds one of an incident that occurred in a Colorado strike some years ago. As soon as the news of the outbreak reached Denver the Governor telegraphed to the member of the legislature for the disturbed region, asking if troops should be sent. But the member from the mining district replied: "No need for troops. Miners in peaceable possession of the mines."

## Beware of Panic

THE worst aspect of such a wholly evil affair as a dynamite outrage is the flurry of nerves which the news sends across a whole continent. The anarchist crank may be an isolated individual or a member of a small group of degenerates, but to the excited public mind the air seems to tingle with the tension of a world-wide conspiracy, with Bolsheviks lurking around the corner and a social revolution imminent in every labor dispute. Of course this atmosphere of menace is just what the anarchist aims to create. The "anti-Red" panic of last year did far more to advertise Bolshevik propaganda than all the direct efforts of the radical writers and speakers. Let us not have another such panic on account of the Wall Street explosion. In the United States so vast is the conservative and patriotic majority that the repression of sedition is simply a matter of police work, the hunting down of a few individual crim-



# The Belfast Riots

The British Tommies, wearing war equipment, with bayonets fixed, are England's answer to the rioting occasioned by Sinn Fein propaganda in the north of Ireland. The Ulsterites do not take quietly such advice as this "Vote Sinn Fein" slogan on the wall



International

## GOVERNMENT OF THE IRISH REPUBLIC.

Acting under instructions, you are hereby notified that after this date you are forbidden to drive any train, or to assist in any way, the transport of armed forces of the English Government.

By Order,

MINISTRY OF WAR

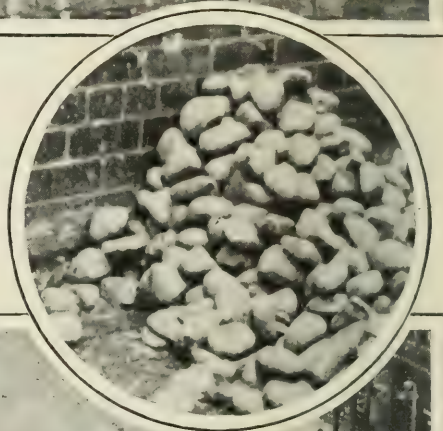
Date, 20. 8. 20

International

This order, forbidding railroad employees in Ireland to help transport British troops, was sent out by the Ministry of War of the "Irish Republic"

### IRISH CONFETTI

At the right is a corner of one of the piles of cobblestones used as ammunition during the street fighting in Belfast



Underwood & Underwood

### THE BATTLE OF YORK STREET

When these Unionist shipyard workers in Belfast were attacked by Sinn Feiners they hoisted the Union Jack and with cobblestones for weapons fought back. In the row of houses (at the right) in Lime Street, Belfast, every home has taken out insurance against riot and fire by flying the British flag



International

**IRISH SPIRITS CAST DOWN**  
The Orangemen in Belfast conducted a systematic destruction of Sinn Fein saloons throught the city, not only destroying the stock, but burning the buildings. The raid was in the nature of a reprisal against the Sinn Fein attacks upon Unionists and upon British police in Dublin and in the south of Ireland. At the right is a British military post in York Street, Belfast



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International



inals; it has nothing in common with Italy's problem of coping with a real organized revolution. Of course, one crank armed with a bomb can do a great deal of harm, but he cannot endanger the processes of constitutional government. Among our hundred million people there are bound to be a few who dream of establishing Bolshevism in America by a violent revolution, but we doubt if they number one-tenth of one per cent of the population; and of even this group at least nine-tenths are content with the dreaming.

## Church Union or Christian Union?

By Shailer Mathews

**I**N the minds of many the two are identical. In the minds of others there can be Christian union without church union. In this difference lies no little misunderstanding. The Catholic Christian wants a Church; Protestants want churches. Catholic Christians want orders which distinguish between the religious prerogatives and powers of the clergy and the laity. Protestants want no orders. To disregard these fundamentally different conceptions of the church is to obscure something that prevents organizing church union, much less church unity.

In the light of comparatively recent actions of the Anglican Church it is well to recognize these two great currents in church affairs. Whether they will continue to run parallel courses or, like the Missouri and the Mississippi, ultimately join is as yet a matter of conjecture. Time alone can tell. But time will be gained if each recognizes that it is as yet independent of the other. The "dissenting" Protestant, whether he be Presbyterian, Baptist, Congregationalist, Methodist or Disciple, will not recognize priestly orders or the sacraments as such. He uses the language of ecclesiasticism, but he gives the terms new definitions.

That fact, for instance, lies at the bottom of the question of the validity of ordination. To the churchman who believes in a priesthood the distinction between those ordained and not ordained is as real as between the married and the unmarried. To the members of the other bodies, ordination is simply a formal recognition of a man's vocation. With such differences in definition the two parties seem to have reached an *impasse*. Between their respective views as to the church there is, so far as I can see, no compromise possible. The proposals by a few Congregationalists that non-Episcopalians be reordained in the Episcopal church does not remove the fundamental antithesis. Either one believes in a Catholic Church with its orders, sacraments and apostolic succession, or he does not. Mutual courtesy is possible but not compromise.

Facing such an *impasse*, what are Christian communions to do? In my opinion precisely what they are doing—talk Christian union, practice Christian cooperation, plan Christian programs. That is to say, emphasize the gospel rather than the church. If possible let such matters of ecclesiastical organization and polity as tend towards exclusiveness sink into the background. The way to get together is to work together, talk together, pray together. Let us stop trying to convert one another. We can work together without asking each other to abandon what seems ecclesiastically vital. So long as we Christians do not tell each other what not to do or believe, we can work together to make the world Christian. That will mean Christian union in the spirit. What it ultimately will develop by way of organization we can well wait to see. General principles may be trusted to evolve, from practice in facing common tasks. This unity in the spirit will be in the bonds of ecclesiastical peace. We may never agree on the ecclesiastical level; but the mystery as to how high-churchmen and radical Protestants can unite will be solved on the higher level of

coöperation in the effort of every type of church organization to put the teachings of Jesus Christ into the process of social change.

## The Real Mystery

**T**HE strangest thing about the big explosion in Wall Street is this: It is apparently possible for any unauthorized person to make or buy high explosives in quantities sufficient to wreck a skyscraper and transport it into the heart of the business district in open daylight. If the British authorities in the days of Guy Fawkes had been so easy going as the New York authorities are today, England would have been soon rid of Parliamentary government. Whether accident or crime, there was certainly criminal carelessness.

## The Company We Keep

**O**N September 14 Rumania deposited at Paris her ratification of the Treaty of Versailles. This makes the membership in the League of Nations forty-three. The world is now divided into two groups:

### INSIDE THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Argentine Republic, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Great Britain, Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, India, Chile, China, Colombia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Italy, Japan, Yugoslavia, Liberia, Panama, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Honduras, Norway, Hedjaz, Paraguay, Persia, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Salvador, Siam, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Uruguay, Venezuela.

### OUTSIDE THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, Turkey, Soviet Russia, Mexico, United States.

## Campaign Slogans

**W**HAT is politics without catchwords? From "fifty-four forty or fight" to "the full dinner pail" and the "square deal" the apt phrase has been half the battle. Unfortunately the managers of this campaign—and the remark applies to all parties—have confused epigram with platitude. *The New Republic* recently exprest some irritation at the Democratic phrase, "Cox-sure," but even this is on a higher literary level than PEACE, PROGRESS, PROSPERITY which stretches across lower Broadway on a canvas spread. This is too much like "potatoes, prunes and prisms," recommended by Dickens to train the lips in a graceful pout. Nor are the Republicans much happier with "America First." Either it means that we should all be patriotic, to which both parties would give equal assent, or else it means, as Cox pointed out in one of his speeches, something very much like "Deutschland über Alles"; that is to say, "Me First and Other Nations Nowhere."

This is a literary editorial, not a political one, so we will try to help out all parties impartially with some really characteristic slogans. A Republican manager with a sense of humor would have tried something like "See America First," or "Wilson—That's All!" A Democratic manager similarly gifted would have replied with "Cox—There's a Reason," or "If It Isn't a Democrat It Isn't Progressive." Or they might invent satiric phrases for each other, such as "The Eagle or the Tiger?" a literary reference sure to be appreciated by Mr. Murphy; or "Ask Root—He Knows; I Don't." These are not the best we can do (or you can do) by any means; we are waiting to receive bids from the politicians before we really extend ourselves.

The small parties require help even more. The Farmer-Labor Party might try "Forty Acres and a Soviet," or "Eventually—Why Not Now?" The Prohibitionists have "We Told You So; Forty Years Ago," a reference to the victory of the eighteenth amendment, and "Keep America Safe from the Damp." The Socialists are sadly in need. At



present they tend to inscribe on their banners some such inspiring slogan as:

The capitalist, profiting from the surplus value of the labor of the proletariat, imposes upon the working classes a bare minimum of subsistence and imbues church and state with a bourgeois ideology. The collectivist state must expropriate the expropriators and establish a proletarian culture on a class-conscious basis.

A revolutionary party ought not to talk like a professor of German metaphysics. We suggest "There's Red in the Red, White and Blue," or "Knock the 'L' out of the H. C. L.," or "Work or Move to Mars." As for the Communists and I. W. W. we suggest that instead of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" they try "Vote in Your Overalls." If campaigns can't be sensible, let them at any rate be breezy. If politics does not further public business, let it at least further public pleasure.

## The Decline of Europe

GIBBON did not venture to write about the "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" until 1500 years after. But modern historians are more in a hurry and European writers are already recording the downfall of their own civilization. Professor Demangeon of the University of Paris, one of the leading European geographers, has shown in *Le Declin de l'Europe* published last spring, that the center of gravity of civilization has been moved out of Europe and that the hegemony of the world which it has enjoyed for centuries is now passing into the possession of the American and Asiatic peoples.

A German philosopher, Oswald Spengler, has gone still farther into the future and in his colossal work, *Der Untergang des Abendlandes*, of which the first volume has appeared, he defines the degrees by which European civilization must descend during the next five hundred years. According to Spengler's theory Europe passed from the stage of Culture to that of Civilization in 1800 and has before it the stage of Cæsarism, lasting from 2000 to 2200 A. D. The present disintegration of European states into minor nationalities is the beginning of a gradual decomposition of folk-organisms into amorphous masses of men. These will be ultimately reabsorbed into one empire which will in the course of time degenerate into the character of a primitive Asiatic despotism. The final stage of decadence, coming after the year 2200, is that of "Egyptianism, Mandarinism and Byzantinism," a static and torpid state in which the imperial mechanism will grow gradually weaker and the country will become at length the booty of younger peoples or foreign robbers, resulting in a relapse into the dark ages and finally into the chaos of primeval savagery.

Dr. Spengler believes that he has discovered the universal formula that will define the course and forecast the future of the history of all human institutions and modes of thought, whether political, industrial, esthetic, scientific, religious or philosophical. He brings history into the field of natural history, and makes of it merely a form of comparative morphology. The historian is to him an idle and impotent spectator. He can describe but not prescribe. For the world lives out its life in such invariable sequences as the seven ages of man. "The world is an ego in actuality." "All that is also has been." "What is to come is mirrored in what has been." "All the old problems are here resolved into the genetic." "The cycle of occidental science is complete." These are some of the shortest and simplest sentences picked out of Spengler's first volume. But to give the reader an idea of what sort of sentences he can swing when under full sail this sample was translated:

It is this same creative life-will that in "Tristan" is Schopenhaueristically denied and in "Siegfried" is Darwinistically affirmed; that Nietzsche formulated brilliantly and theatrically in "Zarathustra"; that by the Hegelian Marx was made the motive of a national-economic hypothesis and by the Malthusian Darwin of a zoological hypothesis, both together unobserved hav-

ing transformed the cosmic feeling of the West-European city-dwellers; that from Hebbel's "Judith" to Ibsen's "Epilog" had called forth a series of tragical conceptions of a similar type; but that had therewith exhausted the circle of real philosophical possibilities.

And so Spengler sweeps on for some 1400 pages with the profusion of learning, and the impressiveness of utterance and the cloudiness of meaning and intolerance of all other opinions characteristic of the German scholar.

But we must not too hastily conclude that Spengler's pessimistic point of view is altogether due to the defeat of Germany. He claims that his theory was outlined in 1911 and besides we have utterances quite as gloomy from the other side of the trench line. In this war victory does not seem to have brought elation and self-confidence. On the contrary the victors are as downhearted as the vanquished, equally filled with forebodings of the future, and even more distrustful of their ability to recover. Anatole France says: "Europe is ill, dying. It is Europe that is now the sick man of the world. And peace has not brought its balm." The Duca di Cesaro, a member of the Italian Parliament, believes that civilization has become so materialistic in its psychology and intolerable in its political and economic machinery that it is better for mankind that it perish. Chestoff, the Russian philosopher, accounts for the disintegration of Europe by suggesting that God has again cursed mankind with the confusion of tongues as he did at the building of Babel. This has caused the misunderstandings that set nation against nation and class against class. "The monarchs have killed monarchy. The Democrats have killed democracy. The Socialists and revolutionists have almost killed Socialism and revolution."

And so the wail of despair reëchoes from one country to another and finds expression in philosophy, fiction, drama and art, even in the febrile activity and reckless extravagance of race track and restaurant. To match this spirit of despondency manifested in the European literature of today we must turn back in the book of history some seven hundred years to the pages whereon Bernard of Cluny wrote *Hora novissima, tempora pessima* and Thomas of Celano wrote *Dies irae, dies illa*. "The world is very evil, the times are waxing late." The Day has indeed come; not The Day of Victory looked for by the Germans nor The Day of Vengeance anticipated by the French, but a day of darkness for all in which men stumble because they cannot see which way to go and buffet one another because they cannot distinguish friend from foe.

## Tired Minds

WHETHER we consider Georgia, Illinois, New England or New York, it is evident that the primary voter is not now in a wholesome state of vigilance. We do not think that either the machine-made candidates for Senator along the Atlantic coast, or the factional riots in Chicago, or the enthronement of the ghost of Populism in Georgia represent the best mind of these states. The spirit of indifference, cynicism, "what's the use" enabled the bosses to dictate not only the results of the national conventions, but also to sweep the local primaries and state conventions. The voter just now is relaxing from the moral overstrain of war; he is bored with politics and makes the mistake of trying to ignore the politicians.

## Repeated Folly

THE New York Assembly has once more expelled duly elected members who belonged to the Socialist party. This was done against the advice of many of the most intelligent and most conservative Republican and Democratic leaders and newspapers throught the state. It was done in the face of the verdict of the voters who reëlected the men who had been expelled with increased majorities. Such folly may some day bring about Socialism.





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After the explosion this is all that was left of the horse and wagon that carried into Wall Street the bomb which killed thirty-three people, wounded hundreds of others, and caused nearly \$3,000,000 damage to property. The explosion occurred between the offices of J. P. Morgan & Co. and the Sub-Treasury



© Underwood & Underwood

These old-fashioned window weights used as shrapnel in the Wall Street bomb did most of the deadly damage



International

#### JUST AFTER THE EXPLOSION

The cross in the photograph above shows just where the bomb went off at noon on September 16 in Wall Street. The dust obscures the debris of the horse and wagon that carried the bomb, but at the left is an automobile which was blown to pieces. Firemen and police are in evidence keeping back the crowd. In the upper right corner is the statue of George Washington on the Treasury steps, which was miraculously untouched. Below is the scene on the other side of the street, the corner of the Morgan offices. The firemen in the center are preparing to move the corpses of three victims of the explosion



Paul Thompson

Some idea of the terrific force of the explosion can be seen in the crumbled stone work of the Assay Building. At the left is one of the "bomb proof" windows in the Morgan offices; its copper mesh, tho twisted and broken, was a vital protection



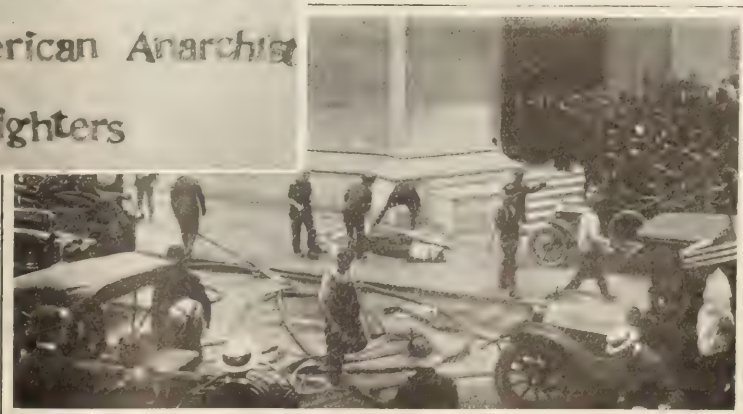
International

Remember  
We will not tolerate  
any longer  
Free the political  
prisoner or it will be  
sure death is all of you  
American Anarchist  
fighters

International

#### THE ANARCHIST THREAT

Circulars like this were found the day after the Wall Street explosion in a letter box near the scene of the disaster. Tho their connection with the bomb has not been proved they offer one of the few significant clues



© Kadel & Herbert



# The Story of the Week

## The Wall Street Massacre

ON Thursday noon, September 16, an explosion of dynamite or some other high explosive killed thirty-three persons and wounded several hundred others in the heart of the financial district of New York City. The center of the explosion was the street between the offices of J. P. Morgan & Co. on the one side and the United States Assay Office and the Sub-Treasury on the other. Many buildings along Wall and Broad streets were damaged, but the greatest loss of life took place in the open among the clerks, stenographers and messenger boys who were on their way to lunch. Had the explosion taken place a few minutes later, when most of the employees of the financial district would have been out in the street for the noon hour, the death list might have mounted into the hundreds. The damage to property is estimated at from \$2,000,000 to \$3,000,000. A large part of this loss was due to the wrecking of acres of plate glass windows in the skyscraper office buildings in the neighborhood, and many persons were badly cut by fragments of the flying glass.

The cause of the explosion is wrapped in the profoundest mystery. The first theory, which seems to have been abandoned by the police, was that a wagon, transporting dynamite, was accidentally rammed by a passing automobile. Several of the injured men testified to having seen a red wagon, such as is used to carry explosives, in the neighborhood shortly before the explosion. But there is a great deal of evidence to indicate that the catastrophe was not an accident. No company manufacturing dynamite or other explosives had contracted for any shipment which would be carried thru the business district of New York at that time; and, in any case, the transportation of explosives in daytime in that part of the city would have been contrary to law. Numerous iron slugs, resembling window sash weights, were found scattered along the streets after the explosion, and their presence can only be satisfactorily accounted for on the theory that they formed part of a huge bomb or infernal machine. Moreover, the fact that the scene of the explosion was the immediate neighborhood of the Morgan offices and the United States Sub-Treasury adds immediately to the probability that the outrage was intentional.

But the adoption of the bomb plot theory of the explosion

does not do much to clear away the mystery. Was it the work of an isolated crank or the deliberate plan of a group of conspirators? To support the crank theory there is the fact that Edward P. Fischer, formerly employed by the French High Commission, had sent out postcards warning some of his friends of an impending disaster to Wall Street. No one paid any attention to his warnings, knowing that



Marcus in the New York Times

Hughes: "Don't take ouija too seriously. He said the same thing to me in 1916!"

he was an eccentric who had for some time been suspected of mental derangement. He was in Canada at the time the postcards were sent out, but he has been extradited and taken to New York to be questioned as to his knowledge of the plot.

A more definite clue pointing to an organized plot was the finding of some circulars placed in a letter box a few blocks from the scene of the disaster threatening "death for all of you" in case political prisoners were not set free. These circulars were signed "American Anarchist Fighters." Various rewards have been offered by public and private agencies to all who can aid in solving the many mysteries connected with the explosion and the person or persons responsible therefor.

## Close Contests in Illinois

MORE than a week after the Illinois primary election of September 14 the result still hung in doubt. Of four major contests only one was clearly settled. James Hamilton Lewis, former Senator from Illinois, was nominated for Governor in the Democratic primaries by a large majority over his opponent, Barratt O'Hara of Chicago. But the Democratic nomination for Senator remained in doubt, with Peter Waller having a slight apparent lead over Robert E. Burke. Mr. Burke is of that Democratic faction which is hostile to the Wilson administration and if he were nominated and elected his vote could not be counted as favorable to the League of Nations Covenant in spite of his party affiliation.

Greater interest attached to the Republican primaries. Altho neither Governor Lowden nor Mayor Thompson of Chicago were candidates for office the primary contest was universally regarded as a test of strength between these



© Walter Melicher from Wide World

Bosco the snake eater had a difficult time drawing crowds at the Minnesota State Fair when Senator Harding spoke at the race track. Owing to his use of an audiphone transmitter, every word he said could be heard—for miles





Wide World

Governor Cox drove Peter Nash, the fastest pacing horse in the Northwest, over a mile track at the Minnesota State Fair in 2:01¼

two. Governor Lowden supported a complete state ticket, headed by John G. Oglesby, son of the Civil war Governor of the state. For the Senate Governor Lowden advocated the nomination of Representative William B. McKinley. Mayor Thompson supported a state ticket headed by Len Small of Kankakee and favored Representative Frank L. Smith for Senator. The earliest returns were mostly from Cook County and showed that Mayor Thompson's ticket had carried the city of Chicago by decisive majorities. Down state returns nibbled these majorities to nothing and when the returns were practically complete Representative McKinley was distinctly in the lead for the Senatorship and Mr. Oglesby had a somewhat smaller plurality for Governor. But the final determination of the Republican nominations for Governor and Senator and of the Democratic nomination for Senator was forced to await the official count.

The Republican factional rivalry was so intense in Chicago as to lead to serious disorders. One man was killed in an election riot and several persons were badly beaten. The ill-feeling generated by the contest, certainly not lessened by the prolonged doubt over the result, threatens the harmony of the Republican party in November and gives the Democrats almost their only hope of carrying the state. Illinois rolled up enormous majorities for Hughes in 1916 and has been reckoned by the Republicans as a "sure state" for Harding. Mayor Thompson has instituted a libel suit for \$100,000 against Mr. Oglesby, alleging that in the course of his campaign for the governorship he had attacked the Mayor of Chicago as "seditious and unpatriotic." Mayor Thompson also instituted suits on behalf of the city of Chicago against two opposition newspapers.

## The Hard Coal Strike

FOR nearly a month the anthracite coal districts have suffered from a "vacation" or "outlaw" strike which now appears to have simmered down into comparative insignificance. On August 28 three hundred local delegates, claiming to represent 175,000 miners, met at Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, and passed a resolution calling upon President Wilson to accept the minority report of the coal commission which passed upon wage rates in the anthracite districts. But President Wilson approved the majority report, awarding increases over present pay of from 17 to 20 per cent, and reminded the miners that they had promised in advance to accept as final the findings of the commission. "By all the laws of honor upon which civilization

rests," he said, "that pledge should be fulfilled." The officers of the United Mine Workers of America agreed to stand by their promise, but they were unable to control all of their subordinates.

During the first week of September approximately 100,000 anthracite coal miners refused to go to work. Over a hundred collieries shut down and the loss in wages reached nearly \$650,000 a day. By the second week in September many locals had decided to return to work and many collieries reopened. President Wilson refused to reopen the wages question, as requested by the unions, on the ground that the Government could not afford to yield to the demands of strikers who by the very act of striking were violating their existing contracts. He reminded them that, "Our people have fought a great war and made untold sacrifices to insure among other things that a solemn agreement shall not be considered as a mere scrap of paper" and that bad faith was as much of a menace within a nation as in diplomatic dealings between nations. By the end of the third week most of the miners had abandoned their "vacation" and returned to work, tho in a few districts the men stayed out until they could obtain assurances that they would all be reinstated without penalty in their old positions.

## Voters Vindicate Socialists

AT a special election to fill the five vacancies in the New York State Assembly caused by the expulsion of Socialist Assemblymen during the spring session, the unseated men were returned by large majorities over their opponents. In spite of fusion of the Republicans and Democrats in the five districts to keep the Socialists out, their majorities were in every instance increased over the figures for 1919. The total vote was extremely light, showing that the strik-



Edwin Levick

A new speed record of 73.43 miles an hour was set by Miss America, the boat which won the Gold Challenge Cup of the American Powerboat Association at Detroit

ing Socialist victories were due not to an increase in the number of Socialists but to the refusal of thousands of Republican and Democratic voters to go to the polls. Many have interpreted the result as being not so much a triumph of Socialism as a triumph of the American principle of representative government. The five Socialists whose right to sit in the New York Assembly has thus been vindicated are Louis Waldman and August Claessens, of Manhattan; Samuel De Witt and Samuel Orr, of the Bronx, and Charles Solomon, of Brooklyn.

On September 20 the New York Legislature met in special session on the call of Governor Smith to consider legislation to meet the housing problem. This made it necessary for the leaders of the Assembly to consider whether or not to adhere to their former policy of excluding the Socialists. Leading Republicans, such as Judge Miller, the party nominee for Governor, are believed to have advised against such a step. Speaker Sweet, who engineered the original act of exclusion, permitted the Socialists to take their seats. A resolution declaring the special election of September 16 null and void on the ground that the Socialist Assemblymen were ineligible for election was referred to the Judiciary Committee for future consideration. Speaker Sweet explained his change of attitude by pointing out that the Socialist party had modified certain clauses of its constitution





Wide World

### TRUTH IS STRANGER THAN FICTION

Who would have expected to find the Princes Ustrugoff, brothers and former members of the Czar's body-guard, in the Red Army waging war against Poland?

in the meantime and thus "yielded in outer form and semblance to the demands of patriotic men." Two Tammany Assemblymen, Louis Culliver and Martin McCue, protested against the shelving of the question and demanded that the Socialists be excluded from the start.

On the following day the resolution of expulsion was considered by the Assembly. A compromise measure was determined on. Two of the Socialists, De Witt and Orr, were seated by the vote of a majority of both Republican and Democratic members, tho a few held out against readmitting

any of the excluded men. The other three Socialists, Claessens, Waldman and Solomon, were expelled by a vote of 90 to 45. Seventy-three Republicans and seventene Democrats voted for the expulsion; twenty-eight Republicans and seventeen Democrats against it. The basis of distinction between the three Socialists who were disqualified and the two who were seated was stated in the resolution of exclusion to be "because of reasons of a disqualifying character personal to themselves and apart from the consequence of mere membership in the Socialist Party of America"; referring, apparently, to the alleged pacifist attitude taken by Claessens, Waldman and Solomon during the war. De Witt and Orr refused to profit by the immunity offered them and resigned in sympathy with their excluded colleagues. Assemblyman Martin chairman of the Judiciary committee, exprest the opinion that there was no legal basis for the action of the Assembly since all the Socialists had been originally excluded on the ground of their party membership and not on personal charges.

Altho the entire representation of the Socialist party in the New York Assembly has been lost by exclusion or resignation, the Socialists count the affair a double victory. In the first place, even the Assembly has gone on record that membership in the Socialist party is no bar to office and that the party constitution as it now exists is in complete harmony with the laws of state and nation. In the second place, the action of the voters at the special election gives the Socialists hope that their five Assemblymen will be elected for a third time this November and that possibly popular indignation at the repeated denial of representative rights to the party may win for it some additional seats.

## Reds Not to Be Amnestied

ATTORNEY General Palmer has refused a general amnesty to "political prisoners" convicted under the Espionage Act and other wartime legislation of opposition to the war policies of the Government. Mr. Palmer stated that there were now only 175 such prisoners in the United States. He said that since the armistice no one had been prosecuted under the Espionage Act. He was willing that the cases of persons arrested for sedition or for obstructing the war should be reviewed individually, but he

could hold out no definite promise of a blanket pardon:

A general proclamation would afterward involve the examination of every case, something which we are now doing. The practical effect would be confusing and the holding out of hope to people who could not come under the proclamation. Some of these prisoners may have had other charges preferred against them than those which such a proclamation would cover.

The examination has been conducted with an end to seeing what commutations and changes may be made. It seems improbable that any sentences of great length will be served out. The general disposition of the Government is to ease up on these cases.

The Attorney General refused to make an exception in favor of Eugene Debs, Socialist candidate for President. He insisted that Mr. Debs's anti-war speeches tended to obstruct the operation of the draft, and that his was no special case for clemency. To show that the Department of Justice was not unwilling to reconsider sentences passed during the war he pointed out that 180 prisoners had already been released by pardon or commutation of sentence.

The delegation which waited on Attorney General Palmer with the request for a general amnesty included not only the Socialists, headed by ex-Congressman London, but also a number of labor unionists who had no sympathy with socialism and no personal or party interest in any of the cases involved. Chief of the labor delegation was Mr. Gompers, who presented the amnesty resolution adopted by the American Federation of Labor in its recent annual convention at Montreal.

## Two Sides of t

THE Lord Mayor of Cork, who has refused to eat ever since his imprisonment on August 12, was on the fortieth day of his fast still able to talk, read and bathe himself. Eleven other Sinn Fein prisoners are keeping up a hunger strike in Cork.

Premier Lloyd George in a recent interview said: "The picture of the British Government 'doing to death' an ardent patriot in a British jail has no relation to fact. Everything that can be done has been done to induce Mr. MacSwiney to take food. He is deliberately committing suicide in a way we are powerless to prevent. To release him would be to aggravate a problem which already is far greater than the fate of any individual, for there is no doubt that all of the disastrous effect it would have upon all those in Ireland who are engaged in the effort to restore order.

"There is no doubt that the organization in which Mr. MacSwiney held a very important position and took a leading part—that of Brigadier—was actively concerned in the work of murder, by which more than eighty devoted men of the Irish forces, many of them ex-soldiers, have been slain, and twice as many suffered serious injury. We have positive proof that the so-called Irish republican army and the particular brigade of it to which Mr. MacSwiney was attached, was concerned in these murders and attempts to murder. Papers signed by some of his own commandants have come into the hands of our officials.

"Either, then, we must hand the South of Ireland over to something calling itself a republican army, and leave the North of Ireland to fight it out without intervention, or we must protect men who are defending the flag. All I hear makes it clearer to me that this murder conspiracy is organized by a small body of men who are terrorizing the large mass of Irishmen. Some intelligent Irish Nationalists go just as much in fear of their lives as the Unionists, and our information is that Mr. MacSwiney's predecessor was murdered by this very gang because he would not fall in with their plans.

"Yes, it is irony that the responsibility of this crisis should fall on one who has believed so long and firmly in Celtic nationalities, in their power of making a special contribution of their own to the strength of our empire of many races, a man of a little Celtic land where national feeling is as intense as anywhere in the empire. But campaigns of murder never have succeeded and never will succeed in advancing any great political cause. To this campaign we cannot and will not bow."



## Irish Disorders

THE military authorities learning that a company of Sinn Feiners were drilling in the hills near Enniskerry sent twelve lorries full of troops to round them up. The Sinn Feiners finding themselves surrounded, put up a sharp fight with bombs and rifles, but after one of their number had been killed and several wounded, the rest, more than forty, surrendered.

In the town of Balbriggan, famous for its hosiery, Inspector Burke was killed and his brother, Sergeant Burke, was seriously wounded on the evening of September 20. Incensed by this outrage the auxiliary police, or "Black and Tans," raided the town at midnight and set fire to many business houses and homes. Families were turned out into the street with barely time to dress. Two civilians were shot and several wounded. The hosiery mills, the largest in Ireland and belonging to an English company, were burned down. The town is almost deserted.

In Dublin a motor lorry that was getting bread at noon-day from a bakery on Church street for the Collinstown aerodrome was held up by twenty young men. The guard opened fire and the raiders replied. After a brief exchange of shots the Sinn Feiners retreated, leaving one of their number wounded under the lorry.

A band of Sinn Feiners captured twenty motors in mid-Tyrone and drove around looking for arms.

## The Bad Luck of French Presidents

IT was the intent of the constitution of the Third French republic that the President should be more like a constitutional monarch "who reigns but does not govern" than like an American President who largely directs national policy and becomes the leader of his party. The French President, chosen by Parliament for a term of seven years, was supposed to remain aloof from party controversy and confine himself to official ceremonial and perfunctory approval of ministerial acts.

But as the French system has worked out some of the Presidents have been so involved in political affairs and worried by personal responsibility as to have been forced out of office. Besides this one died and one was killed while in office. In fact only three out of ten Presidents of the Third Republic have been able to complete their full terms of office, as the following list shows:

### WHAT HAPPENED TO FRENCH PRESIDENTS

Thiers—Resigned in 1873 on account of an adverse vote in the Assembly.

Marshal MacMahon—Resigned in 1879 on account of the election of a radical Senate and Chamber of Deputies.

Jules Grévy—Completed one term in peace. But was forced to resign during his second term because of a scandal. His son-in-law was accused of graft.

Sadi Carnot—Assassinated by an anarchist in 1892.

Casimir-Périer—Resigned after a few months because of sensitiveness to political criticism.

Faure—Died of heart failure in 1899.

Loubet—Finished his term.

Fallières—Finished his term.

Poincaré—Finished his term.

Deschanel—Resigned because of nervous breakdown.

## Resignation of Deschanel

PAUL Deschanel has resigned the Presidency of the French Republic and the National Assembly will convene at Versailles on September 25 to elect his successor. Deschanel succeeded Poincaré on January 17, 1920, when his term expired

after the conclusion of peace with Germany. But it gradually became evident that the new President was not equal to the burdens that he was called upon to bear. He became subject to fits of aphasia and showed an increasing dislike to assume responsibility. Altho most of the acts of a French President are purely formal and consist merely in the approving of decisions taken by the ministry, President Deschanel manifested a morbid aversion to even affixing his signature to the documents laid before him. He passed upon and



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### THE RETIRING PRESIDENT OF FRANCE

Paul Deschanel, who was elected president of the French Republic last January for seven years, is forced to resign his office after eight months because of nervous prostration and aphasia

## MacSwiney Case

Day by day the tension has increased as neither side is willing to yield. The opposing points of view may be best stated by quoting the words of authoritative spokesmen on either side.

Against this we may set a quotation from a letter to the *London Times* from Dr. Daniel Cohalan, Bishop of Cork: "The Lord Mayor of Cork should be instantly released. What is his crime? Was there any charge of an antecedent crime imputed to him on the night of his arrest? There was none. His pockets and his desk were searched, and a charge was founded on papers found on his person. What were the charges? The first was a copy of the speech he made last March at his inauguration, and which was published in the newspapers. But how is it that the speech delivered in March, and published in the papers, becomes a danger to the realm only in August? The second charge was a copy of a resolution of loyalty to *Dail Eireann*. And, again, how does this become a danger to the realm? The third charge was that the military found, not on his person, but in his desk, a recent police code. But why should the possession of a police code by the lord mayor of a city be considered a danger to a realm?"

"The Prime Minister says that 'if the Lord Mayor were released, every hunger-striker, whatever his offence, would have to be let off.' Obviously that is not true. No one who loves social order would support a demand which would make imprisonment impossible, no matter what the offence. But the offences imputed to the Lord Mayor, as stated, have no substance. The tribunal was a military tribunal. The sentence of two years' imprisonment has no moral sanction; it is a manifest injustice.

"To add a personal touch, let me add I have visited the Lord Mayor of Cork in prison. To put it mildly, I was scrupulously careful against saying anything that would confirm him in his resolution to continue the hunger-strike. He said to me:—'Your lordship, my conscience is quite at ease about the course I am taking; I made a general confession this morning; I receive Holy Communion every morning; I might never again be so well prepared for death; I gladly make the sacrifice; they are trying to break the spirit of our people; my death will be an example and an appeal to our young men to make every sacrifice for Ireland.'"



insisted on reading every word of the routine papers and commissions of appointments of minor officials and postponed decisions as long as possible. There are more than five hundred official documents still awaiting his signature. One night last May a track walker came upon a man in a confused state who said that he was the President. When this was telegraphed to the train on which the President was touring the country, the attendants declared that the President was in his stateroom and refused to disturb him. But on opening the door in the morning they found he was not there and had evidently fallen or jumped from the window of the rapidly moving train. How the accident happened and how he managed to escape death or injury is a mystery.

His physicians explained that his mental disturbance was caused by a cerebral lesion similar to that which caused the collapse of President Wilson. Deschanel's malady was intermittent and some of his friends who visited him reported that he was normal and conversed with his usual brilliancy.

The decision of his physicians to recommend his resignation was precipitated by an incident that occurred on Friday morning, September 10. A fisherman who was sitting on the bank of the canal that runs past the grounds of Chateau Rambouillet, where the President was residing, heard cries for help and discovered that M. Deschanel had walked out into the water up to his shoulders before recovering his presence of mind. On being undressed and put to bed he remarked quietly, "It's cold today."

The logical candidate for his successor is Alexandre Millerand, who is now Premier. He was very reluctant to give up his position in this critical period of reconstruction, but was finally induced to consent to become a candidate. Millerand's successor as Premier may quite possibly be Aristide Briand, who is one of the most brilliant orators and skilful politicians of France. Premier Millerand has been steadfast in defense of French interests as he saw them and has declined to make any concessions to the Germans in the enforcement of the Treaty. His policies have brought him into conflict with Premier Lloyd George on several points, particularly the refusal of Millerand to have anything to do with Soviet Russia, his recognition of Baron Wrangel's government in the Crimea, his support of the Polish offensive and the occupation of Frankfort and other German cities by French troops.



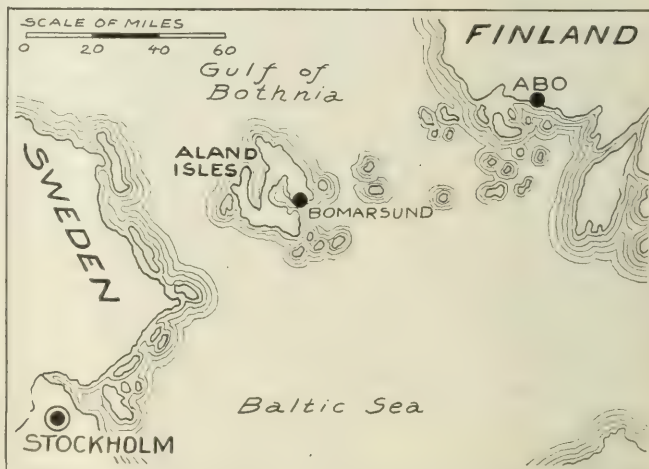
Paul Thompson  
THE LEADING CANDIDATE FOR FRENCH  
PRESIDENT

Alexandre Millerand, at present the premier of the French Government, is expected to succeed Deschanel as president. He entered public life as an ardent socialist but was expelled from the party when first he took office in the cabinet

Sweden and Finland and between the Gulf of Bothnia and the Baltic Sea. There are about three hundred islands in the archipelago, only eighty of which are large enough to have any inhabitants. The total population is about 25,000 mostly Swedish.

The islands were taken from Sweden by Russia along with Finland in 1809. The Swedes tried to get it stipulated in the treaty that Russia should never fortify the islands or use them as a naval base, for a foreign power holding them could blockade most of the Swedish coast and threaten Stockholm. The Russians refused to promise this and in 1834 erected a fortress at Bomarsund. Great Britain, feeling that her rights in the Baltic were also endangered by this Russian outpost in the west, protested against the fortification of the Aland Isles and seized the first occasion, the Crimean War of 1854, to bombard and demolish Bomarsund. At the close of the war Russia was by the treaty of Paris compelled to promise never to fortify the islands or to maintain any military or naval establishments on them. But Russia has always resented and persistently tried to evade this humiliating restriction and in the years immediately preceding the Great War a considerable naval and military force was assembled there, doubtless with the tacit consent of England and France, in view of the impending conflict with Germany.

After the Russian revolution when Finland declared her independence Sweden reclaimed and occupied the Aland Isles. But the Germans who were called in by the Finnish Government to put down the Bolsheviki used the islands as a landing base for their campaign in Finland. Probably Germany would have insisted upon holding them in return for her aid. But the defeat of Germany threw the islands again in dispute. Sweden claimed them on the ground of historic priority and the majority of the population. Finland claimed them on the ground of possession for more than a century and of strategic necessity.



AT THE DISPOSAL OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The Aland Islands lying midway between Sweden and Finland have for more than a hundred years been a bone of contention between the two countries. But now Sweden and Finland have agreed to leave the question of their ownership to be settled by the arbitration of the League of Nations

## League Settles Aland Islands Dispute

A dispute that has disturbed the peace of Europe for more than a hundred years and more than once led to strife has been peaceably determined by the League of Nations. The Aland Islands (pronounced awl-land), as may be seen from the map, occupy a strong strategic position between

Both countries seemed determined to fight rather than surrender their rights to the Aland Islands, but better counsels prevailed and an appeal was taken to the League of Nations. The committee of international jurists appointed to consider the question reported to the Council that under Articles III and XI of the Covenant the controversy came within the jurisdiction of the League. The Finnish Minister at Paris, Mr. Enckell, has lodged a protest against some technical points in the report of the jurists and against the declaration by Premier Branting of Sweden that Sweden would relinquish her sovereignty over the



islands. But Finland, having first appealed to the League, will probably accept its arbitration. Premier Branting expresses his satisfaction in the following language:

I will not use the word "war," but the situation between Sweden and Finland was tense. The Council of the League, thru its cautious but prompt action, has dissipated the feeling and Sweden believes the Council will settle the matter to the satisfaction of both countries.

Sweden has complete confidence in the League as a means of preventing future wars, and proof of this lies in the fact that we unhesitatingly placed our case in its hands. I believe the action of the League as taken up on the Aland Islands question furnishes proof to the world that the League, even in its present state, is an efficient world court for hearing international difficulties and forestalling conflicts between nations. All that the League needs to make it a most effective and certain instrument of reducing future wars to the absolute minimum is the participation of the United States.

## Soviet Shops in Italy

A triumvirate of young Italian workmen at the head of the Central Soviet of Milan now controls a thousand metallurgical establishments employing 250,000 men and women. Each plant reports daily its output, stock and requirements, and the Central directs the necessary exchanges of raw materials and disposal of the products. A selling organization has been added to the Soviet system. In place of wages the workmen receive their support and orders on their own stores for a limited amount of goods. In this way the owners, the employers, the middlemen and most of the managers have for the time been eliminated from the industrial and commercial system. The Soviet in charge of the Fiat automobile works is issuing its own paper money.

The men spend twelve hours in the shops, eight at work and four at guard duty and military drill. The works are garrisoned day and night to prevent their being retaken by the employers or the troops. Munition factories also under soviet control supply them with rifles, machine guns and ammunition. Most of the plants fly the red flag of socialism with the soviet symbol of crossed sickle and hammer, but some display the black flag of anarchism. Enrico Malatesta, the leader of Italian anarchists, is agitating for a complete political and social revolution, but the Confederation of Labor is against him.

The Italian Engineers' Association takes an intermediate position. It deprecates any nationalization of the metallurgical industry, but demands the suppression of the salary system and advocates in its place a new order of things in which capital and labor, manual and mental, shall work together and share the profits of production.

The movement continues to spread and new industries are passing under the control of their operators. Their latest acquisitions are the cotton mills of Legnano with 6000 employees, the woolen mills of Biella with 5000 employees, and the factories at Terni with 30,000 employees. The only one of the establishments employing the water power of the Terni Falls that was not seized is the Idros plant for the fixation of nitrogen, since this is owned by Americans.

The efficiency of the factories is said to have fallen off more than half due to unskilled management, lack of material and waste of time in discussion and guard duty. The railroad men divert to the soviet shops cars loaded with

raw material they need, but their supply is already running short and cannot last many weeks longer at the most. Since Italy is dependent upon foreign countries for her coal and many of her essential materials, the soviets may be forced out of business if England and France refuse to sell to them. But the British and French labor organizations are relied upon to prevent their governments from placing an embargo upon exports to Italy or their employers from declining to do business with the soviets.

The labor leaders promise that if they are granted a share in the management they will speed up production, while if they go back to the old régime the output will be less than ever. They say that since they have had access to the books they have discovered evidence that the companies have made enormous profits during the war and cheated the Government out of a large part of the taxes they should have paid. The Socialists threaten to publish these figures unless they gain their point.

## Premier Giolitti's Policy

THE Italian Premier took the ground on the start that the strike was a purely industrial dispute, and he has steadfastly refused to use police or troops to dislodge the workmen from the plants they had seized, in spite of the clamors of the owners for the return of their property. But after the employees had tried their hands at running things for three weeks and found their difficulties piling up, and after the employers had come to realize their powerlessness, both sides were more in a mood to compromise. Then Premier Giolitti called a conference of employers and employees and told them plainly that they would have to come to an agreement on the immediate points in dispute such as wages and conditions on which the strikers shall return to work, while leaving the main issue, the share of the workmen in the future control of industry, to be determined at a special session of Parliament.

At the joint conference the employers conceded and the employees accepted the following conditions: an increase of wages in the metal trades of four lire (80 cents at normal exchange) a day, men from eighteen to twenty years old and women over twenty-two to receive 80 per cent of this increase, and women under twenty and boys between fifteen and eighteen to receive 60 per cent. Of this increase 75 per cent is to be considered an allowance for the high cost of living and may be reduced proportionately with a fall in living expenses. Workmen who have been a year in service are entitled to a week's vacation on full pay. After three years' service a man is entitled to two days' full pay for each year of service in case he is dismissed, unless he is discharged as a punishment.

A compromise agreement has been reached and some of the Milan works are being evacuated by the strikers. But this merely opens the fundamental question of who shall manage them in the future. Here the Premier frankly takes his stand with the General Confederation of Labor, which holds that the old conditions can never be restored but that the movement must result in giving the workmen an increasing share in the management of the establishments in which they labor. The Premier made his position plain in his concluding words to the joint conference:

I think the historic moments through which we are passing, he said, can be interpreted in one way only, and that is that a radical revision of the relations hitherto existing between capital and labor is inevitable. It is no longer possible to uphold the criterion that in a great industry there must be only one head in command, while thousands of dependents must obey without possessing the guarantee of control over the activities of the head himself.

I am convinced it is necessary to make it possible for the workers to contribute toward the functioning of a firm to the extent of giving them a true sense of co-responsibility. Once this idea is actuated by raising the function of the workmen they will be placed in conditions which will enable them to learn and to advance and to better their positions.

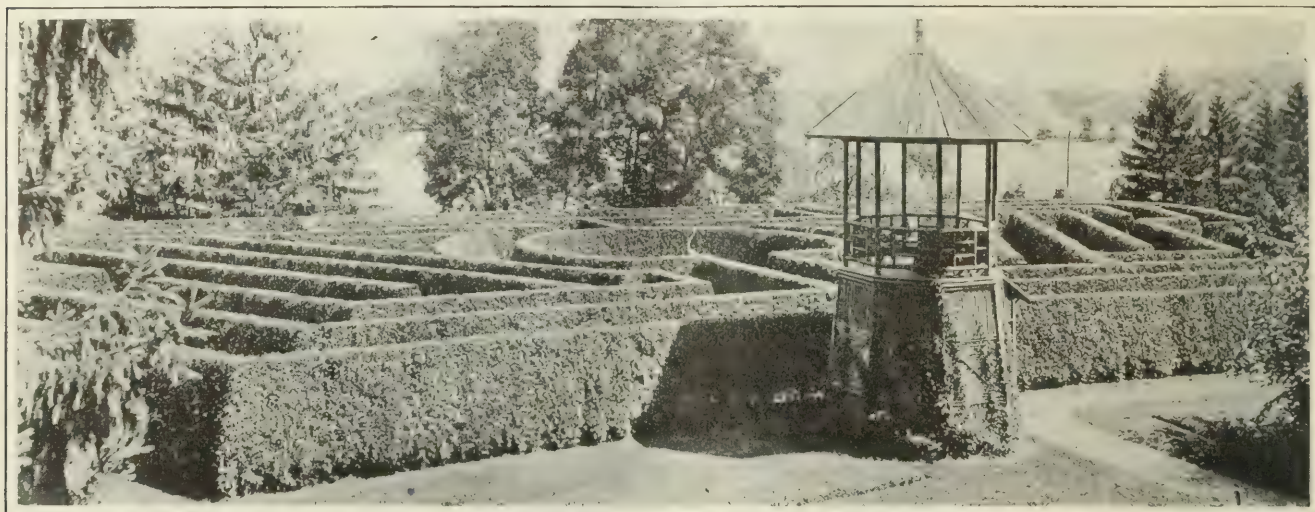


THE RED BADGE OF  
BOLSHEVISM

The Soviet symbol of the crossed sickle and hammer, emblematic of the union of farm and factory, stamps all of the goods turned out by the Russian manufactories and is now displayed on the walls of shops in Milan



# A Little of Everything



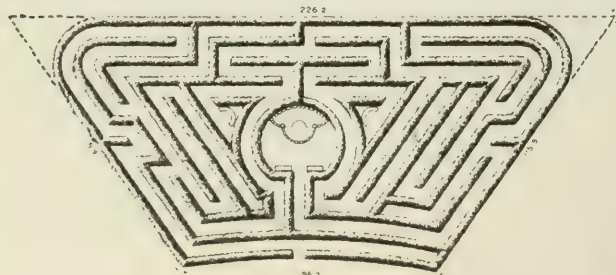
## A Famous Mystic Maze

By Robert H. Moulton

During the reign of William and Mary of England, from 1689 to 1694, there was planted at Hampton Court a remarkable "Mystic Maze" which is still kept in excellent condition and is visited annually by hundreds of American tourists. But probably few of

many give up the attempt altogether, and even when one has succeeded in reaching the center he finds it just as difficult to get out again.

More than a thousand arbor vitae trees compose the maze, which has a base line 226 feet in length.



Puzzle: Find the pond hidden away in this maze. You'd better take a ball of string to find your way out by

these know that this country possesses an exact replica of the original. It is located at Waltham, Massachusetts, and was planted in 1896 under the direction of Miss Cornelia Warren, who conceived the idea of creating this interesting oddity on the lawn of her home after seeing the Hampton Court Maze.

Almost every day, and especially on Sundays, scores of people attempt to solve the intricacies of the maze, which consist of more than a third of a mile of paths walled in by heavy hedges of arbor vitae. The object is to reach thru this labyrinth a little pond located in the center of the maze, the shortest distance to the pond from the entrance being about one-fifth of a mile. It is not unusual for a person to wander about for an hour or more before reaching the coveted goal, while

trying to make a backyard industry out of fishing for the last five years. Potentially, he argues, there exists a real and growing demand for fish as a general food. High beef prices make it imperative that a less expensive substitute is found, and in fish raising, Professor Dyche thinks, lies the solution of the problem. Hay and grains are necessary in the production of beef, and as the amount of land capable of producing this feed is limited and growing in value, and as the number of people to be fed is steadily increasing, the price of meat can never become much lower. But fish thrive without such expensive nourishment. Put them in a good pond of sufficient size and they will multiply rapidly without any proportionate increase in the cost of produc-

## Dry Fishing

Dry fishing, altho an idea new to America, is a panacea for all the ills attendant to the H. C. of L., according to L. L. Dyche, state fish and game warden of Kansas, and professor of zoölogy at the University of Kansas.

Mr. Dyche has been looking upon most unkindly by nature. There are few natural bodies of water in the state, and most of those that are to be found are wholly unfit places in which to produce fish profitably. Many of them are overflow ponds from which the fish would be swept in times of high water, and which go dry during drouth. Other ponds having adequate water supply have muddy bottoms with accumulations of old leaves, weeds, and rubbish blown into the water; old logs, stumps, fallen trees, and brushwood invariably clog the basins of untended ponds. Such bottoms afford poor spawning places for fish and reproduction is hindered by these adverse conditions; while those which are hatched fall prey to turtles, gars, bullfrogs and snakes with which neglected ponds abound.

tion. In an acre body of water, for instance, one pound of German carp will produce from five to ten pounds of fish a season. Such rapid increase makes increase of production practically unlimited while the cost remains the same. If fish were raised more generally, they would be cheaper in the market and the consequent demand for them would amount to nearly eight million dollars a year in Kansas alone, allowing each of the three hundred thousand families in that state to eat fish twice a week. With proper development of the fishing industry on Kansas farms, this demand could easily be met.

Finding such a small number of lakes, and the conditions of those so unfavorable, Professor Dyche concluded that to make fish raising a profitable industry in Kansas nature would have to be helped along at first. Dams must be built so as to form lakes; fish must be procured to stock



these artificial bodies. There is scarcely a farm but that has an unused ravine which might be easily dammed to form a lake. The initial expense in any case would not be very much and the upkeep practically nothing.

Attendant features, almost as valuable as the primary one, go with this dry fishing project. During the spring rains every year, thousands of gallons of water rush down swollen streams which might be diverted into pond basins. A lake an acre in area on each section of Kansas land would make a total water surface of over 80,000 acres, and if four acres could be reserved in every quarter section, the total number of acres of water in the state would be 1,280,000—equal to a body of water 400 miles long and five miles wide, which would be sufficiently large to regulate perceptibly both flood and temperature conditions, and the evaporation of these bodies of water would surely exert a more or less beneficial influence on atmospheric conditions in general.

To make the whole subject of dry fishing simple, Professor Dyche sends out booklets containing complete instructions for building ponds so that any farmer can be his own engineer. And then, his pond constructed, the farmer can send to the state fish hatcheries at Pratt, Kansas, and receive a consignment of fish with which to stock his water.

That dry fishing is practical is attested by a number of Kansas farmers who have tried it out. General adoption of the idea will come when the people have become cognizant of the possibilities of this new kind of irrigated fish culture.

## Shorthand de Luxe

Together with Dickens, President Wilson and many other famous men, Dr. Charles P. Steinmetz, the electrical expert, writes in shorthand. The system he has evolved for himself, based on a Swedish system known as Arends, is phonetic. The word "night," for instance, is written h-i-t, with a long "i." The consonants are written with downward strokes and the vowels with upward strokes.

According to an interview in the *New York Evening Post*, Dr. Steinmetz believes every one should know shorthand, because it is one of the best means in this busy age to save time and energy.

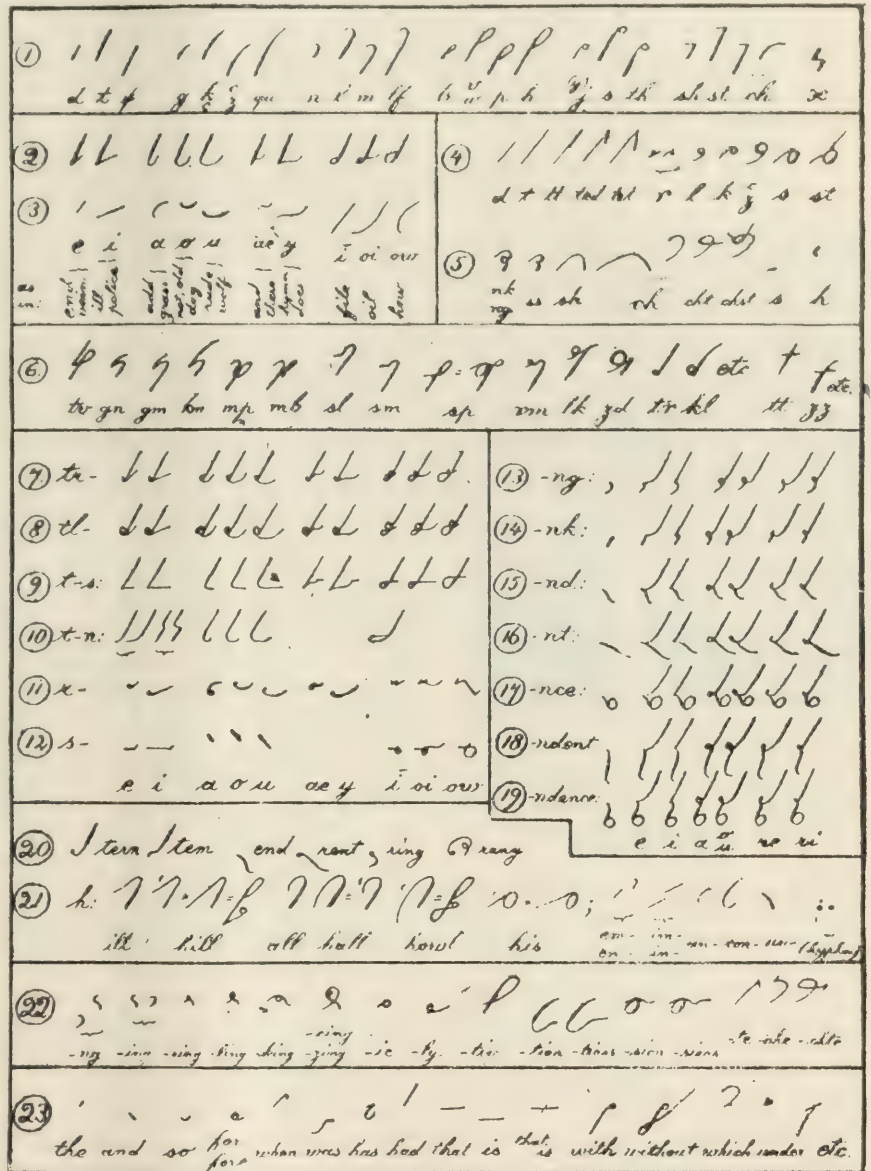
"I learned this system I use while in school in Europe," he explained. "I took all my notes while in college by this system. It was so much faster than longhand. And, what's more, I can still read those same notes, all of which I have in bound volumes.

"My experience has taught me the great advantage of shorthand. I believe every student should know it. He will find it invaluable in taking notes on lectures. The work would be so simple and easy that his attention would not be detracted from the speaker by his writing, as is often the case when one attempts to make notations in longhand.

"Also one can write as fast as he thinks."

In pointing out the simplicity of his shorthand, Dr. Steinmetz jotted down the alphabet he uses, which is reproduced in the illustration. He says that French, Latin, or Greek can also be written perfectly with this system. He originally developed and used it in the German language, but finds it

like swimming in that respect. With many systems, a person who does not use the method for a year or more is apt to forget the greater part of it. My shorthand, once you learn it, sticks, and is, besides, as readable as longhand. I can read today notes I took forty years ago as easily as I could forty minutes after I took them."



*New York Evening Post*

"I can't forget my shorthand," says Dr. Steinmetz, who can still read notes taken when he was a schoolboy forty years ago

equally useful and serviceable in English.

His system is not generally understood in this country, and as a result his notes are somewhat guarded by secrecy. His stenographer has learned the system, so that Dr. Steinmetz now jots down most of his lectures or technical papers in his simplified system and gives them to her to transcribe. Usually, instead of dictating a letter, he will do the shorthand work himself and hand his notes to his stenographer.

Once you learn this system you will never forget it, he declares. "It is

## The Tailor Made Man

In certain countries of Europe it has long been the practice to design uniforms that make their wearers both bulky and ferocious to behold. Germany in her prime knew full well the art of dressing her officers to the best advantage. But none did more to enhance the appearance of the officers than the old Russian Government.

The mere fact that a man is an officer does not make him an Apollo, Hercules, or Sandow. There are other qualifications than mere weight, so to speak. Yet all human kind instinctly



looks up to the powerful and handsome man, hence the officer with a fine physique is considerably ahead of the game at the onset. All Russian officers enjoyed a fine physique, at least as far as appearances went. The secret was to be found in the tailoring shops where their uniforms were made with consummate skill and fastidious care. Indeed, those uniforms were a veritable engineering undertaking, for the contour of each Russian officer had to be corrected by due measures, just as the contour of old Mother Earth is altered by digging and filling at the bidding of the engineer.

All Russian officers had wonderful chests—chests such as we envy when viewing the man who demonstrates

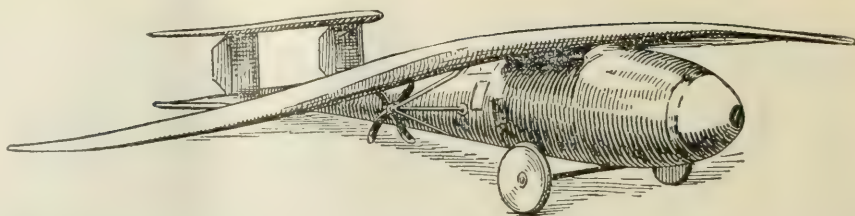


Czar Nicholas of Russia probably had a fine physique, anyway he had a fine tailor, who placed between the former ruler of all the Russias and his people many poise-giving thicknesses of padding, canvas and hard-baked glue

some new exercising device guaranteed to convert us into physical dreadnoughts in a few weeks' time. Those chests were simply padding, nothing more. Five thicknesses of canvas, with interspacings of heavy glue, were sewn together to form a handsome chest some three-quarters of an inch thick. Few if any of the men could fill the interior contour of such a chest, but what did it matter? Once placed under the handsome uniform, with its rows of cleverly placed buttons to accentuate the full chest, the breast-plate more than made good.

And the Russian camouflage did not end with fine chests. Bowed legs were corrected by the use of heavier material on one side of each leg than on the other. Sloping shoulders were built up by means of shoulder pads—twenty thicknesses in dire instances. Giraffe-like necks were reduced by raising the shoulder level. And so it went.

Clothes can be made to say almost anything. In fact, clothes are a man's show window; they sell a man long before one engages in conversation with him. That is why the engineer wears conservative clothes, the stockbroker and theatrical man checked suits, the minister his drab garment.



London Times

The perfection of a monoplane that, thanks to a new wing of great lifting capacity, will carry a four-ton cargo has been announced by the English designers of the torpedoplane. The new plane will carry its cargo in special "cartridges" or containers packed in the hull

## A Freight Train That Flies

The final tests have just been completed in England for a four-ton freight plane with a special form of weight-lifting wing on which its inventor has been working for nine years, according to the *London Times*.

The new wing, which is strikingly bird-like in appearance, with thick center sections and tapering at its ends, has been shown by carefully checked experiments to give 35 per cent more actual lift than any normal weight-carrying plane such as is at present in regular use.

The wing is to be employed, not in high-speed passenger flying, but for the carriage of goods in bulk at an average cruising speed of seventy-two miles an hour. To this end a big monoplane is to be built, which will be known as the "four-ton flying tramp." This machine will have a roomy hull containing as motive power two 450-horsepower engines, either of which will be sufficient, when running alone, to keep the machine in flight. Above the hull, which will be ship-built, will be one widespread sustaining plane on the new principle, built of mahogany planking and so strong that it will not require any external bracing or support.

In the engine-room will be a mechanic constantly in charge of the two motors, while the control of the machine will be effected by a pilot forward in the nose of the fuselage.

An extremely interesting cargo-carrying device is to be employed. The whole front section of the machine, including the pilot's compartment, is hinged so that it can be swung open, and the four tons of goods which the monoplane will carry are to be packed in special "cartridges," or containers, which will slide into a space provided for them in the hull. When these "cartridges," loaded with goods and carefully balanced, have been slipped into the chamber, the front of the machine is swung back and fastened. This will mean that, on the arrival of the monoplane at any airport, these "cartridges" can be brought up ready loaded and inserted in the machine so quickly that the whole operation of loading will be carried out in the time taken by the machine to replenish its fuel tanks. It is intended that cargo containers, ready for filling, should be distributed for use at the various European airports.

It is proposed that a fleet of these big cargo-carrying monoplanes should "tramp" Europe by air in the same way that a tramp steamer operates,

visiting the airports and taking up a load for any other port to which sufficient inducements can be offered the pilot to fly.

The commercial advantages obtained from the new wing, which not only lifts big loads but does so with a surprisingly small amount of "drift," or resistance to its own passage thru the air, will, it is stated, enable a four-ton load to be carried several hundred miles—with all the time-saving implied as compared with land or sea transport—at rates which will amount to only a few pence a pound.

## Curlicues

American apples are shipped to eighty foreign countries.

\*\*\*

Since the New York subway was established only three persons have been killed on it thru faults of train operation.

\*\*\*

An automobile has carried mail from San Francisco to New York in four days, fifteen hours and forty-four minutes.

\*\*\*

During the war 31,000 American soldiers were killed in battle; during the same period 126,000 persons in the United States died from accidents.

\*\*\*

Reno, Nevada, has increased in population by more than one-tenth since the census of ten years ago. The census does not disclose the marital condition of the new citizens.

\*\*\*

A corporation has been established to manufacture paper from the saw grass of southern Florida. It is claimed that this paper is of better grade than that made from wood pulp.

\*\*\*

Ex-Premier Caillaux of France has been forbidden to go hunting on his country estate on the ground that, since a court deprived him of his civil rights for communicating with the enemy during the war, he cannot legally apply for a gun license.

## Gas From Straw

A gas which is obtained by the destructive distillation of wheat, oat, and rye straws is now being produced upon a small scale at the experimental farm of the United States Department of Agriculture at Arlington, Virginia. Altho an automobile has been operated with the new combustible, and it has been used for illuminating purposes as well as for cooking, the possibilities of straw gas are not yet fully determined, the department says. Work to determine the exact commercial value of the





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gas can be carried on but slowly owing to the limited funds available at present, but it is planned to do much that will determine the quantity and nature of the gas that may be obtained from wheat, oat, barley, rye, and rice straws, and from cornstalks, corncobs, and other vegetable matter usually burned as waste.

If the results of these tests warrant further investigation the experiments will be extended to the problem of plant equipment for producing the gas on a scale sufficient to allow the farmer to supply light and heat for his house, power for stationary engines, and, pos-



© Keystone View

Can I run my car on gas made by baking straw? Let's try it and see, says Harry N. Roethe of the Bureau of Chemistry of the Department of Agriculture

sibly, for his tractor from a small individual outfit. If a suitable unit can be constructed so that the farmer's initial cost will be small it seems likely that the straw gas may have a certain economic value in the sections of the country where the raw material from which the gas is made is now considered as waste and burned or left to rot on the fields. In some sections of the country the straw is used as fertilizer, but in the West and North-west there is an



© Keystone View

#### THE CONGO CRAWL

It's rumored that the native dance of the Wakumba will wriggle its way into our ballrooms this fall

unlimited supply of the material available for conversion into light and fuel for the farm home.

While it has been possible to operate an automobile with straw gas and it is known that fifty pounds of straw will produce about 300 cubic feet of gas—an amount sufficient to drive a light roadster fifteen miles—the problem of reducing the gas to liquid form or condensing it sufficiently to allow it to be carried conveniently is an essential one that must be solved before straw gas can be considered as a possible motor fuel. This will be another of the tasks taken up by the engineers in the development division.

### Cheaper Gas for Your Airship

In these days of rising prices it is good to learn that science has succeeded in making one or two things cheaper. Until 1918 the gas helium, now used on a commercial scale in balloons and airships, was prepared at a cost of nearly \$2,000 a cubic foot. Helium was first discovered in the sun, then detected as a constituent gas of the atmosphere in the proportion of one part in a quarter million, then found in association with the radioactive minerals. Certain natural gases in Texas and other states were found to contain as much as one per cent of helium. But the isolation of the gas from whatever source was always a long, difficult and costly process.

During the Great War the demand for helium increased with the development of military aviation. Hydrogen was both lighter and cheaper, but it had the disadvantage of burning in air. Had the Germans been able to fill their Zeppelins with helium when they bombarded London the midnight sky would not have been illuminated with blazing airships hurtling earthwards to their doom, for no way has yet been discovered to make helium burn or explode. The United States Government undertook experiments on the wholesale preparation of helium during the war and by the end of 1918 was making 8000 cubic feet of helium a day.

A large plant is being completed at Fort Worth, Texas.

### I Cleaned the Ears of the Prodigal Son

The itemized bill of an artist employed in repairing the properties of an old church in Belgium, according to the *British Architect*, included, among other items, the following:

Corrected ten Commandments.

Embellished Pontius Pilate and put new ribbon in his bonnet.

Replumed and gilded the left wing of the Guardian Angel.

Washed the servant of the High Priest and put carmine on his cheek.

Revived the flames of Hell, put a new tail on the Devil, mended his left hoof and did several jobs for the damned.

Put earrings in the ears of Sarah.

Put new stone in David's sling, enlarged the head of Goliath and extended his legs.

Mended the shirt of the Prodigal Son and cleaned his ears.



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#### DAYLIGHT SAVINGS

May not be practised by the clock in Western Canada, but at least the cowboys start their round-upping at daybreak





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**M**ATTRESSES, pillows, tapestries and upholstery are cleaned and freshened by the easy stroking and strong suction of the Arco Wand. Beating of rugs and carpets is forever done away with because the dust, grit, threads and trash are piped out and away into the sealed dust bucket of the Arco Wand machine in the basement. No filthy dust bags to empty. No clumsy or noisy machine

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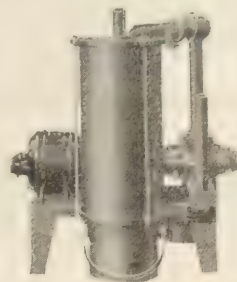
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Machine is set in basement or side room. A suction pipe runs up to the cleaning wand.

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PIPES THE DUST AWAY**



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**Bakes Bread, Pies, Biscuits  
Broils, Roasts, and Cooks  
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All At One Time.**

Although it is less than four feet long it can do every kind of cooking for any ordinary family by gas in warm weather, or by coal or wood when the kitchen needs heating.

The Coal section and the Gas section are just as separate as though you had two ranges in your kitchen.

**Gold Medal  
Glenwood**

Note the two gas ovens above—one for baking, glass paneled and one for broiling, with white enamel door. The large oven below has the Indicator and is heated by coal or wood. See the cooking surface when you want to rush things—five burners for gas and four covers for coal.

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## The Way to Peace and Progress

(Continued from page 4)

bered when Senator Harding and myself and those associated with us shall have passed from the scene of action. I could not do less in the way of service for the young men of our country than call their attention to this fact. Does it need the help of illustration from our past political history—always a safe guide for those who would chart accurately and surely their journey upon the doubtful seas of the future? Let us assume that it does. I shall ask then what has become of the men associated with the famous Foster in "frying the fat," and with Dudley and his "blocks of five," and even of those who were associated with Mark Hanna in the days of the corruption of 1896?

I have steadfastly believed that few young men will join with the "get-the-money" idea that has been made a part of the "salesmanship" campaign of the present year. My vision of a national campaign does not comprehend presentation of great moral issues upon such a basis. I do not subscribe to the idea of "selling a candidate." I believe in converting voters to the principles and policies enunciated by the platform and the candidates, but this is not commercial salesmanship. I use the words of the official bulletins of the headquarters of Senator Harding himself in this statement. They have exhibited a purpose of "selling the candidate," and we are quite content to let it rest there.

It is interesting to note that the two policies were charted long ago in respect to the use of money. When the notification address was made it contained the statement that there was no purpose to compete with dollars with the opposition. We could not have done this if we had wished, and we did not wish to do it.

At this time it is our thought that the case, so far as the management of Senator Harding's campaign is concerned, has been made. The men responsible for the collection of the huge funds have been disclosed in their true light. The scene shifts, and no effort to place any odium upon the management of the campaign of Mr. Roosevelt and myself will be possible. We have challenged and dared any revelations. Those persons who have in past years proclaimed their desertion of the old order—I refer to the Progressives who broke away from the corrupt machine—are now on trial. They have the facts. Will they sanction the completion of a Newberry campaign extended over all this United States?

The observations that have been made with respect to the use of huge corruption funds, whose obvious purpose is to purchase an "underhold on the government," bring us to yet another consideration. The times of stress with reference to world currents released by the great war are not yet at an end. During the next few years it will be necessary for the sober elements of the country to guide it straight in times of peril. We stand in awe of the terrors of life that have assumed form

in great empires across the water, and we wonder how it will be with America in the future years.

Improper tendencies have been conquered in this country not by the bayonet, not by suppression of free speech and free press, not by methods of the kaisers and czars, but by the wholesome force of public opinion. The troubles of recent years furnish the true index to what must be the mode of settlement hereafter if the results are to be lasting and beneficent. But there is at bottom one fundamental. There must be trust in the government. It must appeal to the ordinary man, to the man who is not represented in lists of contributors of swollen campaign funds. The Bolshevik and the communist, preaching their doctrines on the streets and in the highways, must have no reason to point to a President placed there by the organized power of money.

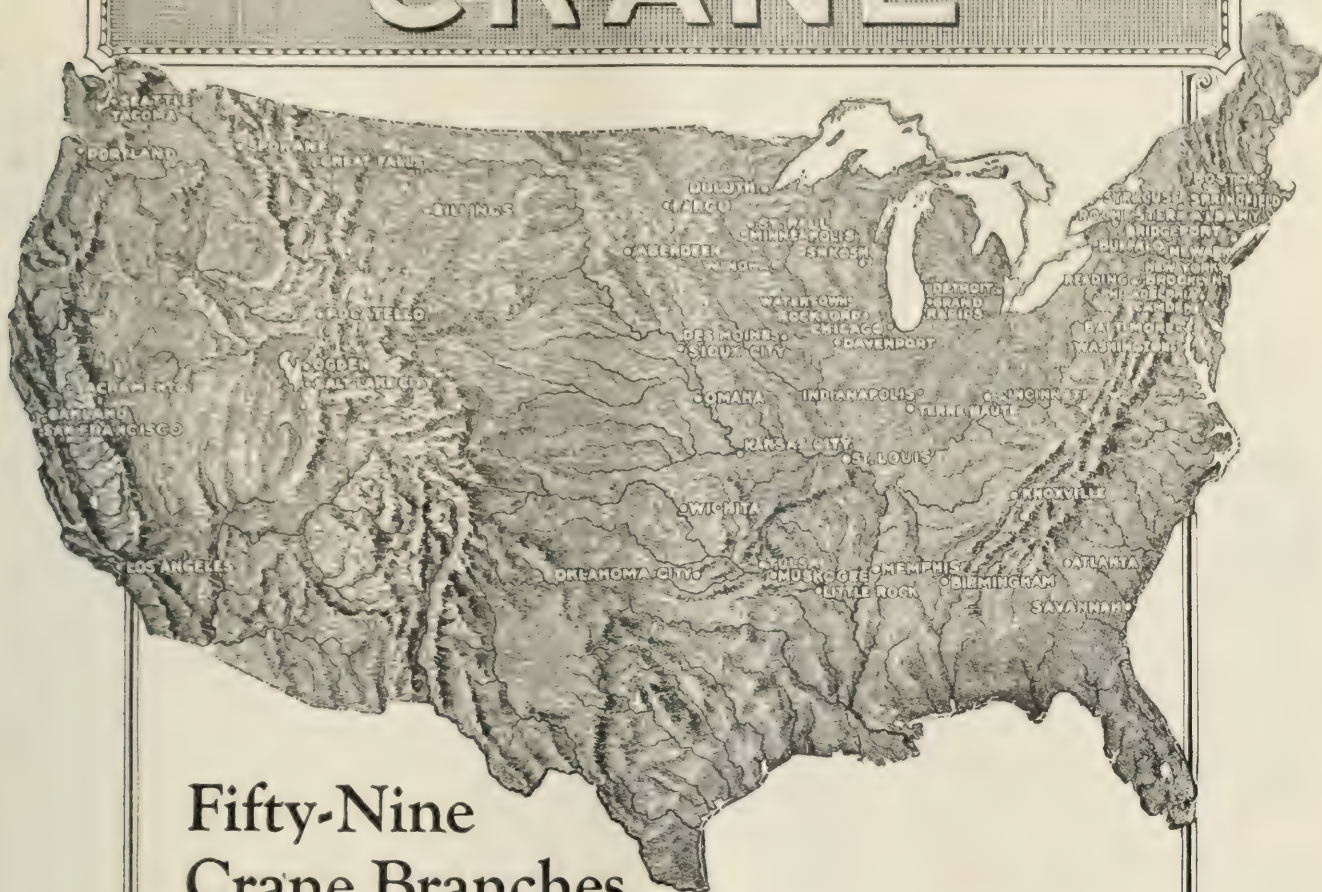
That is one of the real issues of the campaign. It may be one of the overshadowing issues. If the power of the campaign fund, employed by Republican National Chairman Will H. Hays, to arouse racial groups and to poison the sources of information, no less than to debauch a minority of the electorate to bring about the results he seeks, is established, there will be lost to the defense of our institutions that great body of liberal opinion which seeks to vindicate right and which is willing to make any sacrifice, as it did in the late war. But if reaction, by the grace of millions upon millions, shall triumph, there is no doubt of a wave of radicalism which will place our very institutions in danger. That is the real reason for my earnestness in speaking of the danger that has confronted this fair land.

A stain upon a commission to office in this year cannot be wiped out. I had hoped that when the first pronouncement was made on this subject that its lessons would be taken seriously to heart, that the evil things would be repudiated, and that in truth and candor other issues might not be clouded by this shameless attempt at debauchery. I was unwilling to believe that when exposition had been made there would be any doubt of the attitude of the Republican candidate, and I was shocked when I found that Senator Harding was willing to go into history as a candidate in whose behalf had been collected enormous slush funds. It did not seem possible, after the triumph of our moral precepts on the battlefields of France, that these things could be. My humiliation as a citizen was complete.

Admittedly, the manner of dealing with expenditures in campaigns for the presidency is a hard one. Admittedly, the total of expenditures in campaigns will be large if the cause is to be carried to every part of the vast United States as we have purposed to do. But a limit must be fixed, and that limit must be rigid, and stern legal, as well as moral, punishment must be visited on those who violate it. I cannot be-



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As indicated by the accompanying photo, Crane Service in the industrial field covers a wide range of special work for pipelines as well as the customary standardized requirements. At left, a Crane 42-inch cast iron special base elbow, weighing about 6200 pounds. At right, the first section of a suction line to a circulating pump; inside dimensions, 3 feet 6 inches by 4 feet 6 inches; 8 feet from face to end. Weight, about 10,375 pounds.

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## 1855-1920



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THE LEEDS  
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lieve that merely because the recent Congress failed of its duty in this respect—when it had the humiliating experience preceding the Chicago convention before it—there is no moral obligation resting on those who participate in campaigns. They know the difference between right and wrong. They know that they sought secrecy because they feared honest publicity, and they know in their own hearts the reason for their conduct.

The League and the corruption issues give a foundation for the comparison of the two candidacies. The Democratic

party has been willing, in Lincoln's words, "to finish the great tasks we are in," while the opposition is one of equivocation and evasion. The Democracy is ready to tell the source and amount of its funds and what will be done with them. I wish as much could be said of the opposition. The Democratic candidates are ready to proceed to the settlement of other issues untrammelled by money arrangements and engagements. One thinks in terms of tomorrow while our adversaries properly go back to the days of yesterday.

*Columbus, Ohio*

## Our Most American City

(Continued from page 7)

none of the note of hostility to all mankind so common to the street car conductor. When I was told that the street car men of Philadelphia had aided the company by lending their own savings and had decided not to press a claim for additional wages until the company's finances were in better condition, I was quite ready to believe such an impossible story. And I learned later that the story is true.

This uncertain thing we call Americanism means something different to nearly all of us. At the risk of being severely criticized I am going to try to tell what I think it is. Back of all Americanism is an understanding of the fact that this is an enormous, rich, less than half developed continent, not bound to any set of traditions so firmly that the majority is not always seeking truth, lead where it will. The man who realizes that those two statements about our country are true cannot have any fear in his heart. Above everything else the fear of starvation cannot come into the heart of the man who has what I call Americanism. He knows something about this country. The fear of starvation is what makes persons do sneaking, dishonest, acts for gain. The real American knows that he can always make enough to support himself in comfort and for him the choice between honesty and dishonesty is one of conscience. Some of the Europeans come to us from places where starvation is not at all uncommon and where the possession of a few hoarded pieces of silver or gold may make the difference between liberty and actual imprisonment, abuse, humiliation or hunger. Such persons must have years to learn that no such pressure exists here except in the imagination.

Our country makes a vicarious atonement for the sins of the world as well as its own sins. The abused serf is always a hard taskmaster. It is for America to make taskmasters of the serfs of the earth and then suffer under them.

There is no question about a one-price system of retail sales being excellent. But it must rest upon a foundation of business honesty. Our efforts at a one-price system are continually hampered by the operations of men with European points of view who skulk under the protection of Ameri-

can standards of honesty and try to sell for all the traffic will stand—and who manage to sell only because other and better men have established the belief in the minds of millions of Americans that business men are about 99 per cent honest.

Left to themselves the business men of this country would long ago have established as an axiom of business the principle, "Let the seller beware" instead of "Caveat Emptor." But the European point of view is always at issue with such ideas, not because our people are better than Europeans, but because our people have had a better opportunity than Europeans to carry into effect some of the treasured ideals of humanity.

All along the Atlantic seacoast this conflict between the American idea and the European idea is to be seen. In some places, the European idea has dominated in important lines of trade. But in Philadelphia it seemed to me that the Americans still hold the dominant position and make their viewpoint the accepted highest standard of business. It was a surprise to me to find Philadelphia so much more American than Boston. The old original stock which deals in ancestors is to be found in Boston, but one has to look for it and bring letters of introduction. In Philadelphia the man you meet on the street is American. The crowds are American. I cannot quite recover from the comparison between Willow Grove park and Coney Island—the one so clean and happy, the other littered with greasy papers and greasy looking citizens, and vile places to eat. There is one sin that would damn Coney Island in the estimation of any Southerner. Over the tubs of boiling ears of green corn they have signs which read: "Hot Corns." The idea came into my mind that the men who put up those signs did not know whether corn grows on a vine or a tree. If he doesn't know Indian corn he is no American and if he doesn't know what a roasting ear is he ought not to be selling them. Somehow the old Texas mob spirit got the better of me. I wanted to scoop the ears of corn out of that boiling water to make room for the men who were selling it. Coney Island is a horrible place. Early in the summer I went there expecting to swim. I rode for miles along the beach looking at the swarming hun-



dreds of thousands in the water. I had never seen more than a hundred persons in swimming at one time before in my life. In spite of reason and common sense the idea came into my head that the Atlantic ocean was not a large enough bathtub for all those people and that I would wait until the water is changed before I go in. I love swimming more than any other sport or exercise, but I have not been in the Atlantic. I think I'll wait until I get back to the crystal clear running water of the Comal or Guadalupe or Colorado rivers in Texas.

Philadelphia is the only city I have seen in the East that impressed me as a desirable place for a home. By home I mean a house with some ground around it, a lawn, some vegetables and a few rose bushes. New York City is one vast office where the population theoretically lives to work, tho I find most of them take plenty of time for play. Philadelphia impressed me as a city where people work to live. I saw them mowing the lawn and washing the funny little porches and the stone or brick steps. I think I'll move to Philadelphia some day and build a real house of yellow pine lumber and paint it white with green trimmings around the windows. Perhaps those people would appreciate the suggestion and realize that they have been wrong on the subject of house construction ever since William Penn established himself in business there. And, again, it is possible they have a law against yellow pine lumber houses and shingle roofs. People up this way have a deep affection for brick and stone and steel. If I could take them to Texas for a trip I think I could show them that their favorite building materials are all right for jails and courthouses, but have distinct limitations in the residence districts.

New York City

"Look here, Jason, why don't you pay me that \$20 you owe me?"

"It's your own fault, old man. Last time I paid you some money I owed you, you said you'd forgotten all about it."—Life.

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"Dearest, will you marry me?"

"Why, yes," she said, "who is it?"  
—Princeton Tiger.

Lou Guernsey was defending one party to an auto collision and was cross-examining a lady witness who was undeniably pretty.

"Have you any idea what caused this accident?" roared Lou.

"I think so," said the fair witness, sweetly.

"Then tell the court how it happened," thundered Lou, eager for facts.

"Must I tell the truth?"

"You have sworn to do so."

"Well, sir, I was standing on the corner and that gentleman turned to look at something and ran into the other machine."

"Ah," divined the astute Guernsey. "He turned to look at you. That makes you an accessory before the fact, madame."

"I—I think it was the—the accessories he was looking at," murmured the witness.  
—Argonaut.

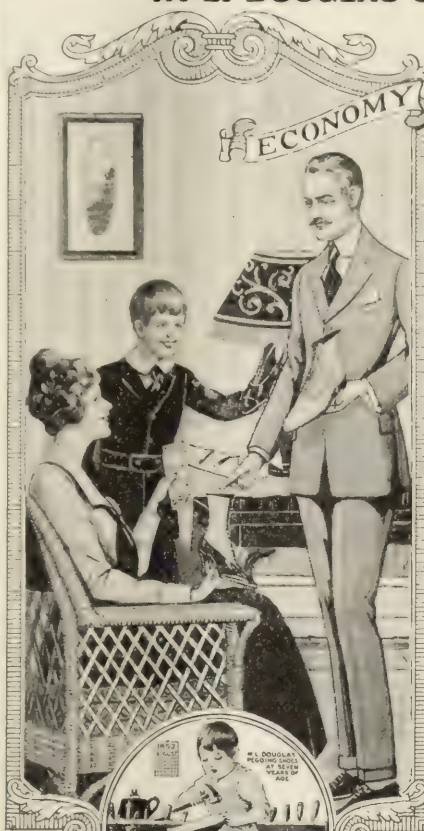
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## A Number of Things

By Edwin E. Slosson

One of the most interesting things to a traveler is to observe local idioms. When I was in Los Angeles recently I was told by a resident that "We had a few slight fires last week but they did not shake up the city much."

\*\*\*

The National Association of Masters of Dancing have decreed that the fashionable dances this winter will be the Cat Step, the Camel Walk and the Fox Trot. This leaves over for next year the Kangaroo Leap, the Wombat Waddle and the Worm Squirm.

\*\*\*

Probably many of our boys overseas felt like the Lancashire soldier in the Palestine campaign who wrote home:

Dear Mother—I am now in Bethlehem, where Christ was born: but I wish I was in Wigan, where I was born.

\*\*\*

The task of educating the people in the fundamentals of food science is not an easy one. A lecturer who had given a course in the chemistry of cooking to a class of would-be teachers put into the examination the question, "Define calorie," and received from one of the students this remarkable answer: "The calorie is the unit of value to raise a pound of protein a centigrade of fuel or a gram of heat."

\*\*\*

The tactics of the Sinn Fein in maintaining a government of their own independent of the British reminds me of what I used to hear as a boy of the Free Soil struggle in Kansas. For three years there were two governments in the territory; the official proslavery government of Lecompton imposed upon the people by the Border Ruffians from Missouri and supported by the power of the United States and the real Free State government of Topeka elected by the settlers. At their organization in 1855 the Free State men resolved:

That the body of men who for the last two months have been passing laws for the people of our territory moved, counseled and dictated to by the demagogues of Missouri, are to us a foreign body, representing only the lawless invaders who elected them, and not the people of the territory—that we repudiate their actions as the monstrous consummation of an act of violence, usurpation and fraud, unparalleled in the history of the Union and worthy only of men unfitted for the duties and regardless of the responsibilities of republicans.

That we owe no allegiance or obedience to the tyrannical enactments of this spurious legislature—that their laws have no validity or binding force upon the people of Kansas, and that every freeman among us is at full liberty, consistently with his obligations as a citizen and a man, to obey and resist them if he chooses so to do.

Most of the freemen did choose so to do. They settled their disputes in their own courts. They maintained order thru their own local organizations and police. They ran their own schools. They paid no taxes to the Lecompton government. They refused to appeal

to the officials for protection even when their property was stolen or their persons attacked—not so great a sacrifice as it seems for they could not have obtained justice anyway from a proslavery court. In short they adopted a policy of passive resistance, simply ignoring so far as possible the authorized government.

They held their own elections and refused to vote at any other. They adopted a constitution, held a legislature, established state officers and sent a delegate to Congress who of course was not received. The "Executive Committee of the State of Kansas" at Topeka paid its expenses by issuing paper money or scrip with interest at 10 per cent "for the payment of which the faith of the state is pledged." But it never was redeemed and doubtless packages of it could now be found in the garrets of the old abolition families of New England. As a crowning act of sovereignty and the climax of provocativeness, Jim Lane, chairman of the executive committee of the revolutionary government, issued a Thanksgiving Day proclamation, which in defiance of the governor appointed by the president, set aside December 25 as a day of public praise and prayer for protection against "the most galling and debasing slavery." Jim Lane was not, I believe, a praying man, but he certainly knew the value of prayer.

Governor after governor was sent out from Washington "with full power," but when he got to Kansas he found that he had no power. Nobody paid any attention to his proclamations so he threw up his job in disgust after a few months. The Topeka legislature was dispersed by United States troops. Robinson, the Free State governor, was imprisoned for high treason. Lawrence, "the hell hole of abolition," was raided and sacked by a gang of drunken border ruffians led by a United States marshal.

But the Free State men stuck to their policy of non-resistance to federal authority and in the end they won out. The Republican party came forward to champion free Kansas and the slavery men, beaten at the polls, resorted to war and again were beaten.

I do not mean to carry the comparison of the Free Staters with the Sinn Feiners farther than their organization of a government within a government. Otherwise their aims and methods were widely different. The Free State Kansans would have been satisfied with the most moderate of the Home Rule schemes that have been offered Ireland and they never resorted to assassination of officials or destruction of public property. If the Irish would dispense with violence and confine themselves to simply ignoring the British Government as the Kansans did the bogus legislature they would be much more likely to win their cause as well as the respect of the outside world.



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## The Shop Committee in Control

(Continued from page 6)

put it at a disadvantage with competitors. They instruct the chairman also to call a secret meeting of that department and report to that meeting the schedule of wages prepared by the investigating committee.

Departmental meetings have their place in this scheme of government. A department may, if it wishes, call a meeting and try to settle a question directly with the management. It is at these meetings also that new members are admitted to the association, for, at the present stage of development, any department can deny an employee's application, and this obliges the company to discharge that employee. The shop committee also calls departmental meetings as recited above to pass judgment on its proposals, before the committee presents them to the company.

Up to October, 1919, the shop committee was merely an investigating committee. It had no power to decide a dispute. It reported all cases to the Joint Council, which alone had power to decide. The Joint Council represents equally the company and the employees. The shop committee represents only the employees. But it was found that the Joint Council was actually approving every report and recommendation of the shop committee—with one exception. So the next step was taken. If the Joint Council nearly always approves, why not give the shop committee power to decide at once and let the Joint Council decide only when either side to a dispute appeals to the Joint Council?

This change was made. The Joint Council is now a court of appeals. The shop committee of employees is the body that makes final decision, unless there is an appeal.

Along with it, another change was made. The employee members of the Joint Council had been elected by direct vote of all employees. Now they are elected by the shop committee, and the chairman of the Joint Council must come from the employees' side. So far, the Joint Council has never failed to reach a unanimous decision, except once. If it divides equally, then the case goes to arbitration, but this has not happened as yet.

The Joint Council is at times even more considerate of the individual employee than the shop committee. A girl was discharged and the discharge was approved by the chairman and the shop committee. The girl appealed to the Joint Council. The testimony showed that the foreman had given her a task that she was not performing according to directions. He ordered her to do what he told her "or get out." She got mad and balked. Dismissal followed. The girl admitted to the council that her actions were wrong, but insisted that the foreman had threatened her and was not a gentleman. Both sides argued the case. The council discussed it at length. It was a choice between insubordination

and gentility. The council decided to reinstate the girl in her old position and to advise the foreman to be a gentleman.

We come to the last chapter up to date.

Karl has resigned his membership in the United Shoe Workers' Union. That is about what the trade unions and the American Federation of Labor have said would happen. The "shop employees' union," they say, is started to undermine and oust the trade union.

But the matter is more complex than that.

Five years ago Karl was the militant leader of the militant United Shoe Workers, a union which had seceded from the conservative Boot and Shoe Workers of the American Federation of Labor. The Boot and Shoe Workers' Union always believed in arbitration. They had a union label. The shoe business is highly competitive. The union did not control all of the shops. The universal rule in the business is piece-work. Hence the conservative union did not try to force piece-rates above the rates paid by non-union shops. What it offered to its members was practically the same piece-rates as in non-union shops, but with this advantage, that the union label and the arbitration agreement would give them steady employment. They could increase their earnings for the year, altho they were paid the same rates per piece as non-unionists.

This was partly why the militant union seceded from the conservative union. It wanted to force up the piece-rates by direct action without the label and without arbitration.

Karl led them in the fight. It failed. Karl now is leading a "shop employees' union." His fellow-workers trust him, for they know the sacrifices he has made in behalf of labor.

He frequently prevents a fellow-worker from taking hasty and ill-advised action.

In March, 1919, they reduced the hours to forty-six.

They have put in a little rest-period of ten minutes every forenoon.

They believe they are earning higher wages for shorter hours than employees in competing factories.


The shop union is becoming gradually an employees' union, with the consent of the company. Competition still continues to keep down the piece-rates, with the consent of the employees' union.

What ought Karl to do? Should he stick to the militant Shoe Workers' Union that seceded?

Should he join the conservative Boot and Shoe Workers' Union and get his company to adopt the label?

Should he stick to the Nunn, Bush & Weldon Coöperative Association and gradually take over government by employees as fast as they show themselves competent to govern?

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These hundred questions are a fair test of general information, one that you ought to pass *magna cum laude* if you keep properly posted on current events. When this test was given to the boys and girls in the Germantown Friends School of Philadelphia one boy in the senior class got 89, and one girl 88.5. The average grade of the senior boys was 73.2. Try yourself out this evening and see whether you're fit to be a high school senior! The answers will be published next week.

### I

Name: 1. The last four Presidents of the United States. 2. The United States Commissioner of Education. 3. The United States Ambassador to Italy. 4. The Secretary of State. 5. The United States Attorney General. 6. The leader of the Republican party in the Senate. 7. The Governor of Massachusetts. 8. The President of France. 9. The king and queen who visited this country last autumn. 10. The man most talked of for next President, whose party has just been announced.

### II

What special product or manufacture do you associate with: 11. Ceylon. 12. Waltham. 13. Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. 14. Madeira. 15. Grand Rapids. 16. Detroit.

### III

In what games used? 17. pawn; puck. 18. putter; pocket. 19. plate; pony. For what purpose used? 20. bodkin; chisel. 21. skewer; silo. 22. auger; last.

### IV

What is it, or where is it? 23. Stone of Scone. 24. Blarney Stone. 25. Stonehenge. 26. Little Rock. 27. Purock. 28. Plymouth Rock.

### V

What events associated with these ships? 29. "Half Moon." 30. "George Washington." 31. "Deutschland." 32. "Monitor." 33. "Buford." 34. "Titanic."

### VI

From the following list fill the blanks below: Scapa Flow, Appomattox C. H., Gettysburg, Land's End, Louisiana, Alcock, Leacock, Columbus, Sandy Hook, Yorktown, Balboa, Africa, Alaska, Mt. Vernon, Sparta.

35. An hour after passing — we sighted the Statue of Liberty. 36. Scipio carried the war into —. 37. — and Brown flew over the Atlantic. 38. Lee surrendered at —. 39. Russia sold — to the United States. 40. Washington died at —. 41. — discovered the Pacific.

### VII

In what way distinguished? 42. Sir William Osler. 43. John Drinkwater. 44. Daisy Ashford. 45. Sir Oliver Lodge. 46. Edgar Fahs Smith. 47. Amy Lowell. 48. Robert Mantell. 49. Mrs. Malaprop. 50. Robert E. Peary. 51. Gabriel D'Annunzio.

### VIII

Name a woman: 52. Who is president of the International Woman's Suffrage Alliance. 53. Who is a member of the House of Commons. 54. Who has twice received the Nobel prize. 55. Who was the last Queen of England to reign in her own right. 56. Who is called the deliverer of France.

### IX

Give the real names of the authors whose pen-names follow: 57. Poor Richard. 58.

Mark Twain. 59. George Elliot. 60. Lewis Carroll. 61. Diedrich Knickerbocker. 62. Boz.

### X

Continue these series by giving the next three numbers in each case: 63. 21, 27, 33, 39, 45, — — —. 64. 1, 4, 9, 16, 25, 36, — — —.

### XI

67. Name the capitals of Poland and of Soviet Russia. 68. What is the 18th amendment to the constitution? 69. Why are there 29 days in February once every four years? 70. What new baseball rule affects the pitcher? 71. Into what body of water does the Danube flow? The Volga? 72. Into what does the Nile flow? The Colorado? 73. Which of these countries are monarchies: China, France, Germany, Spain, Russia, Italy, Japan, Poland? 74. Group these words to make the names of five railroads: Baltimore, Canadian, Central, Delaware, Hartford, Lackawana, New Haven, New York, New York, Ohio, Pacific, Western. 75. Give commoner names for philatelist; biped. 76. Give commoner names for cinematograph; pedagogue. 77. What action has the Senate taken on the Treaty of Peace?

### XII

Copy the following, filling the blank spaces with the right words. The first five incomplete sentences are proverbs, familiar sayings, or quotations: 78. Brevity is the soul of — (France, loquacity, wit, perdition). 79. Of making many — there is no — (Enemies, books, accounts, end, beginning, automobiles). 80. Where there is a — there is a — (Smoke, idea, way, sidewalk, mad-dog, victory, failure, shall, will). 81. What is sauce for the goose is — for the — (Catsup, sauce, sugar, Greek, gander, gender, consumer). 82. Without regard to race, color, or previous condition of — (Lawlessness, ingratitude, servitude, sanity, impecuniosity). 83. We put the fire out with — (Tar, oil, confetti, coal-gas, palliatives, pyrene). 84. They always make coffee in a — (Percolator, crucible, hiatus, vacuum, perambulator). 85. The government stopped the labor strike by — (Referendum, injunction, equal-suffrage, dynamite, rotation).

### XIII

Read the following list, and answer the questions below. More words are given than you are to use. Albatross, barouche, clavicle, cowslip, cresset, dingo, minaret, oriel, pillory, python, rodent, spinnet, tarantula, upas. 86. Which is a flower? 87. Which is a snake? 88. Which is a bone? 89. Which is a wild dog? 90. Which is a slender tower? 91. Which is a vehicle? 92. Which is a window? 93. Which is a musical instrument? 94. Which is a bird? 95. Which is an animal that gnaws?

### XIV

Identify these quotations by author or book: 96. East is east and west is west. 97. Out of the eater came forth meat, And out of the strong came forth sweetness. 98. His wife and children, perceiving it, began to cry after him to return; but the man put his fingers in his ears and ran on, crying, "Life! Life! Eternal Life!" 99. And who will bring white peace, That he may sleep upon his hill again? 100. All's Well that Ends Well.



## Remaking Men

(Continued from page 9)

been done by any other government agency doing a similar service.

To reach as soon as possible the men who are yet in Public Health Service hospitals or in private institutions as patients of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance, and to insure continuous training, the board is giving instruction in more than sixty hospitals. In twelve communities where there are grouped a number of men who for some reason or another cannot take advantage of other opportunities, training centers have been established. In such hospitals and centers prevocational courses in English and other academic subjects, in commercial branches, and elementary mechanical training are given to more than 3200 men. This service is being extended as the needs require.

Of the appropriations made for the work, \$34,700,000 had been expended from its inception up to June 30, 1920. Of this nearly \$24,000,000 was paid to the men for actual maintenance allowances and about \$3,700,000 more paid for tuition, books and supplies, and necessary travel of the disabled men.

The Rehabilitation Act is more liberal in its provisions, and is more liberally interpreted than that of any other country. The nearest approach to that of the United States is that of Canada, where on July 31, 1920, 36,850 (as compared to more than 50,000 in the United States at that date) disabled men had entered training. In length of training period, in diversity of opportunity, in maintenance allowances, and in other ways the comparison is even more favorable to the United States.

It should be a source of gratification to the American people to know that no larger percentage of men abandon training that ordinarily drop out of college before the completion of the year, that over half of the discontinuances are because of illness, usually a recurrence of the war disability, that the relatively small number of completions is due to the desire to give adequate rather than incomplete training, and that an almost negligible percentage of the men are not making an earnest endeavor to profit to the fullest extent.

The whole rehabilitation program challenges the best thought and the best endeavors of America. Those who can see but isolated cases, or who do not appreciate the magnitude or the complexity of the work, or who have given little careful consideration to its many phases, may criticize. But the Federal Board welcomes the coöperation and suggestions of all those who are interested in the welfare of the disabled men, that thru common counsel and close coöperation of individuals and organizations, public and private, the Government may insure to those who came back with probably little more than actual life remaining, that they may live that life "more abundantly."

Washington, D. C.



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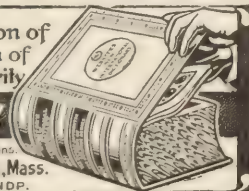
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The Directors of this Corporation have declared a dividend of 1½% on the Preferred capital stock. They have also declared a dividend of 50 cents per share on the Common capital stock. The dividends on both Preferred and Common stock are payable October 5, 1920, to stockholders of record at the close of business September 20, 1920.

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The regular quarterly dividend of \$1.25 per share upon the Common Capital Stock of this Company, will be paid on October 15, 1920, to shareholders of record at close of business September 30, 1920. The transfer books will not be closed and checks will be mailed from the office of the Company in time to reach stockholders on the date they are payable.

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This address, which was given before the History Section of the New York State Teachers' Association at Rochester, November 23, 1915, has been published in pamphlet form and will be furnished free to teachers.—Write to The Independent, 311 Sixth Avenue, New York.

**How to Study This Number**

## THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

## English, Literature and Composition

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**I. The Way to Peace and Prosperity.**

1. What does the author consider the "real issue" before the American people? What principles governing clearness does he use in describing the situation? Point out the topic sentence in each of the first five paragraphs. What is its position in the paragraph? Does the author put his strongest sentence at the end of the paragraph; if so, what effect does he obtain by doing so?
2. Suppose you were to debate the question, "Shall the United States enter the League of Nations." List the arguments presented by Governor Cox as well as the additional one you find in the editorial entitled, "The Company We Keep." Do you believe that the United States should, or should not, join the League? Write a short paragraph setting forth your reasons.

**II. Remaking Men.**

1. Give an outline of this article, starting with the first sentence, "To help the man disabled in the military service of the United States, etc., is the purpose of the Vocational Rehabilitation Act passed by Congress in June, 1918." How does the work of the Federal Board for Vocational Education differ from that of the War Risk Insurance Bureau and the Public Health Service? Write a short paragraph on each.
2. Define the following words: maintenance, dependent, compensation, handicap, disability, rehabilitation. What part does each of these words play in the development of the article? Write a sentence, using each word.

**III. Our Most American City.**

1. Why does Mr. Crowell believe Philadelphia to be "our most American city"? Do you agree with him? Write a comparison of Philadelphia as Mr. Crowell describes it and the community in which you live. What would you think Texas to be like, after reading Mr. Crowell's series of articles?
2. Does he employ reiteration, assonance, alliteration, contrast, variety in this article? How does he develop his idea? Would you call the article an exposition, or a description, or both? Is he more concerned with interest or with clearness? How does this article differ from the one by Governor Cox? Which do you like better, and why?

**IV. The Story of the Week.**

1. Give a short lecture on the news of the week, presenting each topic briefly and clearly. This lecture should last not more than twenty minutes and be suitable for a group of people who meet every week in a club or classroom to discuss current events. Instead of having one person give the entire lecture it can be arranged like a relay race, with each topic assigned to a different person.
2. Explain with the use of the map the problem concerning the Aland Islands that was settled by the League of Nations.
3. Write a letter to a friend or for a small town newspaper telling the story of "the Wall Street massacre." You may assume that you can choose just one of the photographs on page 15 to send in illustration of your story. Give some reasons for making your choice.

**V. Campaign Slogans.**

1. What should be the qualifications of a good slogan? Should it have literary merit?
2. Invent the best campaign slogan that you can for one of the political parties. Give a short talk in which you show its publicity value.
3. Rewrite the sentences printed in small type, using the simplest words and style possible.

**VI. Sun Dogs.**

1. What means does Dr. Slosson use to make both interesting and clear a subject commonly considered abstruse and difficult to understand?
2. Explain to one of your schoolmates what is meant by the fourth dimension and show him why the mathematicians find it essential to their calculations.

**VII. An Old Philosopher's View of the League of Nations.**

1. To what class of verse does this poem belong? What is its purpose? What advantages has it that prose argument lacks?
2. Do you find points of comparison here with the "Biglow Papers"? Are the "Biglow Papers" primarily famous for their literary or their political appeal?

**I. Democratic National Policy—The Way to Peace and Progress.**

1. State the issue between "progressiveness" and "reaction" as it looks to Governor Cox. What particular tendencies and policies are covered by those words as he uses them?
2. How does Governor Cox explain the outcry against the League of Nations? What elements of the opposition does he mention? Can you name any others?
3. Suppose that you were a reporter and were going to interview Governor Cox on the basis of this article. What questions would suggest themselves to you? What points would you like to have him develop more fully or explain more adequately?
4. Looking thru back numbers of The Independent and any other sources handy for you, what can you find out about the record and personality of Governor Cox? Combine into one mental picture this article and everything else you can find out about the candidate and think hard between now and November whether in your opinion he measures up to the Presidency or not. Remember to do the same with each of the other Presidential candidates when his article appears in The Independent.

**II. French Government—Resignation of Deschanel. The Bad Luck of French Presidents.**

1. Compare the position of the Presidents of the United States and of France with reference to (a) term of office, (b) method of election, (c) relation to the legislative branch of the Government, (d) relation to the cabinet (or ministry), (e) individual power.
2. Are there any features of the French constitution we could borrow with advantage?
3. What is the meaning of the phrase "the third Republic"? What changes of rule did France have between 1789 and 1871?

**III. Radicalism in America—The Wall Street Massacre. Reds Not to Be Amnestied. Voters Vindicate Socialists. The Hard Coal Strike.**

1. How do you distinguish the following: "anarchist," "communist," "Socialist"?
2. Do you think Attorney General Palmer justified in refusing pardon to Debs? Do you think the New York Assembly justified in refusing membership to Socialists? Give reasons for your "yes" or "no."
3. What remedies would you suggest for the revolutionary spirit in this country?

**IV. Labor in Business Management—The Shop Committee in Control. Premier Giolitti's Policy. Soviet Shops in Italy. Nine Points of Law.**

1. Describe the organization and powers of the Coöperative Association in the Nunn, Bush & Weldon Shoe Company. What seem to be the elements of its success?
2. Compare this conservative experiment in management by the workers with the revolutionary experiments in this line now being attempted in Italy.

**V. The Government and the Soldier—Remaking Men.**

1. What departments, bureaus or other agencies of the Federal Government are mentioned in the course of this article? Explain briefly what is the function of each.
2. What has the Government accomplished on behalf of the wounded soldier?

**VI. What Is the League Doing?—The Company We Keep. League Settles Aland Islands Dispute.**

1. Is it true that the League of Nations has done nothing to prevent wars in Europe? What has Premier Branting of Sweden to say on this point?
2. If you were on the League of Nations Council, with the facts before you as given in the Story of the Week article, what decision would you render with respect to the Aland Islands dispute?

**VII. The Decline of Europe.**

1. What great civilizations of the past have disappeared? Do you agree that the civilization of modern Europe is in danger of the same decline and fall? Give reasons for your opinion.

**VIII. How Will the Farmer's Wife Vote?**

1. Imagine that you were running for President. Give an address to a farming community, stressing the issues most apt to interest your audience.



# The Independent

FOUNDED 1848

## Just a Word

Did you ever wonder why The Independent devotes so much of its space to The Story of the Week? We cannot, in the nature of things, quite compete with your daily paper in rapid news service, tho we come as near to doing so as the possibilities of weekly publication allow. Owing to the fact that many of our subscribers live far from New York and that the postal service is not all that perfection might demand, even the news which is hot out of the oven on the day we go to press may be a few days old when it reaches you.

Well, we have three reasons. In the first place a weekly periodical of scholarly traditions can bring a sense of perspective into the news which is almost impossible for even the best daily paper and which many newspapers do not even try to attain. We omit the sensational accidents and crimes, the incidents of local politics and sport which fill four-fifths of an ordinary daily and give you nothing that does not seem to us of nation-wide interest. We are impartial not only as between one party and another but as between one section of the country and another, and between one foreign country and another. We give you foreign news without propaganda, and not based on American sources only, but also on a careful study of foreign periodicals and authoritative public documents.

In the second place, our Story of the Week columns are so conducted as to form a continued story from week to week. If you have the excellent habit of keeping your old copies of The Independent you can follow a particular topic back from month to month and from year to year. By plentiful illustration with maps and pictures and by various special articles and explanatory editorials we supplement this news narrative so that every event falls into its proper setting instead of standing out as a mere isolated and meaningless incident. A year's subscription to The Independent is a history of the world for one year.

In the third place we do not think that a periodical should contain only comment. We have our editorial pages, in which we very frankly and freely express our individual views on topics of current interest. But we want you also to know just what are the events on which we comment and the facts to which we refer. Thus, if we discuss the war between Poland and Soviet Russia we want to give you within the covers of the same magazine an account of the actual military position and the claims of the contending parties. The Independent has often changed its make-up to enlarge or rearrange different departments of the magazine, but thruout all the years of its existence it has striven to avoid being either a mere digest of facts or a mere compilation of essays. Always in some form we have had the Story of the Week and the editorial comment on it. It is this division of labor and coöperation of purpose between the two departments that has made The Independent of living value to three generations.

## Including Harper's Weekly

Hamilton Holt  
Editor

Edwin E. Slosson Associate Editor	Hannah H. White Managing Editor
Franklin H. Giddings	Norman Hapgood
Shailer Mathews	Talcott Williams
Preston Slosson	John Spargo

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## Remarkable Remarks

ANATOLE FRANCE—Europe is dying.

GOVERNOR COX—Ours is a fight of faith.

ED. HOWE—Every woman has some in-growing grief.

SENATOR HARDING—We need the Senate to save America.

MRS. ASQUITH— I have never met a single person who has been improved by this war.

GENERAL BOOTH—I find in nearly every country there is emerging a kind of antipathy to work.

ROY K. MOULTON—I never got any particular satisfaction out of voting; but if the ladies think they can, they have my permission.

LILLIAN RUSSELL—Practically every benefit you are receiving from the National Government comes from the Republican party.

H. W. GOSSARD—The most flawless statue of faultless proportion is not comparable with the beauty of the wind-driven clouds or the grace of the flying bird.

COLONEL LAWRENCE—The Bolsheviks have declared that they will not send troops to Persia but they are sending ideas which are far more explosive things.

MARGUERITE M. MARSHALL—Once lovers shyly applied to each other such romantic names as sweetheart, but nowadays the most ardent affection is expressed in such epithets as "Kiddo."

## New Plays

*The Guest of Honor* affords the popular William Hodge only a moderate vehicle for the exploitation of his special abilities. Good, but not "darn" good. (Broadhurst Theater.)

*The Tavern*, Cohanized, starts out as an old-fashioned melodrama, and turns into a clever satire, without losing its original mystery and fun. Arnold Daly plays the part of the swaggering vagabond excellently. (George M. Cohan Theater.)

*Anna Ascends*, by Harry Chapman Ford, shows Alice Brady in the "speakies." The play, which describes the rise of a Syrian immigrant girl into the higher strata of American social life, blends a certain amount of sheer melodrama with much witty and observant realism. (Playhouse Theater.)

*The San Carlo Grand Opera Company* is better than ever this season, as the crowded houses attest. The taboo on German opera was broken when this Italian opera company gave *Lohengrin* in Italian. By this translation Wagner becomes virtually a member of the *entente cordiale*. Anna Fitzu makes a charming Elsa. In *Madame Butterfly* a new Japanese prima donna, Nobuko Hara, makes her debut in America. She is as graceful in her undulations as a figure on a fan and wins all hearts for this pathetic victim of American cruelty. (Manhattan Opera House.)





International

### The Latest Thriller in the Air

Aviator McLaughlin has succeeded to the preëminence formerly held by Locklear as a flying gymnast, and has achieved new heights of daring. The stunt that he is performing here was photographed from a third plane during his exhibition at Milwaukee. McLaughlin is changing from one plane to another while they are in rapid flight. He hangs by his toes from a rope ladder on the upper plane and as the other flies below he grasps its natural fittings and drops to the wing from which he can crawl into the cockpit. McLaughlin is the only aviator who performs this stunt without using extra apparatus or specially fitted planes



# The Independent

October 9, 1920

## Nine Steps to a New Age

The Message of the Socialist Party to the American People

By Seymour Stedman

Socialist Candidate for Vice-President of the United States

**T**HE two old parties have an artificial difference. Both are shifty, cowardly and dishonest sponsors for a moribund system.

Some phases of civilization have been long, others short, none eternal. Some by slow degrees were quietly replaced; others passed away with a shock, the new order rising quickly from the ashes of the old.

We are in the midst of a social revolution, the collapse of capitalist society, and the coming of a new phase of civilization.

"In Europe," says the new British ambassador, Sir Auckland Geddes, "we know that an age is dying." Most of us in America have this to learn. The *Chicago Tribune* says, "Whether we in America are in a better state to come thru the ordeal than Europe we cannot confidently assert."

The Socialists appreciate and understand the passing of the old, and know the good that is coming with the new.

The old parties, without hope or vision for the future, are digging themselves in to stop an avalanche.

Capitalist society is based upon the private ownership of the great means of production, its motive is production for profit. Socialism means the collective ownership and democratic control of the means of production, its motive is production for use.

There is no stable compromise between these two extremes, and a truce is but a breathing space to permit the reformation of forces.

Inexorably the social process works its way. Understand it, adapt ourselves to it, and it will bring us peace and a great life; thwart it, and it will crumble us into dust, and destroy our civilization.

Human intelligence, will and force are part of this so-



International

Mr. Stedman is a Chicago lawyer who has long been prominent as one of the chief legal advisers to the Socialist party. He took charge of the defense of the Socialist legislators who were expelled from the New York Assembly after their election to it last fall.

cial process, but as ships cannot ignore the weight of water displaced, nor farmers the weather or the soil, neither can we ignore the social forces of which we are so small a part, therefore we cannot create revolutions or stop them, but must adapt ourselves to the changes they bring.

The mere adjustment of *political differences* is no longer enough; an *economic and industrial* change must be made. Therefore a political-industrial party is the only party qualified to meet present day problems.

Of all the parties seeking the suffrages of the American people, the only one which proposes an economic change, basic and fundamental, is the Socialist party.

The old party platforms are sterile, their candidates fussy manikins. The Republican candidates emphasize the need for reservations in the Treaty; and for a domestic issue they propose a reverence for law. Mr. Cox is taking orders from the reigning dynasty, and would make us a police force to secure British and French war robberies.

Europe is in the throes of great changes, class wars, nationalistic wars, revolutions, repudiation of debts, starvation, revenge, subjugation, outbursts of the oppressed, strikes, the fall of kings and cabinets; and Asia is shaking as she stretches to arise. The people of our country stagger under high prices—wage increase added to price and price to wage increase—a vicious spiral.

Railroad service is demoralized; miners are working less than half time; a coal shortage threatens, the currency is inflated to the benefit and profit of speculators; business suffers, profiteering stalks with wartime assurance in time of peace; farmers curtail

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Before election each candidate for President of the United States will present in *The Independent* his message to the American people. The series began last week with an article by Governor Cox. In this issue are messages from the Socialist and Prohibition candidates

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their productive area; woolen mills declare 300 per cent dividends and close down to keep up prices, their employees face starvation and the wool grower has no market for his product; homes are looted and men and women arrested without process of law; mob violence is encouraged; judges, before whom workingmen are tried, are browbeaten by the so-called better class; men and women are whipped, tarred and feathered, even murdered for making speeches advocating a union; the closed shop is outlawed; many newspapers are suppressed as a pretended war measure (for we are still at war, legally); the American Legion becomes in many places the political black legion of stupid, brutal capitalists; carfare, telephone rates, coal, rents, are climbing up. We are up on the crest and the top is curling and carrying us toward the shoals.

The remedy proposed by the old parties?

Reservations and no reservations, and a multitude of platitudes. Even for the business class they have no well defined domestic or foreign policies, but an inconsistent jumble of provincial and international phrases.

We propose:

**First**—Restore the right of free and untrammelled speech. At this time above all others we will find wisdom in a multitude of counsellors. We can properly settle our problems by mass, or popular intellect, not by mass ignorance and misinformation. If this country cannot stand free speech, it is doomed, because a people who cannot maintain free criticism, suggestion and denunciation cannot avoid destruction. A national campaign with a wartime gag law in full force and effect betrays a disease at the heart of things.

**Second**—Release all religious, and political wartime prisoners.

## Why the Socialist Candidate for President Cannot Speak for Himself

A Letter from His Brother

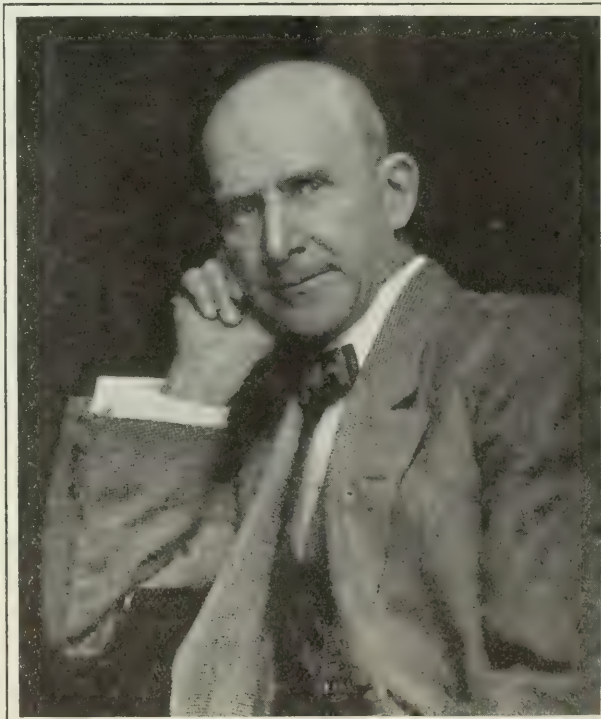
My dear Mr. Holt:—

*Gene asked me to write you and say that he was deeply indebted to you for your kindness in the past, and that he would comply only too gladly with your recent request for an article if prison rules permitted. But it is impossible under the rules. He asks me to assure you of his kindest regards and very best wishes.*

Sincerely,

(Signed) Theodore Debs

The letter above explains why the message from the Socialist party in this issue is presented by the candidate for Vice-President instead of by the Presidential candidate, Eugene V. Debs. Mr. Debs is in the Atlanta penitentiary where he was imprisoned because of his opposition to the wartime policies of the Government. The Attorney General has refused several labor delegations' appeals that an exception be made in favor of Mr. Debs's release.



Keystone View.

In the one campaign statement that the prison authorities have permitted him to make, Eugene V. Debs appealed to Socialists to support the following program:

"To the workers, their tools and the entire product of their labor, no profit to capitalists, no rent to landlords and no interest to bankers!

The Socialist party is the only real democratic party in the world, and when it succeeds to power it will transfer the nation's industry to the people and establish a social order in which all shall be useful workers, all receive the full equivalent of what they produce and all share equally in the opportunity to enjoy life, liberty and happiness.

"The Socialist party proposes to wipe out capitalism and retire profiteering capitalists from business."

Imprisonment is for two purposes—to reform the offender and to deter others from committing a similar offense. If we are about to enter another bloody conflict, there is some excuse for continuing confinement. If we are not, then we are guilty of savage revenge against idealists—men of moral courage, self-sacrificing men who wish well for the people of their country and who speak the truth as they see it.

**Third**—Restore the freedom of the press.

If editors and publishers are lawbreakers, the courts are open to prosecutions. To permit a tyrannical narrow-gauged junker postmaster to act as press censor with power to destroy publications by arbitrarily denying them mailing privileges, is the essence of the blackest despotism and constitutes in the minds of many a sufficient justification for secret agitation for revolt.

Deny the minority the right to convert the majority to its judgment, and progress is paralyzed and freedom is dead—better chaos with hope, than despotism.

**Fourth**—Aliens should not be deported without a public trial by jury, and not at all for participation in industrial struggles or for expressing opinions upon political and industrial affairs.

Aliens who have married American born women and who have American-born children, have been taken from their families; families have been torn asunder by politicians in a frenzy of fear or by shameless chauvinists seeking political advancement; these political tools of the billionaires have disgraced America and brought shame to those who have boasted of our liberalism.

**Fifth**—The franchises should be extended, guaranteed to every adult man and woman. It should be [Continued on page 59]



# The One Consistent Party

A Message from the Prohibition Candidate to the American People

By Aaron S. Watkins

**I**T is easy to eulogize the heroes of the past and to admire the men of vision who live in the future. It is not so easy to see the practical wisdom and clear insight of those who live in the present and whose views do not coincide with our own.

The Prohibition party is not a relic of the past nor an indefinite vision of the future. We stand for the bravest and the most practical statesmanship of this year of 1920.

In every political platform there are some planks that are almost self-evident and will provoke no discussion. In the campaign just now beginning, there are about a half dozen questions that will engross the attention of politicians and voters and upon them the discussions will doubtless center.

At present, the League of Nations is at the forefront of political controversy. On this question, the Democratic party has practically adopted the entire program of the President, notwithstanding the fact that the entire country either rejects his program or demands a material revision of the same. The Republican party declares for a League of Nations, but in the large number of radical reservations called for and in the discussions by Mr. Harding and others, it becomes apparent that the attitude is one of almost unqualified opposition.

We believe in some reservations, but the assumption that all "super-government" is wrong, un-patriotic and un-American makes any real League an impossibility. It thus becomes a choice between a League that goes far beyond the desires and convictions of the nation and a League so spineless, weak and inadequate that it no longer deserves the name.

We are not frightened by the cry of Americanism. We believe that the truest American is the man who recognizes the duty and obligation of America to all the nations. The arguments against a League are not new. They were urged against the formation of a Federal Union more than a century ago. The fear was quite general that the formation of a central government would take from the colonies their power and sovereignty. No one doubts now, that Massachusetts as a member of the Union is a greater commonwealth than would ever have been possible as a separate colony. Civil liberty is built on a surrender of so-called personal liberty. So in the long run, whatever concessions may be granted by America to the League of Nations will be more than repaid by the prestige and power that will accrue to our nation from those concerned in world affairs.

We believe that our Mexican policy—or lack of policy—has been weak and vacillating, and that "watchful waiting" and disgraceful dawdling should cease and a more vigorous policy be pursued.

We believe, since loyalty, patriotism and fraternity are not matters of longitude and mileage, that we owe



There is one party in the field—the Prohibition party—whose platforms have never been weather-vanes, and whose doctrines have been political history

no more protection to Mexico than to Armenia. Patriotism was once tribal, then provincial, then national, and in America it became continental or hemispherical. Now the air is vibrating with a divine and human call to world loyalty, without sacrifice of any part of the lower and narrower loyalty. We are now approaching the light on which the Great Teacher and Supreme Statesman stood when he said, "The field is the world." How does it happen that America owes a greater debt to Patagonia or Greenland than to Belgium or Poland? Whence comes this idea of Pan-Americanism? God made the earth; man draws arbitrary lines upon it.

Another great question of the year is the attitude of

government and of society toward labor and capital. We declare for industrial peace and that this can only be secured by considering first of all the rights of the public, then those of labor and capital. Contending classes should not be allowed to paralyze the business of the country while they fight out their differences. We need a proper tribunal, so constituted that it will command the respect of all classes, before which all industrial differences can be brought, and while this court is in session business should proceed as usual for the benefit of the chief party at interest, the public.

We have always been friendly to union labor and to the farmer. Our party is made up of men and women who eat their bread by the sweat of their own brow, and not by the efforts of another, secured by oppression, discrimination or profiteering.

On the question of equal suffrage all parties have declared and are in perfect harmony. Hence, this is not now an issue. But we call attention of the country to the fact that most of these declarations are of recent origin and that in the strenuous days when this was a real battleground, these parties were silent and their leaders openly disrespectful toward the cause, or at best, non-committal. We have stood for equal suffrage since the organization of the party, and we now believe we have the first right and chief claim upon the suffrage of the newly enfranchised womanhood of America.

To us, the supreme question is none of these just mentioned, but the utter extinction of the liquor traffic. Some fondly imagine that the question is settled. The mere declaration of law never settled any question. Law without enforcement is not law, but mere theory, desire or sentiment. There has of course been some enforcement and conditions are vastly improved. But no one doubts that there is much violation of law and much of official blindness to such violation. To the question, "How dry is it?" a great daily paper answered, "Too dry for the wets and too wet for the dries."

The situation will never be satisfactory until three things are true: First, the law in stringent form in





D. Leigh Colvin is the candidate for the Vice-Presidency on the Prohibition ticket

consideration of all American voters the eulogy of party government given by Senator Harding. We have always contended, and still insist, that parties silent on the question will not only fail to settle it, but will be a barrier against the will of the people.

It may sound like statesmanship to say, "Let us put it in the hands of the people;" but this is a representative government, and the people have put much of their power in the hands of their officers. Place us in power and we will settle the question and the people may settle with us at the ballot box.

We are told that the great task before us this year is the election of a dry Congress, and not the election of a President. This objection assumes that the President has no legislative power. Such an assumption is a very great error. The legislative power of the President is legally equivalent to eighty-seven members of Congress. The difference between a bare majority required to pass a bill with his approval and the two-thirds necessary to pass it over his veto, is seventy-two in the House and fifteen in the Senate. Add to this his personal influence, and he becomes equivalent to one hundred members of Congress, and the election of a President in harmony with the Eighteenth amendment and the Volstead law is not the slight and unimportant matter that many have concluded, but the great and urgent business of the year.

We are informed that the law is here to stay. We hope so, but we remember the many dry laws passed and repealed—and we wonder! "But," the objector reminds us, "it is now in the Constitution." Ohio placed a no-

statutes and constitutions of the states and of the nation; second, parties declaring for the enforcement of the same; and third, executive, legislative and judicial officers with sentiments and convictions in harmony with the law. The platforms of the other parties are silent on the question and their candidates are not in hearty sympathy with the law. They merely make formal and perfunctory promises of law enforcement.

We commend to the favorable con-

license plank in her constitution in 1851 and a license clause in 1912. Ohio, the mother of Presidents—and Presidential candidates—is the only state that declared against license in her fundamental law in the first great prohibition period, 1850-60, and the only one to insert license in the twentieth century. The doors of legislation, like the doors of the saloon, swing both ways; and it is the part of wisdom to safeguard, with every precaution, the laws we now have. We remember the time-honored order, "Put none but Americans on guard," and in this time of danger we appeal to the voters of America to put none but out-and-out bone-dry men on guard.

There is one party in the field whose platforms have never been weather-vanes, and whose policy has always been a constructive one. Our doctrines have been the political history of the nation, written prophetically. There is scarcely a reform of any consequence that has been enacted into law in the last forty years, or is now nearing its completion, that was not advocated by the Prohibition party. The steps of progress that our statesmen demanded as justice and predicted as the inevitable, were ignored, ridiculed, opposed, and finally accepted without credit or quotation mark and we blazed the trail for other reforms.

In this campaign, as in former years, we are abreast of the times while others are dragging out the old tariff joss from the dust of the national garret; and we will, if elected, do all in our power to advance the right, pull down the wrong and bring in the better day for which we all so fervently hope and labor.

*Germantown, Ohio*

## A Song of Quiet Hearts By Martha Haskell Clark

Out of the gray-spun shadow, and the taper-glow there steals  
In the hush of the village twilight, the song of a hundred wheels,  
And I see them turning and turning, 'neath pewter-bright plates a'row,  
While shadowy hands at the casements fling busily to and fro.  
Oh women of hearts unhaunted, oh women with quiet eyes,  
I too would spin in the star-time by the light of my chimney-breast  
Would shut my heart and its crying from the call of the spring-touched skies,  
And still with a low-crooned hearth-song the stir of my wild unrest.

For oh, the whirr of my turning wheel sings never of home to me!  
'Tis the beating of wide gray sea-gulls' wings swept in from a crested sea;  
'Tis the sea-wind's buffeting brother-hail, the song of the shore-flung surf,  
And the thud of the wild moor-ponies' hoofs that spurn at the spray-wet turf.

Over each low-thatched roof-tree of the wry, white-cobbled street,  
There broods like a fragrant shadow the smell of the burning peat,  
And I see the red of the embers, and the black of a reaching crane,  
And the grave, sweet faces of women that pass at the latticed pane.  
Oh women of hearts unhaunted, oh women of mute content,  
I too, would bend by a hearth-side and waken the sleeping fire,  
Would shut my heart and its longing from the lure of its smoke-sweet scent,  
And dim to a fire-lit dreaming the tears of my mad desire.

For oh, the smell of the burning peat cries never of walls to me!  
'Tis the far blue thread of a wayside fire, with the moor-wind blowing free,  
'Tis the frail faint scent of the beachland mould, and the breath of a brackened  
down  
With never a trail to lead the feet to the gate of a huddled town.

Out of the dew-drenched twilight where a nesting linnet sings,  
Shoulder the green-aisled hedges grown gnarled with a hundred springs.  
And I see thru each close-clipped archway, the gleam of a kerchief's snow  
Where the women walk in the gardens while the light of the day burns low.  
Oh women of hearts unhaunted, oh women with path-set feet,  
I too, would walk in a garden, with the tasks of the daytime o'er;  
Would lull my heart and its fevered dreams with the breath of the blossoms sweet  
That grow as a gardener wills them by the side of a cottage door.

For oh, the scent of my garden dusk breathes never of peace to me!  
'Tis the sweet white stars a'blowing on a gipsying hawthorn-tree  
'Tis the sun on the hillside heather, the wind in the upland fern,  
And the heart of a wild pink wander-rose that blossoms beyond the turn.



# Uncle Sam and His Southern Cousins

A Message from the United States Government to the American People

By Leo S. Rowe

Director-General of the Pan-American Union

**T**HE United States, in seeking to carry out its mission on the American continent, has made very great strides during the last twenty-five years toward closer political relations with the republics of Central and South America.

The natural affiliations of Latin-America—the natural culture currents, the currents of racial tradition and the currents of commerce and trade—it must be remembered, were not with the United States but with Europe. "Pan-Americanism" therefore represents a movement that had to rest on a clear recognition of the unity of interests of the republics of the American continent and of the great service which they might perform toward one another by developing a unity of policy. The obstacles it encountered were numerous.

While all of Latin-America was exceedingly grateful to the United States for the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine, and the warning it gave to Europe that she could no longer colonize or dominate the republics of America, nor engage in any movement to overthrow American institutions on this continent, yet in the development of that doctrine it came to be looked upon, by the growing republics of Latin-America as something in the nature of a protectorate extended over them by the United States.

The Monroe Doctrine was a warning to Europe, but it gave no assurance to the republics of the American continent as to the use of the power the United States had acquired. The undercurrent of distrust, which developed as a natural result of this uncertainty, was strengthened by the Mexican war, but a counter-movement set in toward the end of the nineteenth century, due in part to the unselfish policy we had shown with reference to the independence of Cuba, and in part to a better acquaintance of Latin-American statesmen with the policies and the personalities of leaders in the United States and, reciprocally, a better acquaintance on the part of our statesmen with the leaders of Latin-America.

Up to this point, however, the movement was one merely for closer coöperation between the governments—the people of America were still far apart. It has been the object of the Pan-American Union, while maintaining and strengthening the coöperation between governments, at the same time to bring about a better acquaintance and understanding between the peoples.

There are two principal methods thru which we can work toward the accomplishment of this fundamental



© Keystone View

Dr. Leo S. Rowe is an economist who among other important Pan-American positions was on the Commission to Revise and Compile the laws of Porto Rico and an honorary member of the National Historical Society of Argentine. His knowledge of economic and cultural conditions in Latin-America is very wide and he advocates greater knowledge of Latin-American countries on the part of the residents of the United States in order that there may be unity of purpose in the Americas

purpose: the first is thru the development of closer commercial ties and the second thru the development of closer cultural ties between the peoples of America.

One of the greatest obstacles to the development of such ties has been the ignorance that exists in the United States with reference to the civilization of Latin-America, an ignorance far deeper than the ignorance of Latin-America with reference to this country. Study has been given in Latin-America to our history, our resources and our political organizations. We have failed to give equal attention to the development of Latin-America and this fact goes a long way to explain our timidity in entering upon commercial relations on a large scale.

One of the most important steps that could be taken in the strengthening of our commercial ties would be the investment of American capital to assist in the development of Latin-America's abundant resources. It is one of the truisms of international trade that exchanges of goods are stimulated by investment, yet the number of American cor-

porations that have made large financial investments in Latin-America is astonishingly small.

Europeans have given more study than we to the resources and the opportunities of Latin-America and it frequently happens that a European corporation will borrow money in the United States for investment in Latin-American projects. The American lenders would serve a very much better purpose if they made their investments in Latin-America direct—and they would profit more, for the European investor of American capital invariably earns a higher return than is paid to those who furnish the money in the first instance.

One of the most significant movements looking to the development of closer cultural ties between this country and Latin-America is that being inaugurated by student organizations in South America for the purpose of coming in closer contact with students in the United States. This movement will result very soon I hope in the organization of a Pan-American students' conference that will bring together the men who in a few years will be the leaders in various fields of activity in their respective countries for the purpose of strengthening the ties between the American nations.

Students from Central and South America are already coming to our colleges and universities in considerable numbers—and nothing has done so much to make Latin-America acquainted with the United States. Our own university people should be encouraged not only to visit but to study the [Continued on page 60



# The Discovery of the "Mayflower"

By Hamilton Holt

*The Editor of The Independent went to Europe this summer as the representative of the American Mayflower Council and attended the "Mayflower" Tercentenary celebrations in Holland, where the Pilgrims spent eleven years after they left England, and at Plymouth, England, where they stopped during their epoch-making voyage to the New World. In a later article he will tell the story of these celebrations, each held just three hundred years after the event itself. Three centuries ago today the Pilgrims were crossing the ocean in the "Mayflower," which after years of obscurity is now reported to have been discovered in an old barn in Buckinghamshire. Mr. Holt investigated this discovery for himself and he presents the full account in the following article*

A few Sundays before I embarked for Europe on the twenty-fourth of July, I heard Dr. Charles E. Jefferson, pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle, New York City, preach a sermon on the "Mayflower." I had forgotten, until he emphasized it, that nobody knows what became of the "Mayflower." "Was it sold to be split up into kindling wood? Or was it allowed to lie out on the sand and gradually fall to pieces? Or did a cruel storm wound it, and on some black night did it go down to the bottom of the sea with not even a star looking on?" These are the questions Dr. Jefferson asked. And then he concluded: "The 'Mayflower' you can neither touch or see. The person who owns a piece of Plymouth rock is counted among the luckiest of all mortals. The man who could say 'I have a piece of the "Mayflower"' would be ranked among the semi-gods."

With this sermon fresh in my memory what was my astonishment, when I landed in Liverpool on August 1, to find that only two days previous the almost unbelievable announcement had been made that the "Mayflower" had been discovered.

On one of the most silent, beautiful and leafiest lanes on an upland in Buckinghamshire, not twenty miles from London, stands an old black weather-stained barn. The frame of this barn is claimed to be nothing else than the timber of the "Mayflower" whose fame in history Dr. Jefferson says will only be equalled by the vessel that carried Columbus to America, the ship which brought Paul from Asia to Europe, and the little fishing boat which carried Jesus and his apostles thru a storm on the Sea of Galilee. Of course I determined to visit forthwith this antique relic and see with my own eyes the living remains of the sturdy vessel which just three hundred years ago to a month bore the 102 im-



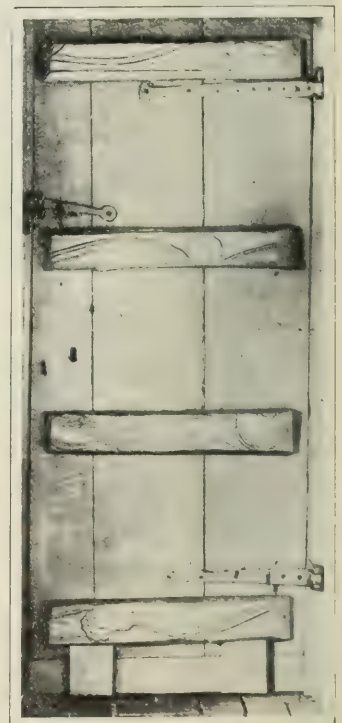
Wide World

It is the hay barn near this old Quaker Meeting House at Chalfont St. Giles, in Buckinghamshire, England, that is supposed to be built of the "Mayflower." The property now is owned by the Society of Friends



Wide World

Part of the circumstantial evidence that the old Quaker barn is actually the "Mayflower" lies in the fact that this fireplace device in the Jordans hostel (the Friends' house to which the "Mayflower barn belongs) bears the coat-of-arms of James I and the date 1618, showing that the building was put up in the early part of the seventeenth century. There is more direct evidence in the carving on the old door to the right, which is also in the Jordans house. The door braces are decorated in a floral emblem, possibly a mayflower, and it is suggested that they may have belonged originally on the cabin door of the "Mayflower"



The Quaker Meeting House has historical fame whether it is proved that its neighboring barn is the "Mayflower" or not. In its Quaker burial ground the stone in the foreground at the left marks the grave of William Penn

mortal Pilgrims across the ocean to establish on the bleak shores of New England a state without a king and a church without a bishop.

It was a bright and early morning on August 7 when our little party of three left the Baker Street station at London for Chorley Wood (I warn the printer not



to spell it "Charley"). We were bound for what one of Thomas Cook's prospectuses calls the "William Penn Country." For it was in recognition of the sylvan charms of this country that Penn called the great state which he founded in the New World "Sylvania." We took a carriage at the little railroad station and in five minutes were out among the green fields and hedgerows. The farmers were cutting and binding the grain; fat cows were grazing in the luscious meadows. It was a scene of peace, beauty and plenty such as only England affords.

Chenies, our first stopping place, is one of the most picturesque and untouched of English country villages. My outing would have been a marked success if I had seen nothing more that day than the ancient parish church with its superb chapel in which remain intact the tombs of the successive generations of noblemen and their ladies who lie buried there. The ancient medieval monuments are still in a perfect state of preservation—far better than those in Westminster Abbey, or any other place I have visited.

Leaving Chenies we drove for half an hour along the pretty country roads that curve over the little hills and wind thru the well cultivated valleys, until we arrived at Chalfont (Cold fount) St. Giles, famous thruout England as containing that "pretty box" where Milton made the final corrections to the proof of "Paradise Lost," and where Ellwood, the Quaker poet, suggested to him the composition of "Paradise Regained." I shall never forget that tiny thatched-roof, low-ceilinged cottage, with the pear tree flattened like an ivy plant against the brick wall and the clematis and pink and white phlox completely filling the little garden up to the full bloomed apple tree by the wall.

After the caretaker had showed us all the relics, we took to our carriage and struck out for the open country again. We had gone hardly a mile when we descended a little hill and there at the bottom, standing back from the roadside and sheltered by groups of fine old trees, was a severely plain brick building, with tiled



© Kadel & Herbert

This old weather-beaten hay-barn in Buckinghamshire is believed to be built of the timbers of the good ship "Mayflower"

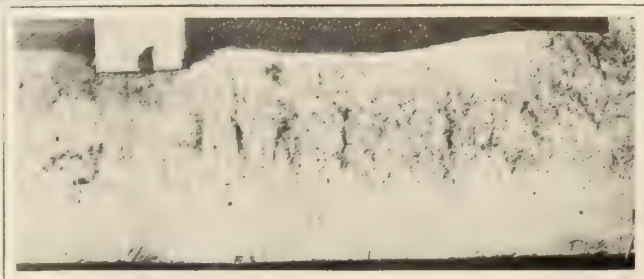
roofs and latticed windows. It was the old Quaker Meeting House, where William Penn used to worship and beyond whose dooryard rest the remains of Penn, his first and second wives, and seven of his nine sons and daughters. I have never seen a more simple and unpretentious but beautiful spot. The old ivy-clad Meeting House, with its roses and pansies at the door, dates back to 1688. The memory of many Quaker worthies who suffered much for their faith is closely connected with this Meeting House and graveyard. The interior of the house has a brick floor with plain wooden panels on the side of the walls, and benches on which many generations of worshippers sat. An old gate-legged table, that once belonged to Penn, is still in the back of the room, while a balcony in the rear affords a separate place where the women could worship without mingling with the men. I noted original letters of William Penn framed on the wall and also a copy of Penn's treaty with the Indians. The little diamond paned windows, the old-fashioned furniture and the general air of simplicity gave the room a very staid and somber but not unattractive appearance.

After the old caretaker and his wife had taken us thru the meeting house, we went outdoors, peered down in a sort of cellar in the rear where Penn used to stable his horse, and then walked up a little hill, thru a beech grove and across a pasture, into a pretty orchard, and there passing thru a gate found ourselves in the old Jordans hostel, now owned by the Society of Friends. This hostel was used during the war as the quarters of one of the Friends' Ambulance Units. Before that it was [Continued on page 61



Wide World

Turn this picture of the interior of the barn upside down and you can see at once the fact that its framework was formerly that of a ship. There is evidence in the iron clamps attached to the beams that the framework is that of the "Mayflower." Additional evidence, considerably disputed, is the markings of the beam shown at the right, which some experts take for ER HAR, part of the name "Mayflower, Harwich." The supposed HAR shows in the center of this photograph





# Dynamite or Discussion?

By Talcott Williams

THE bomb exploded at the corner of Broad and Wall streets, New York City, between the United States sub-treasury and the banking office of J. Pierpont Morgan & Co. (public capital on one side, private on the other), is the last word in the policy of violence and "direct action."

Criminal as is the act, it has the inner and silent sympathy of a very much larger number of men and women than anyone can realize whose life and work has not brought him in contact with those who believe that our political, property and social system needs to be made over radically. Such persons are in the Christian and Jewish ministry, in men holding subordinate and ill-paid posts in finance and business, in college settlements, in teaching, particularly in high schools, colleges and universities, in subordinate posts in newspapers, in "social work," among the subordinates in the organizing work of trades unions and among those with inherited incomes, small or large, who do not have to work or go hungry and who have a far stronger appetite for what they consider new ideas as to "social reorganization" than for hard work or a share in the tasks of the social system which supports them.

You do not have to go very far in the classes just summarized without finding those whose attitude towards the Wall Street bomb recognizes the crime, but who, at the same time, feel that things must be very bad or even a small group would not be moved to such an act. The wickedness of the crime is for such a measure not of the evil that is in men, but of the evil that is in our social system.

Not one, of the many I have met who had this view, possessed the aggressive, organizing spirit which leads men and women when they see an evil to go to work to rid the world of it, at the earliest possible moment. Nor have I ever met a man or woman who was fighting some definite wrong tooth and nail, alone or in an organization, who had any place, room or bent for any sympathy for "violence," dynamite or other, as a political instrument. The one radical cure for vague brooding over "the evil and injustice of our existing social system" is to attack some one definite evil and set it right. Once you step into the ring, fighting a real, able-bodied wrong, big or little, and you are cured of vague brooding or dubious sympathies with criminal acts done in the name of improvement. If a man once has felt the grim joy of fighting with the beasts at Ephesus, like Paul he will say "henceforth none of these things can move me."

ABOVE all the teacher, the clergyman, the social worker, the reformer, the "parlor Socialist," any or all, will find that the air clears, the light comes and the trumpet sounds when you take the evil next you and fight it. They are all about. The battlefield is spread. There is not anyone, man or woman, who has not at their door and on their own sidewalk some evil or injustice that needs to be knocked on the head. The world of wriggling snakes of evil all about us does not call for brooding over "the evil and injustice of existing society," but for killing a snake, the nearest one. Begin early—high school and college is an excellent place to attack the evils about you. You will not be liked or popular; but you will be remembered. Keep at it as soon as you are out and active life begins. You will be amazed at the end of forty years in how many reforms you have shared and how many funerals of wrong you have joyfully attended.

The United States Constitution was organized on this very principle. The child of revolution and of violence,

those who had shared in that very work for the first time in human history did all they possibly could to make discussion and amendment easy under the Federal Constitution. Organized violence, the agreement of men to use force, they labeled treason and defined it as making war on the United States. Any idea could be presented; any new plan could be proposed. But violence must not be organized, aroused or fomented. Any new ideas or plans were made free in peace; but these must not be presented so as to breed violence, create disorder or, in war, obstruct the armed forces of the United States.

All things were left open to change by two systems of constitutional amendment. Specific evils could be attacked by single amendments. If two-thirds of the Senate and House voted for the amendment and three quarters of the State Legislatures ratified, the specific evil was laid open to suppression, without any compensation for any property right destroyed.

Still more, if three-fourths of the State Legislatures demanded it, Congress is bound to call a new Constitutional Convention. When this met, everything could go into the melting pot. In such a convention, all is open to change. Any property right can be abolished, without compensation. Any institution can be changed. The entire structure of our Government can be altered. A change as radical as the Soviet could be introduced by such a convention in a new constitution and, if approved by the people, would go into effect, at once. Any human relation, marriage descent, inheritance, the power to make a will and dispose of property after death—all these could be swept aside, lawfully constitutionally, if the American people so willed, without appeal or revolution, so three-fourths of the State Legislatures asked when Congress must call a Federal Constitutional Convention and a majority of the voters ratified the constitution drawn by the convention.

These sweeping Revolutionary powers were imbedded by our fathers in the Federal Constitution. The momentous changes already outlined have not come because the American people did not want them. The will of the people is supreme and complete. The path was left open to any alteration; but with the path open, the American people has refused to tread this path of change, not because of any occult sinister power; but because self-reverence, self-knowledge and self-control, which lead life to sovereign power, barred the way.

Dynamite is not only criminal, but silly when the fundamental law has laid the question open to discussion and to change. Why prattle and plot of Revolution or violence, when all that is needed to bring any change is to persuade a majority of the American people that it is wise to take the new step. Dynamite is a loud voiced confession that the people will otherwise.

Few are aware of these powers in the Federal Constitution. "It is not possible that the American Constitution is so radical," said one of the greatest of our railroad presidents when a journalist told him of these powers. "Ask your counsel, across the table," said the newspaper man. "It is all true," said the counsel, "though as a lawyer I cannot approve giving away so much constitutional law, without a fee." "Why didn't you ever tell me?" said the irritated and alarmed president. "What is the use," said the counsel, "You and I cannot change the will of the American people."

Many who read these lines are as ignorant as was this railroad president, whose lasting monument is the Pennsylvania Terminal in New York City. Was ever such op-



portunity for good laid before the citizenry of a great nation as these widespread and constant powers to amend?

No evil exists which cannot be remedied by peaceful discussion. The working memory of a single life is a brief span in the life of a nation, but within such a memory, I have seen adopted the amendments abolishing slavery, liquor and race as a bar to suffrage, introducing woman suffrage, electing senators by popular vote, laying every income open to any tax. All these within my memory as a boy were looked upon as distant, impossible reforms.

The next forty years will see changes as great and results as momentous. What puerile folly is a charge of dynamite as argument or weapon, by the side of the possibilities of sweeping change for any good and any reform present in the Federal Constitution of this indissoluble union of indestructible states?

### The Cut in Tin Lizzies

If Mr. Ford had thought to make that cut in prices two years ago he might be Senator today.

## Weeping and Bleeding Images

By Edwin E. Slosson

EUROPE is rapidly slipping back into medievalism, both materially and mentally. The revival of racial and religious warfare, the dissolution of imperial aggregates into numerous petty independencies, the breakdown of international credit and communication, the reversion to primitive forms of trade, industry and morality, the imitation of savage styles of music and art, the glorification of physical prowess and brutality, the growing contempt for science and the recrudescence of superstition, all point in the same direction, that is toward the Dark Ages. Magic is again in vogue. More books on necromancy are being published than on chemistry and have a vastly wider circulation. The worship of Satan reappears and the Black Mass is again celebrated. During the war one of the leading writers on Satanism, M. Jules Bois, was sent over to this country by the atheistic French government to urge us on to the war. Witchcraft is becoming popular and is appearing again in the courts. In January, 1920, a case came before the correctional tribunal of Bordeaux in which the defense was a charge of sorcery. The story, as told at length in the *Mercure de France* of August 1 is a curious illustration of the prevailing psychology. The affair originated with the Weeping Virgin of Bordeaux. In 1907 Marie Mesmin, a poor but pious concierge and housekeeper, aged 52, made a pilgrimage to Lourdes and brought back one of the ordinary plaster statuettes sold there of the Virgin of the Grotto who in 1858 revealed to a peasant girl the miraculous spring to which more than half a million invalids resort every year. Madame Mesmin set up the image in her kitchen and as she said her prayers to it day by day she noticed that tears came from its eyes and rolled down its cheeks. The priest to whom she reported the miracle was not convinced and advised her not to talk about it. But nevertheless the news spread and pilgrims came from all over France and from foreign lands to witness the miracle. As the tears gained repute for the healing of diseases their flow increased. The cashier of the National Insurance Company, presumably a hard-headed business man, testified in court that he had collected a small glassful of the tears and when a larger glass was brought that was repeatedly filled to the brim. A flask of the alleged lachrymal fluid was sent to the convent but the skeptical mother superior forwarded the sample to a chemist who reported that it was plain water without the salt and mucous that characterize human tears. When the image was removed to the convent the tears ceased to appear. But when another sacred image, a reproduction of the Santissimo Bambina of Milan, replaced the Weeping Virgin

in the kitchen, tears soon gathered in its enameled eyes and rolled down its plaster cheeks. One might surmise that the humidity of the basement kitchen caused a condensation upon the statues, but that would not account for the abundant flow of water.

The unsympathetic owners of the house, annoyed by the throngs of pilgrims, evicted Madame Mesmin and her miracle-working image but her devoted adherents installed it on an altar in an oratory provided for the purpose. Here there was no further flow of tears but the image developed another miraculous virtue. It exhaled a perpetual perfume that filled the chapel and impregnated with a strange and delightful fragrance all articles brought near it. During the war pictures and cloths carrying the celestial scent were much in demand at the front, and an extensive commerce in such pious objects developed under the directorship of a Syrian priest who was stranded in France by the war, the archimandrite Siboungi, vicar general of the diocese of Sidon, doctor of philosophy and theology of Rome. But after three years Madame Mesmin quarreled with her director and accused him of being in league with the Luciferians to torment her. Altho he had gone to Nantes, 300 miles away, Madame Mesmin testified that thru her clairvoyant power she could see him at night performing the indecent rites of the Black Mass with the blood of a frog in the chalice and making out of the black cloth of his robe silhouettes of the persons he wished to destroy. The canon of Bordeaux, who endeavored to relieve her paroxysms by repeatedly practicing exorcism by permission of the cardinal archbishop, testified to his belief that she was obsessed by a demon sent by Saboungi; and that the demon, tortured by the holy water thrown in the face of his victim, had begged thru her mouth to have the man who sent him killed.

THE feeling spread among the circle of believers that Mgr. Saboungi was bringing suffering and death upon his enemies by means of his enchantments, and four men from Bordeaux, realizing that they could get no aid from an infidel government, determined to put a stop to his evil practices by direct action. So they went to Nantes and binding the priest to his bed, gave him a thrashing with a dog-whip and a rubber tube. There seems something anachronistic about flogging a man for witchcraft with an automobile tire. They searched his room for evidences of sorcery but found nothing suspicious except a skull—not a skeleton—in the closet.

The archimandrite brought suit against his assailants who in defense produced witnesses to prove the injuries inflicted by Siboungi's "sendings" as well as the expert evidence of Dr. Rochas, who in a well-known book on "The Exteriorization of Sensibility" had adduced experiments to show that sticking pins into a waxen image of a person would produce similar wounds on the individual himself. In spite of this the court decided that the four men from Bordeaux were guilty of unprovoked assault and sent them to prison for three months. But the verdict is so cautiously worded as to leave undetermined the witchcraft issue. On this point the court held:

That in the actual state of science it is not certain that the injuries of which Marie Mesmin complains were caused by the malefactions of the Abbé Saboungi and that her life was in danger;

That on the other hand it is not certain that the means employed by the accused were of a nature to put a stop to the suffering that she felt.

We do not therefore have in the Bordeaux case a judicial decision in validation of the reality of witchcraft but the respectful hearing given to it and the non-committal verdict lead us to expect this will come in the future.

Many similar signs and wonders were reported in France during the war, but Ireland seems likely to take the lead in this renaissance of the miraculous, for Tipperary boasts



# The Bleeding Statues of Tipperary



*Wide World*

Pilgrims by the thousands, the blind, the lame, and the halt, are thronging from all over Ireland and from more distant parts of Europe to see the announced miracle of the bleeding statues in the house of Thomas Dwan in Templemore, Tipperary. These four statues—the Virgin Mary with the Child Jesus, the Crucifixion, the Virgin Mary, and St. Joseph—are reported to have been made the medium of a miracle in which blood dropped from the eyes of the images. An American priest, Father Byrne, of Beresford, South Dakota, has testified to having seen the statues shed drops of blood



*Central News*

Thirty thousand is the daily average of visitors to the Tipperary statues. Two rows at a time the pilgrims kneel to pray before the statues, and many of them on rising announce that the ills of which they asked to be cured have disappeared. There is a pile of crutches outside the yard left by lame people who were able to discard them after their prayer



*Central News*

*Wide World*

Touching one of the "bleeding" statues to the eyes of the blind is said to restore sight. Even a rosary held before the statues acquires a special blessing from their supposedly miraculous healing power. At the right is part of the crowd waiting outside the Dwan shop to see the statues bleed



*Wide World*



of not one but several marvelous statues and they exude not water but blood.

The Reverend Father Byrne, of Beresford, South Dakota, who has just visited the scene of these manifestations, is reported by the New York papers as saying:

The place where all these miracles have been performed is in a bedroom of a small thatched cottage, where the Blessed Virgin appeared to James Welch, a poor boy seventeen years old, on July 2 and told him to dig a small round hole in the earthen floor of his sleeping room, which would become a well for healing the sick, the lame and the blind. He told me that the Holy Mother had appeared to him in visions several times during June, but he had been afraid to mention it until he was convinced that it was his duty to do so after making the well. When he had made the hole, about the size of a small washing basin, he said the Blessed Virgin passed her hand around the rim and the water began to flow, and it has been kept filled ever since.

The next demonstration was on August 14, when the statues in his room began to bleed. I saw blood coming from the mouth of the statue of the Holy Mother and blood from the eyes of the statue of the Saviour. When I was at Templemore pilgrims were arriving there at the rate of 30,000 a day from all parts of Great Britain. I saw an Irish soldier who had his leg withered away to the bone from a wound received in the war walk away from the cottage after having the limb anointed with the blessed water. The lad, James Welch, followed him and advised him not to throw away his iron plate for three days.

Outside of the cottage there are piles of crutches left by pilgrims who have had the use of their limbs restored to them. Blind people who had to be led to the shrine walked away without assistance, as their sight had been restored. The small well will never be empty, as it was blessed by the Holy Mother and the water will flow forever.

It's a long, long way to Tipperary, but we can hear of healings almost as wonderful in our own neighborhood.

These things are not important in themselves but are of great interest as signs of the times. It does not matter much whether the narrations are true or false or rather what may be the truth about them. The significant thing about them is that they are so widely and readily accepted. At the close of the nineteenth century the view was commonly expressed that all such things as astrology, magic, witchcraft, demonology and divination were exploded myths. Now the medieval mind is again in the ascendant. Medieval costumes and customs are being revived and medieval institutions, like the guild system and village commune, are being advocated. Marvelous incidents which a few years ago would not have been accepted on any amount of evidence are now accepted on no evidence at all. The public mind is shifting from a narrow and dogmatic skepticism to an uncritical and boundless credulity. Even where the ecclesiastical authorities, as at Bordeaux, endeavor to nip in the bud a nascent sensation the popular demand for wonders proves irresistible. The Catholic Church opposes modern spiritualism as strenuously as it opposed medieval witchcraft, but even its own adherents sometimes succumb to the wiles of the Ouija board. Church and state are alike powerless to oppose such a general movement and science offers little opposition. In fact some of the most prominent men of science are now relating personal experiences more amazing than the legends of the middle ages.

### The League and Ireland

SENATOR Harding recently said that "American advocates of Irish independence bitterly opposed the League as proposed, because it not only closed the door to Ireland but committed us to force to maintain territorial integrity as it exists today." The Senator is right in supposing that some Irish sympathizers have taken this position. But we trust that the Senator himself does not hold that opinion, for it would indicate that he had not read the Covenant of the League, which undertakes to guarantee territorial integrity only as against *external* aggression. Now if Irish "aggression" against England is external—a war between sovereign states—then Irish independence

is already a recognized fact and it is hard to see what the fighting in Ireland is about. If, on the other hand, Irish independence has not been diplomatically recognized by England and the other League Powers then there is no external aggression on the part of Ireland, but simply an internal revolutionary movement with which, as a domestic concern of the British Empire, the League has nothing whatever to do.

## Government by Bullying

By Franklin H. Giddings

HAVE the American people become tired of liberty? Have they had enough of the freedom of adult and normally sane men and women to worship God in their own way which Pilgrims and Puritans came to New England to establish and which Huguenots and Scotchmen, Swedes and Palatinate Germans came later to enjoy? Are we weary of those local and communal liberties that were asserted and fostered in the town meetings of Massachusetts and Connecticut and in the southern commonwealths, and of those individual liberties that were begotten of the self-reliant life of the western frontiers? Do we now despise all of those political principles that were set forth in the Declaration of Independence, for which the War of Independence was fought, and which were formulated in the earlier amendments of the Federal Constitution; or have we only forgotten and become indifferent to them?

My own impression and my fear is that the facts are worse than these questions presume. The American has always been addicted to minding his neighbor's business. Brought up in New England, and knowing well its folk-lore and traditions, but a sojourner in later years in various other parts, and having had good opportunities to see much of the West and the South, I am convinced that this propensity is both the most characteristic and the worst American vice, and that from the earliest days it has been the most serious menace to the ideals and the institutions in which, in our nobler moments, we take just pride. It was this unworthy propensity that made possible the shocking witchcraft craze in Massachusetts, and that, throughout our history, has made possible a collective lawlessness that has too often disgraced us, not only by the horrible brutalities of lynching but also by a thousand less gruesome attacks upon individuals, sectarian groups, economic experimenters, and even harmless dissenters from prevailing conventions and customs. We have thrown off the power of monarchs to regulate our lives only to create a more intolerant power of majorities to standardize us and of aggressive minorities to drive us this way and that by organized bullying. This power we use to raise our standards of conduct and to improve our neighbor's habits, according to our own conceptions of what his habits ought to be, and with precious little regard to his own convictions on the subject.

Of late this vicious propensity has shown a tendency to become fanatical and to get out of hand. War always fosters and strengthens it, because in war it is always necessary to maintain unity of purpose and momentum of drive at any sacrifice of individual liberty. New and highly coercive methods of achieving these results were developed during our participation in the European war, and they have left an evil heritage of direct action for ends alleged to be good, the practice of which, however, will infallibly give aid and comfort to social revolutionaries, and Bolshevik minds of every persuasion. It is alleged, and I think not denied in responsible quarters, that the methods of "the drive" were somewhat too freely used in putting thru both the eighteenth and nineteenth amendments.

What well meaning people who resort to these methods to promote good ends always forget is, that when the methods have once been accepted as matters of course and



are generally employed, society has no effective protection against their employment for evil ends by any gang of desperadoes sufficiently clever and determined. The state of affairs in Russia today is the logical culmination of bullying methods begun for good ends and inevitably perverted to bad ones.

A similar observation applies to the practice of trying to accomplish thru the coercive methods of law (and worst of all by constitutional amendment) ends that in the nature of the facts can be attained only thru changes in the ideas, the daily habits and the slow upbuilding of self-control of man himself. The well intentioned men and women who try to reform morals by law and administration because they have become impatient with the slow processes of religion, education and natural selection, forget that every new piece of legislation creates a new company, regiment or army of office holding parasites for taxpayers to support, a new mob of crooks to provide (for a price) ways and opportunities to beat the law and a new indifference to law itself and even a contempt for it when experience proves that it cannot be honestly and effectively enforced. It is because I am so strongly convinced that these are true observations of fact that I am obliged to dissent from that belief in the expediency of the eighteenth amendment which has so often been expressed by some of my honored associates on the editorial staff of *The Independent*. I expect to see this amendment discredited. We shall shut our eyes to the facts (or lie about them), professing a virtue that we cannot and do not possess. Having "driven" thru the amendment we shall live up to it by hypocrisy.

### They Had to Draft Millerand

WELL, our country escapes at least one difficulty that the French have. It is not hard to induce prominent men to accept the Presidency.

### Sovietism

MR. Hughes performed another service to the nation when he found the perfect word to stigmatize the conduct of the New York Assembly in excluding Socialist members. He said rightly that this was "sovietism"; for it is of the very essence of Bolshevik rule never to accept a verdict at the polls if it goes against you, but to maintain the ascendancy of your party by any form of fraud or violence which may be convenient.

### Machine Shock

THERE is some hope that the lessons learned in the stern school of war may be applied to the problems of peace. The casualty list of our shops and mines is longer than that of the army. More people are killed and wounded on streets and railroad tracks than in the trenches. And there is no armistice in the accidents of daily life.

It was found in the army that some of the most serious cases of injury were not physiological but psychological; "shell shock" they were called, tho in many instances they were not caused by shell or shock. They were neurasthenic disturbances, caused by monotony, anxiety, strain, fear or suppressed emotion. Their symptoms were capricious and unreliable. Their cure was slow and difficult. The most successful method of treatment has been to restore steadiness and self-confidence by setting the patient at some absorbing industry.

But now, that the attention of physicians has been directed toward "shell shock" so-called they find it more common in everyday life than was formerly suspected. Professor Collis in a paper on "The Psychology of Industrial Convalescence" read before the British Association for the Advancement of Science, said that:

The strain of industrial life in peace time is just as productive of neurasthenia as the conditions of active military service.

Indeed industrial neurasthenia plays an important part in every illness that befalls a worker, whether due to accident or disease.

Professor Collis suggests that the remedy is "a hair of the dog that did the biting." That is, he would use industry as a therapeutic agent and have the convalescent workmen set at some part time employment under the advice of experts in vocational psychology so that they could regain self-reliance thru self-support. But better than the cure of the victims of our industrial system are the measures now being taken to relieve the monotony and strain of machine tending that causes so many cases of nervous breakdown and erratic action.

## Can a Nation Be Moral?

By Shailer Mathews

I DO not mean "Can the citizens of a nation be moral?" That goes without saying. The real difficulty comes when one considers a nation as a whole. Can it have a morality and can it be judged as individuals are judged? Or is it above—or below—moral restraints?

Current discussions of the League of Nations too often neglect this issue. One speaker seems to ignore and another to assume it. As a matter of fact it is the "previous question" in the whole discussion. Do we or don't we want the United States as a nation to act as a moral being?

Nations generally have not so acted. They have reverted to the methods of pre-humans. They have fought and the stronger has enforced his will on the weaker—provided he chose to let the weaker survive. But brutality however bedizened is not morality. It remains brutality.

One difficulty has always faced patriots who believed in a nation-morality. There has been no social group of which individual nations are members and within which customs could lay a foundation for genuine moral action. For morality is the outgrowth of group life. Men began to be moral when they began to organize ways in which they could live together. They had either to do that or live in terror of each other.

When tribes and nations began they too lived as uncivilized men. They fought each other relentlessly. Gradually they learned better and devised makeshifts for true morality. They made alliances and drew up treaties. Intimations of moral sanction began to be felt. But treaties were kept about in proportion to the desire not to fight.

The process went a bit further when men began to speak of international law. As everybody ought to know, such law is a sort of morality in the nebulous state. It furnishes no sanction beyond self-respect and a regard for reputation among nations. But it marks a new and significant interpretation of the bases upon which national life is to rest. It is a long way from savagery to a Hague Tribunal.

From this point of view a League of Nations has more than mere political meaning. To propose such a League is to propose taking a new step in moral evolution. For such a League will be the social group within which a morality of nations can develop. When we see this we shall see that more than party-policy is at stake. We are hesitating at the threshold of a new region of morality. Some day men will be intelligent enough to enter this Promised Land and nations will find themselves moral persons.

### What Can We Do?

THE American Government has protested to Japan against her military occupation of the northern half of the island of Saghalien contrary to the Peace of Portsmouth. But the Japanese paper, *Yorodzu*, replies: "Northern Saghalien is not American territory and the United States is not a member of the League of Nations, therefore what need is there for Japan defending her action to America?"

Is this retort pertinent or impertinent?



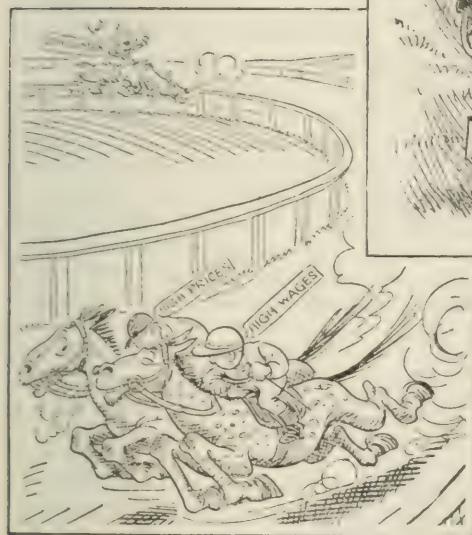
A British cartoon of congratulation on the news that prices have begun to fall in the United States



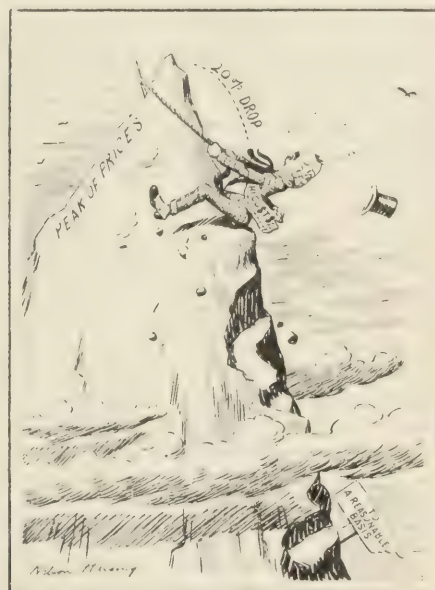
No wonder the crowd cheers wildly at the prospect that this season means the fall of the cost of living



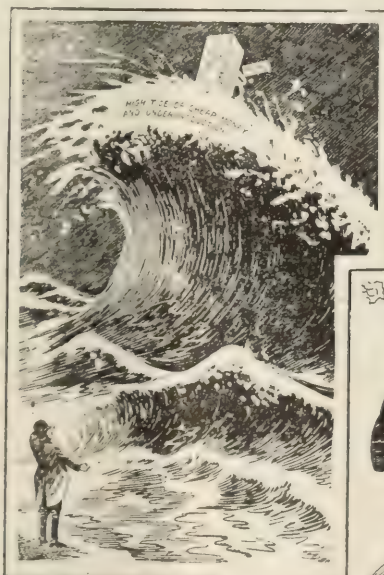
**Fine! But it isn't every vehicle that can make as short a turn as a Henry!**



And most of us are forced to place all our money on the third horse!



Twenty per cent looks like a lot when you're at the top, but after all it's a long way from the starting point of "Reasonable Basis." And the path down has its dangers



The wave can't stand up forever



BEWARE OF THE DOG!



We once thought they were  
Siamese twins



# The Story of the Week

## The New French President

PAUL Deschanel, who became president of the French Republic on January 17 when Poincaré's term expired, became gradually incapacitated to perform the duties of his office because of a nervous breakdown which showed itself in morbid aversion to responsibility and fear of assassination. Upon his resignation the Senate and Chamber of Deputies met at Versailles and elected to the presidency Premier Millerand. He received 695 votes out of a possible total of 892. There was no rival candidate of importance. The United Socialists cast their sixty-nine votes for Gustave Delory, deputy from Lille, but this was merely a formal demonstration of their disapproval of Millerand's anti-Soviet policy. There were a few scattering votes; the rest were blank. There had been a considerable faction opposed to Millerand because of his avowed intention to make the presidency a real power instead of a rubber stamp, but these opponents were won over by his promise to postpone radical changes in the constitution to a less critical time.

Ordinarily a month is allowed between the election of a president and his installation in the Elysée Palace, but in this case, on account of the accumulation of business that Poincaré was too ill to attend to, the new president entered upon the duties of his office within ten minutes after his election. He wrote his inaugural address while the senators and deputies were filing thru the tribune to deposit their ballots in the urn.

In this address he declared his determination to carry out completely the Treaty of Versailles. He expressed confidence in the progress of the League of Nations and pointed out the necessity of its being supported by force. He forecast his constitutional policy in the following words:

Universal suffrage is the master and its will is expressed by elected representatives. In order that it be executed and respected there is a need of free executive power under the control of parliament and an independent judiciary.

Confusion of authority always leads to tyranny. You must choose the time you deem best in consultation with the Government to bring about prudently the required modification of the constitution.

## Millerand's Career

THE fact that Alexandre Millerand secured for the presidency practically all of the votes of the French parliament except those of the extreme Socialists is curious, considering that he began his parliamentary career as an extreme Socialist. He came of revolutionary stock for his father, Etienne Millerand, took part in the Commune of 1871 and was shot for it by order of General Galliffet. Alexandre is pure Parisian by birth and breeding. He was born in the heart of Paris, Montmartre, in 1859, and was educated at the Lycées of Henri IV and Michelet. After being admitted to the bar his first case of public importance was the defense of the agitators of the Decazville strike of 1883. Clemenceau then made Millerand editor of his paper, *La Justice*, and in 1883 he aided Clemenceau in the attack upon President Grévy that forced him to resign. Like Clemenceau, Millerand rose to the premiership by means of the press. As editor of *La Petite République* and later of *La Lanterne* he took an active part in exposing the Panama scandals and the Dreyfus conspiracy. This involved him in two duels, one with pistols and the other with swords. One day in the height of

the Dreyfus fight the irate wife of a deputy whom Millerand had attacked walked into the office of *La Lanterne* and shot M. Olivier, the assistant editor, on the assumption that the man at the desk must be the editor-in-chief.

But gradually Millerand became more interested in the carrying out of practical reforms in labor conditions than in the continuance of the class war and in 1899, when the republic seemed likely to be overthrown by the monarchical and reactionary elements, he consented to take the portfolio of Commerce in the "Cabinet of Republican Defense" formed by Waldeck-Rousseau. This involved breaking with his comrades, for it is one of the rules of the Socialists that no member of the party shall take any post in a bourgeois administration. So the party voted his expulsion, altho the greatest of its leaders, Jean Jaurès, urged his retention. In this cabinet he found himself the colleague of General Galliffet, Minister of War.

Millerand further incurred the enmity of all his former radical associates in taking strong measures for the maintenance of public order in the great railroad strike of 1910. He was then Minister of Public Works, Posts and Telegraphs and in the same cabinet were two other Socialists or ex-Socialists, Viviani as Minister of Labor and Briand as Premier and Minister of the Interior. The strike broke out on the northern railroads, that is those leading toward the German frontier, and the Government took the ground that the stoppage of transportation and the destruction of railroad property put the nation in peril of foreign invasion. Accordingly the three ministers adopted the unprecedented course of calling the strikers to the colors and then setting them as soldiers at their old work of running the railroads, not with the increase of wages they demanded



Darling in the New York Tribune

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O LOOK WHO'S HERE!

The Republican Pharaoh's daughter discovers the abandoned League



but with no wages at all. Refusal to obey orders under such circumstances was of course mutiny and punishable by death. Under this pressure the strike collapsed and the action of the Government was sustained on account of the general recognition of the extreme danger of the crisis.

At the outbreak of the Great War in August, 1914, Viviani was premier and when he organized his coalition cabinet of all parties for national defense Millerand was called to take charge of the Ministry of War. Here he became unpopular because of his refusal to allow the parliamentarians to interfere with the field operations or to admit them to advance knowledge of the plans of the campaign. Accordingly on the reorganization of the ministry in October, 1915, he was left out. When Alsace-Lorraine was recovered in 1919 he was appointed its first governor and on Clemenceau's resignation he became premier.

In this position as in all others he distinguished himself by firmness and indefatigability. He acted on his own responsibility and did not hesitate to thwart the plans of his chief ally, England. He sent African troops to occupy the German city of Frankfurt without the knowledge and in opposition to the wishes of Lloyd George. When Prince Feisal, a *protégé* of the British, set himself up as King of Syria, Millerand sent French forces to Damascus and drove him out. He refused absolutely to recognize the Soviet government and declined to participate in the conference for the restoration of trade relations with Russia that Lloyd George had called in London. While the British premier was advising the Poles to accept the Soviet terms of peace the French premier urged and aided them to continue at war and he recognized Baron Wrangel's South Russian government, while the British Government repudiated his offensive against the Bolsheviks. Millerand at first refused the proffer of the presidency because he did not want to relinquish his power in this critical period and when later he withdrew his refusal he made it plain that he intended to exercise his constitutional right to negotiate treaties altho previous presidents have left that to their premiers.



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## AN ENDOWED STATESMAN

Georges Leygues, who succeeds Millerand as Premier of the French Republic, is not subject to the temptation to which some politicians succumb of taking bribes or sacrificing their principles for position. A Parisian merchant left him a fortune of \$3,000,000 that he might be financially independent for life

In 1917, when again the safety of the country was imperilled by internal intrigue, this time in conjunction with foreign invasion, and Clemenceau, "the Tiger," undertook the formation of a coalition cabinet of such efficiency as to carry the war thru to victory, he called Leygues to take charge of the Marine. In this position he had to supervise the plans for circumventing the U-boats and to arrange for the reception of the American transports. He favored the work of the Y. M. C. A. at the ports and asked to have it extended to the French seamen. He married his daughter, Jeanne Leygues, to Paul Rockwell, an Atlanta newspaper man who had volunteered for service in the French Foreign Legion.

M. Leygues is perhaps the only endowed statesman in the world. M. Chauchard, the proprietor of the well known Paris department store, Magazines du Louvre, was so pleased at receiving the grand cordon of the Legion of Honor that he bequeathed to Leygues a fortune of \$3,000,000.

In assuming the office of Premier he has declared his intention to carry out the policies of his predecessor, which he specified as follows:

Regarding internal affairs, to defend our liberties and laws, to strengthen and improve our republican institutions, accomplish the social reforms awaited by our democracy and to pay to our valiant wounded and to the families of our glorious dead the sacred debt we have contracted toward them. Regarding foreign affairs, to exact a strict application of treaties, not to permit the limitation of any of our rights, make of the League of Nations a living, powerful organism to end the era of great wars, and to constitute the army and navy as a part of our policy to maintain our prestige at the height to which it has been lifted by our victory.

## Soviet Peace Terms

WHEN a peace conference was arranged in August between the Polish and Russian Governments the Bolsheviks insisted that it be held on the frontier and inside their own territory, instead of in neutral territory, as desired by the Poles. Accordingly the envoys of the two countries met first at Minsk. But in the meantime the rapid advance of the Polish armies and the rout of the Bolsheviks had so altered the situation and stiffened up the backbone of the Poles that they flatly refused all but one of the fifteen points of the Soviet peace terms and insisted upon the transfer of the conference to Riga, the chief city in the now independent republic of Latvia.

So the next meeting of the peace delegations was in the historic Hall of the Blackheads, which in the palmy days of the Hanseatic League was a bachelors' club with St. Maurice the Moor as their patron saint. The Soviet delegates raised the question of the propriety of the presence of an American destroyer in the harbor since the United States is at war with Soviet Russia, but the Latvian Government explained that the American vessels were like the British, merely sharing the hospitality of this neutral port. The American Commissioner to the Baltic States, Captain Young, and the American military attaché, Colonel Holliday, attended the opening session of the peace conference at the invitation of the Latvian Government and shared a box with the French, Italian and German representatives. The head of the Soviet delegation, Joffé, rode up to the hall in the Czar's limousine while the head of the Polish delegation, Dombrowski, was content with a dilapidated one-horse carriage.

When Joffé made his opening address it became evident that he recognized the reversal of Russian fortunes, for he announced his intention of withdrawing the proposals to which the Poles had chiefly objected at Minsk. These were the demand for the reduction of the Polish army, the turning over of arms to a workmen's militia and the control of a railroad connecting Soviet Russia with East Prussia and passing thru Polish territory. Joffé accused

## The New French Premier

PRESIDENT Millerand selected for his successor at the head of the cabinet Georges Leygues, who also takes the foreign portfolio. Leygues is a year older than Millerand, having been born at Villeneuve-sur-Lot in 1858. At the age of twenty-five he was elected to the Chamber of Deputies for his home district and has represented that department ever since. He has had a seat in seven cabinets, usually in the ministry of education, where he has effected important reforms in secondary education. He entered with Millerand into the famous "Cabinet of Republican Defense" that was formed in 1899.



the entente of driving the Poles into a winter campaign with the purpose of destroying both Poland and Russia. In order to prevent this he said the Soviet Government would hold out liberal terms for an armistice to be concluded by October 5. He offered the Poles a boundary line east of that allowed them by the Supreme Council on December 3, 1919. This would give Poland more territory on condition the inhabitants voted to join Poland rather than Russia. The question of eastern Galicia would likewise be settled by a plebiscite. The arrangements for holding this referendum could be settled after the armistice had been concluded. Poland is asked to recognize the independence of Ukraine, Lithuania and White Russia.

The Polish terms for an armistice as presented by Domb-ski include mutual amnesty, exchange of prisoners, guar-



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What good does it do to disarm Germany along her western border if she is to be given arms in the east? When the Russian Cossacks made camp at Arys, East Prussia, after Poland had shown too much fight, they turned over to the Germans their rifles as well as a number of British and French machine guns

antees against attack, no war indemnities, and delimitation of disputed territories, not in a spirit of historical revenge, but on a basis of the just conciliation of vital interests of both parties and of the democratic determination of nationality.

But while these discussions are going on in the Black-heads' Hall the Polish and Russian armies are keeping up the fighting in the field, with the advantage still in favor of the Poles. They have captured Grodno, which is beyond their boundary as prescribed by the Supreme Council.

## Settling the Italian Strike

**I**N most cases the workmen have confirmed the compromise arranged between the General Confederation of Labor and the Italian Government. According to this agreement the strikers were promised an increase of wages of eighty cents a day on condition of evacuating the plants they had seized and Premier Giolitti promised to put some measure thru parliament by which the employees were to have an actual share in the control of the establishments in which they work. The referendum of the Metallurgic Union gave 132,000 votes for and 45,000 against the acceptance of the agreement. The machine shops in Milan and in most other cities have been peaceably returned to their owners. The red flag of the soviet has been hauled down and the Italian flag raised. But the anarchists and syndicalists are furious at having to relinquish an advantage that they hoped would lead to a complete revolution and they have wherever possible instigated resistance and incited violence. At Turin they took advantage of the funeral of two workmen to start an attack on the armory of the Royal Guards. This developed into a pitched battle in the main streets of the city where the strikers fought with hand grenades and the troops fired from motor lorries. Seven deaths are reported in Turin.

When the Senate met in Rome the Government was

severely criticized for its supineness in allowing the strikers to confiscate the factories, organize their own armed forces, establish their own tribunals, and otherwise exert illegal authority over the community. Senator Tanari said:

Those who opposed the war are the same who today are trying to drag the country into civil war. In the province of Bologna alone in the last few months there have been 200 cases of incendiarism, and likewise disorders, persecutions and boycotts, with the loss of 50,000 tons of fodder and 60,000 tons of wheat.

This is a hit at Premier Giolitti, who in 1915 tried to prevent Italy from entering the war.

Ex-Premier Orlando on the other hand supports the policy of the present government. He argues that production is a partnership in which one side contributes labor and the other side capital. This, he thinks, gives both parties the right to share in the control of the establishment.

The Giolitti Government is in serious difficulty over the food question. In order to keep bread down to a reasonable cost the Government has been buying wheat abroad and selling it below cost in Italy. But this involves an annual loss of 6,000,000,000 lire (normally \$1,200,000,000), and the Government is constantly running deeper into debt. Senator Pellerino called attention to the fact that while the Italian workmen claim that they cannot afford to pay the cost price of bread they are wasting 5,000,000,000 lire a year on wine. Premier Giolitti proposes to take the bounty off bread and put an equivalent tax on wine.

## Raids and Reprisals

**T**HE struggle between the Sinn Fein and the military is becoming more violent and unruly. Neither party keeps to fair fighting and the restrictions of civilized warfare are disregarded. Assassination and incendiarism are the weapons employed and on both sides it is a war of armed men against unarmed men and of many against one. The murder of constables and the burning of barracks by the Sinn Feiners are now followed by reckless reprisals by the British troops and the police auxiliaries commonly called the "Black and Tans" who shoot up a town in Wild West fashion.

A typical instance of this guerilla warfare occurred in County Meath, where the Sinn Feiners carried out a successful gun raid on the village of Trim. On Sunday morning the telegraph and telephone wires were cut and all the roads leading to the village were blocked by felling trees across them. Then a band of a hundred men, armed and masked, appeared and stormed the police barracks. This is a two-story building surrounded by a high wall. But the garrison numbered only ten, of whom five were at mass. The head constable was shot and the other four surrendered. When the rest returned from church they too were held up. The raiders then burned down the barracks after carrying away in their motors a thousand rounds of ammunition together with rifles, bombs and Verey lights.

In the afternoon when the young men were as usual hurling on the village green a detachment of Scotch troops appeared in motor lorries and fired upon them, killing two. The priests intervened and the mayor promised to keep the people off the streets, so the soldiers left. But during the night three lorries of the Black and Tan police invaded the village and attacked the houses supposed to contain Sinn Fein sympathizers with machine guns and bombs. Gasoline was commandeered and used for setting fire to the houses and shops. The town hall and nearly every building on the main street were burned down. Men, women and children fled to the fields in their night clothes with such belongings as they could catch up. In some cases the cottagers were given time to get their furniture into the street.

In County Clare a police lorry passing along a country road near Lahinch at night was ambushed by a band of a hundred Sinn Feiners. Six constables were killed and sev-



eral of their assailants. In reprisal for this Lahinch, Ennistymon, Milltown and Malbay were raided by uniformed men. Houses and hayricks were burned and several of the inhabitants killed.

In Belfast four constables patrolling the streets in the Catholic quarter on the night of September 25 were shot. One of them was killed and two were wounded. The other ran away. The Unionists took prompt revenge. Parties of masked men visited the homes of three well known Sinn Feiners, called them from their beds and shot them dead, in the presence of their families.

The largest shop in Cork was blown open by explosives, supposed to be a bomb, that shook the city to its circumference.

Mayor MacSwiney is still alive on the forty-eighth day of his self-imposed fast in Brixton prison. Archbishop Mannix called it "a veritable miracle" but some suspect that he is being secretly fed either by the Government physicians or his family and friends who have free access to him.

## Prohibition in Scotland

A HOT campaign against "hot Scotch" is being carried on in Scotland and in November it is expected that a large part of the country will go under a no-license régime. The temperance movement in Scotland began about thirty years ago and in 1913 a local option act was passed thru Parliament. But operation was postponed for seven years so as to give the liquor men a fair chance to get out of the business if they thought there was any danger of their being closed up. But most of them did not take the matter seriously until now when they perceive that their craft is in danger.

The law provides that 10 per cent of the registered voters in every polling district may, by filing petitions during the month of September, demand a ballot on the subject. The ballot provides for three options: (1) No change, (2) Reduction of licenses by 25 per cent, (3) No license. The first or second may be carried by a simple majority, but for "no-license" a majority of 55 per cent of those voting and comprising at least 35 per cent of the registered voters is required.

Scotland is divided into 1300 such voting areas. In the country districts they are the parishes; in boroughs of less than 25,000 inhabitants the borough, and in cities the municipal wards. There are to start with 250 dry areas. Glasgow is divided into thirty-seven precincts and it is expected that from five to eight of them will vote no license.

A house-to-house canvass is now being made thruout the country and it is expected that the 10 per cent of signatures necessary to secure a vote on the question will be secured in almost all of the thousand precincts. The various temperance forces are organized under the National Citizens' Council of Glasgow with Colonel Kyle of the Highland Light Infantry in charge of its field campaign. In order to avoid prejudice the Council has refused to accept money or literature from America, but several American speakers and organizers, among them "Pussyfoot" Johnson, have been engaged. Colonel Kyle is relying largely on the women's vote, but states that the cause has also "the support of the churches, many industrial magnates and some of the labor forces." A flying battalion of workingmen has been organized to speak at the hundreds of meetings now being held all over Scotland.

On the other hand the liquor interests are more strongly entrenched in Scotland than almost anywhere else and they have unlimited funds to combat prohibition. They have announced their willingness to compromise on a reduction of licenses with compensation and limitation of hours and to introduce drastic reforms in the character of the public houses. An *Anti-Prohibition Journal* has been started and

beer bottles bear a red-edged label reading: "Prohibition means more taxation. Vote no change." Bands of ex-service men have been recruited to go about the country breaking up temperance meetings by heckling and hissing.

But even where "no-license" is carried it does not mean prohibition in the American sense, but merely the abolition of the saloon and barroom, for hotels and restaurants having licenses may still serve alcoholic drinks with regular meals.

The wet forces of Scotland are receiving financial aid from the liquor interests south of the border, for it is realized that if any considerable part of Scotland goes dry England will follow suit. The rapid increase in drinking and drunkenness since the war is causing serious alarm even among the most conservative. In England and Wales there was in 1919 an increase of almost a hundred per cent in convictions for drunkenness over 1918. In the greater city of London the increase was 107.6 per cent. In 1914 the United Kingdom spent for intoxicating beverages \$822,500,000. But in 1919 it had risen to \$1,930,000,000 and estimates for 1920 make it more than two billion dollars. Lord Leverhulme, who came over to America opposed to prohibition, went back a convert. He found a greater efficiency in the United States and is convinced that Great Britain cannot compete so long as she has to stand this handicap and extravagance. He points out that if Great Britain saved the money she now spends on drink she could pay off her debt to the United States within five years, but "as it is the lender is saving money and the debtor spending it."

## Varied Views on Prohibition

AT a recent session of the International Congress Against Alcoholism held at Washington the Prohibition candidate for President offered to withdraw from the race if either the Republican or the Democratic candidate came out in favor of the strict enforcement and maintenance of the eighteenth amendment and the Volstead Act. Mr. Watkins asserted that "there are six candidates in the race for the Presidency this year and only one of them has declared for our program." Both Senator Harding and Governor Cox have promised to enforce the prohibitory laws as long as they are on the statute books, but apparently Mr. Watkins is afraid that they will not be sufficiently zealous in resisting any attempt by Congress to alter the stringent provisions of the Volstead Act.



Wide World

A GOOD BAD MAN

Francisco Villa, the Mexican bandit, has given himself up to the Mexican Government and it, in turn, intends to let him live on a large estate near San Pedro, Mexico, where he is to be kept good by fifty guards

Dr. Baker contrasted the barren record of the Prohibition Party with the positive achievements of the Anti-Saloon League, of which he is general superintendent. To the non-partizan tactics of the League he ascribed the Webb-Kenyon Act, the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Enforcement Act. "No good will come," he said, "of a Prohibition Party which polls just enough votes to give some wet candidate the election."



A man with the inappropriate name of Rosewater startled the session with a defense of light wines and beer. He declared that "at present the nation is dry in law and wet in fact and is destined to become wetter as the knowledge of the art of home brewing, fermenting and distilling grows among the populace." He said that it was a scientific fact that a beverage containing 2.75 per cent of alcohol by weight is non-intoxicating. Dr. Wiley, the pure food expert, challenged this statement. He told of a drinking match in Germany, based on beer of low alcohol content, in which 900 out of the 3000 drinkers became intoxicated before the evening was over.

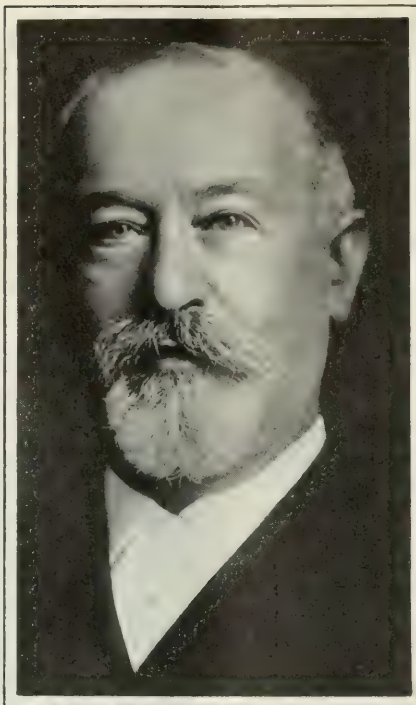
## Cox in the Sunset States

Governor Cox has spent several weeks attempting to hold steady that part of the country which gave President Wilson his victory four years ago. In a wide swing around the circle, rivaling the most ambitious tours of Bryan or Taft or any other peripatetic candidate, he has carried the war into nearly every doubtful state in the Far West. According to political experts of both parties he has greatly strengthened Democratic chances in states that a few weeks earlier had been considered surely Republican, but no one claims that there will be a "solid West" this year as there was in 1916.

Much of Governor Cox's success as a speaker was due largely to his tactful identification of his own sentiments with those of the western people. In California he spoke well of Senator Johnson's former work for progressive causes and declared that he would like to have men of the type of Mr. Hoover in his cabinet. He had much to say on the development of western resources, the irrigation of arid regions and other topics of local interest in the plateau states. He strongly disclaimed the "wet" label which many of his eastern supporters had tried to fasten on him and gave repeated promise to uphold the eighteenth amendment.

But turning from minor topics the Governor returned again and again to the League of Nations as the paramount issue of his campaign. At Laramie, Wyoming, he accused Senator Harding of making a secret agreement with Senator Johnson to "scrap the League." Senator Harding replied: "I say nothing to anybody on the subject of foreign relations that I do not say in public utterances." But Governor Cox claims to have found in the "public utterances" of Senator Harding at least nine different and mutually inconsistent proposals with regard to the League. His own position remains to get the Treaty ratified with "interpretative reservations." In a telegram to Professor Irving Fisher of Yale he said:

I have no doubt that Republican and Democratic Senators alike will loyally fulfill the people's mandate which my election will signify. I shall endeavor to meet all reasonable desires for proper reservations which are offered in sincerity and not merely presented as trumped up for political purposes. My heart is in this fight, and I will put forth all effort and make any reasonable concession to win it that we may secure membership in the League of Nations.



© Keystone View

Jacob H. Schiff, philanthropist and financier, died recently at his home on Fifth Avenue. Senior member of the banking firm of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., he was one of the most dignified and important figures in the life of New York. Mr. Schiff was born in Frankfort-on-the-Main on January 10, 1847. He started his career in the United States at the age of eighteen as a bank clerk, later becoming junior member of the brokerage firm of Budge, Schiff & Co. In 1875 he married Theresa Loeb, daughter of Solomon Loeb, head of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., and ten years later became head of the firm. Having established his reputation as a financier, during the rest of his life he found leisure and money for a great diversity of philanthropic and idealistic interests which benefited thousands of afflicted persons and aided in the education of other thousands.

## Harding on Ireland

SENATOR Harding has been accused by his opponents of attempting to swing the Irish vote away from the Democrats, but at least he has frankly admitted that the United States cannot officially work for Irish independence. An expression of sympathy with Irish national aspirations was as far, he thought, as a foreign nation could properly go:

There are two phases of the so-called Irish question in America. Individual sentiment is one thing, and it is recognized that there is widespread sympathy here for the cause of Irish autonomy. We voted an expression of that sympathy in the Senate at the time the peace delegates were conferring in Paris.

Official consideration is quite another thing. It is not a question for official America. America has already meddled abroad excessively without invitation. I have said, as I truly believe, that under the provisions of the League of Nations the Irish question is internal or domestic, and I recall distinctly that at the hearings before the Foreign Relations Committee the American advocates of Irish independence bitterly opposed the League as proposed because it not only closed the door to Ireland but committed us to the use of force to maintain territorial integrity as it exists today.

## Wilson Opposes Shipping Law

PRESIDENT Wilson has once again thrust a stick into the Congressional hornet's nest. He refuses to carry out that clause of the Merchant Marine Act of this year authorizing and directing him to terminate commercial treaties with foreign nations restricting the right of the United States to impose discriminating cus-

tom duties on imports and discriminating tonnage dues according to whether the carrier vessels were American or foreign. He pointed out that the treaties in question contained no provision for their being terminated in the manner laid down by the law:

The action sought to be imposed upon the Executive would amount to nothing less than the breach or violation of said treaties, which are thirty-two in number and cover every point of contact and mutual dependence which constitute the modern relations between friendly states. Such a course would be wholly irreconcilable with the historical respect which the United States has shown for its international engagements and would falsify every profession of our belief in the binding force and the reciprocal obligation of treaties in general.

The legal situation created by President Wilson's act is rather involved. The President signed the Merchant Marine Act at the time it was passed by Congress and therefore there is no analogy with an ordinary act of veto. Nor does he now contend that the act as a whole is invalid; his objection relates to one section of a long and complicated measure. The opponents of the President contend that there is no precedent for a President refusing to carry out the provisions of a law passed by Congress and signed by himself; still less to single out one clause and refuse to enforce that while carrying into effect the law as a whole. They also contend that the Seamen's Act of 1915 contained a provision for the termination of commercial treaties providing for the arrest of sailors charged with desertion, and



that this created a precedent for similar action with respect to commercial treaties prohibiting discriminatory dues and duties against foreign shipping.

The President's supporters, on the other hand, say that the President is not opposing his personal will to that of Congress in refusing to carry out the disputed provision, but simply pointing out that Congress acted in excess of its constitutional powers in attempting to make statute law override treaty stipulations. Secretary Colby cited the words of President Hayes in vetoing the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1879:

The power of making new treaties or modifying existing treaties is not lodged by the Constitution in Congress, but in the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, as shown by the concurrence of two-thirds of that body. . . . As the power of modifying an existing treaty, whether by adding or striking out provisions, is a part of the treaty-making power under the Constitution, its exercise is not competent for Congress.

## Another Non-Partizan Movement

A group of former Socialists, representing the "right wing" of the Socialist movement and composed largely of men who left the party on account of its opposition to American participation in the war, has organized a Social Democratic League for political action. This is not a new third party, like the Farmer-Labor Party, but an association of progressive voters to hold the balance of power between Republicans and Democrats by supporting the most progressive candidates for office. In this respect its tactics will parallel those of the American Federation of Labor, the Farmers' Non-Partizan League and the Anti-Saloon League. Among the organizers of the Social Democratic League are such prominent writers as William English Walling, Charles Edward Russell, W. J. Ghent, Charlotte Perkins Gilman and Henry L. Slobodin.

The declaration of the new League condemns the organization of third party movements at the present time as weakening the influence of progressivism in the two great parties. The League of Nations is commended, subject to the condition that the Covenant be revised from time to time in the direction of meeting more adequately the demands of liberalism and democracy:

In joining the League under her own conditions, America will be giving her support, not to a fixed treaty or unalterable covenant but to a continuous process of international reconstruction in which she can wield a greater power than any other nation. This is the only progressive possibility that lies before us. The alternative spells nothing but obstruction and delay.

With respect to other issues, the Social Democratic League condemns intervention in Mexico, denounces profiteering, upholds direct taxation, opposes compulsory arbitration and advocates governmental credit to coöperative stores and housing associations.

## New York Gets New Housing Laws

IN response to the appeal of Governor Smith the New York Legislature has passed some drastic legislation designed to relieve the immediate pressure of the housing shortage and especially to prevent the wholesale eviction of tenants threatened by landlords for the first of October. The Governor signed all of the measures presented, but expressed his regret that further legislation was not adopted to provide permanent agencies to prevent any recurrence in the future of a housing shortage. Nearly all the laws enacted are really emergency legislation and do not offer a permanent solution of the problem.

The new laws are designed to place the burden of proof on the landlord who desires to evict a tenant. The limit of 25 per cent increase over the rent of the previous year is abolished, and thus far the landlord is favored. But should the tenant allege that *any* increase of rentals is unjust, unreasonable and oppressive the landlord must file a bill

of particulars with the courts to prove the reasonableness of the increase. "Issue shall not be deemed joined until the filing of such bill of particulars. Upon the petitioner's failing to file said bill of particulars within the time limited, the court, judge or justice upon motion of the defendant shall dismiss the proceeding." During the period of public emergency, moreover, defined as extending to November 1, 1922, the landlord who wishes to recover possession of premises occupied by a tenant by way of summary procedure must prove to the satisfaction of the court that the tenant is objectionable, or that he seeks in good faith to recover the premises for the personal occupancy of himself and his family as a dwelling, or that he intends to demolish the premises "with the intention of constructing a new building, plans for which new building shall have been duly filed and approved by the proper authorities." Another law makes the landlord responsible for the refusal of an agent or janitor to supply tenants with hot or cold water, heat, light, power or any service express or implied by the contract or lease. The only way in which a landlord can compel the payment of increased rents is by bringing an action against the tenant to determine the reasonableness of the increase. While the action is still before the courts the tenant must pay the old monthly rent and pay the additional sum after the court's decision if it is in favor of the landlord. Another law, designed to encourage building, exempts newly built dwellings from local taxation for a period of ten years, subject to the discretion of the local authorities.

## The State of the Union

THE National Industrial Conference Board has presented statistical estimates on the rising cost of living from July, 1914, to July, 1920. During this period prices a little more than doubled; the average increase of all listed prices being 104.5 per cent. Food prices increased by 119 per cent and clothing by 166 per cent. In spite of the building crisis and recent rent booms in the great cities the cost of housing increased the least of the major items of expense of the American citizen's budget; an increase of but 58 per cent. The cost of fuel, heat and light increased by 66 per cent in the six years, or almost by two-thirds. Carfare was increased in 120 cities. Within the last few months the cost of clothing showed a slight decline and more recently a shading of prices has been noted on some items of food, but taking the last year as a whole the tendency of prices has continued upwards almost as sharply as during the war. From July, 1919, to July, 1920, food costs rose on the average by 15 per cent and clothing by 33 per cent.

Franklin K. Lane, former Secretary of the Interior, has published a report based on financial statistics gathered from all parts of the country. His conclusions are on the whole optimistic. He asserts that "Economically the United States is shown to be better off than any other country in the world." He found very little evidence of unemployment or of shortage of raw materials, with the exception of coal. Transportation conditions were everywhere bettering. "In no section of the country did investigators find sentiment in favor of Government ownership of the railroads." Wages had advanced from 10 to 50 per cent thruout the country.

The growing conservatism of the buyer has caused price cutting in clothing all over the country. The retail shoe trade is discovering that a large part of the American public is following the example of Governor Coolidge and wearing old shoes. Perhaps the most conspicuous instance of price cutting was Henry Ford's sudden reduction in the price of his automobiles; the most widely sold motor cars in the world. This reduction was in itself important, but Mr. Ford hoped that it would be still more influential as an example to other merchants, both within and without the motor industry.



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## Letters to the Great and the Near Great By John Citizen

Mary Citizen,  
Homeville, Anystate,

Dear Mary:

It seems rather silly to be writing a letter to one's own wife at one's own post office address. But this time I am not addressing you in your sweet individual capacity but collectively—as the Newly Enfranchised Sex. Please to remember, Madam, that for the purposes of this letter you are a symbol of some twenty million voters, and that I am the Typical American Husband.

For a long time we shied off from equal suffrage because we could think of it only in connection with the exceptional woman—the feminist, the militant, the suffraget, the lady novelist, the spectacled sociologist, the working woman in the unionized factory. It was for these that political emancipation was chiefly urged. And this tactical blunder worked against woman suffrage in a double way. Some exceptional women were very great, and we said to ourselves, "It may be hard lines that they can't vote, but you can't argue from Joan of Arc or Madame Curie to Mary Ann in the kitchen." Other exceptional women were exceptionally unpleasant, and we said to ourselves, "We don't want *them* in politics." All the time, my dear Mary Citizen, we were forgetting the millions of you. If we had reflected we would have realized sooner that equal suffrage did not mean Socialist rule or even feminist rule, but simply "home rule," not in the Irish sense but in the literal sense; rule by the American housewife and mother, rule by the safest, soundest, sanest citizens in all the world. So congratulations, Mary, on your nineteenth amendment, and may you never vote less wisely than I do!

Your loving husband,  
JOHN CITIZEN.

Archbishop Daniel Mannix,  
Somewhere-in-England.

Reverend Sir:

I confess that until recently my sympathy with you has been slight. At the hour of greatest peril for civilization you were acting as a brake on the energies of Australia.

But while I cannot approve your political record, I have, like other Americans, Irish blood enough to enjoy a good joke with you, especially when it is a joke on England. You are entitled to a deep chuckle at the elaborate statescraft which diverts a shipping route in order to land you at Liverpool and then takes you off the boat so as to land you somewhere else. Has Lloyd George lost his erstwhile saving sense of humor? Or did he do the whole thing as a practical joke? Perhaps he took you off the boat at Penzance as a rehearsal for the Gilbert and Sullivan opera, *The Pirates of Penzance*.

Sincerely and amusedly yours,  
JOHN CITIZEN.



## Nine Steps to a New Age

(Continued from page 50)

available to migratory workers, that army of men and women who move with the season—pickers, harvesters and timber workers. At present no means are provided for their ballots; they are social and political pariahs. The men and women who cannot speak politically, that is, vote to make the laws of their country, cannot, and should not honor, laws imposed upon them by others, altho they are forced to respect them. It is impossible for them to respect a country which does not respect them.

Women should be raised from the idiot, infantile and felon class and fully enfranchised. For this cause our party was the pioneer.

Negroes should be guaranteed equal suffrage. States faithful to the principle that all power of government is derived from the governed should be disciplined by curtailment of congressional representation and beneficial national assistance, *except* for educational purposes of which they are in sore need.

*Sixth*—If a man is not property, not a commodity, he has the inalienable right to stop work when it pleases him.

A thousand or ten thousand men are not less human because they act in concert, but the law which declares one to be human, makes a thousand acting in concert *property* by injunction law, and so treats them under the logic that as a combination of property interests constitutes a public injury, so a combination of men on strike or a boycott is illegal. A blacklist, or lockout, the employer's sabotage against workers, is not a crime. We oppose the system which in fact and law declares men to be property—a commodity—to be dealt with as bales of cotton, pigs or canned beef. This analysis and attack is not answered by the claim of public interest, which never invokes successfully the law against the lockout and blacklist of our capitalist masters, or capitalist combinations to crush men, women and children by denying the right to organize.

*Seventh*—Federal judges should be elected by popular vote; or the federal courts created by Congress should be abolished and state courts empowered to enforce federal enactments.

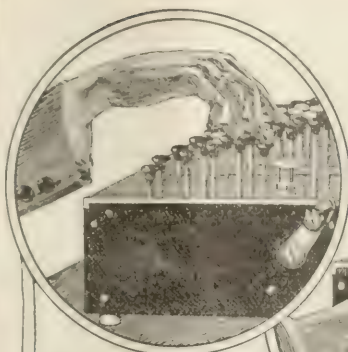
Jefferson expressed his fear of the federal court system. History has proven his fears well founded. These all too powerful, irresponsible despots should be kept close to those who feed and clothe them, and who provide them with imposing court rooms.

*Eighth*—The railroads must be nationalized now, and democratically managed.

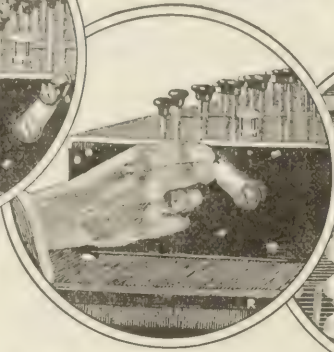
This industry has been for three-quarters of a century the golden highway of finance buccaneers. They have been granted millions of acres of most fertile lands, and billions in bounties. The records of the federal courts are replete with the history of manifold robberies of investors by railroad

# 1-2-3 and—

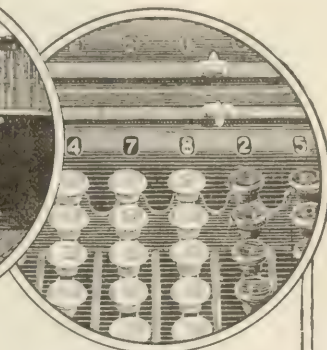
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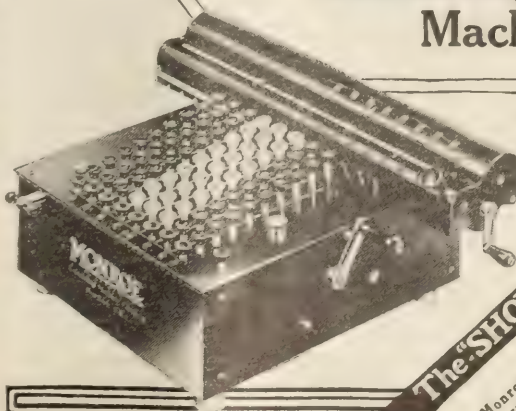
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manipulators. Again and again the courts thru foreclosures and receivers have rebaptized railroad systems and sent them forth to loot the people.

At the opening of the war they collapsed, the Government was forced to increase efficiency by taking control. It invested \$1,200,000,000 for rehabilitation, paid to stockholders a dividend averaging more than that ever paid to stockholders before, and then made immense savings thru consolidation of departments, shortening of hauls by more direct routes, and by hundreds of other economies.

Now with the end of the war comes the most brazen and colossal robbery of the American people. The loot of unrestrained war profiteers is unmatched by the Republican and Democratic gift to the railroad buccaneers. Wages of the workers are increased six hundred and twenty-eight million. Good. Their rates are raised one billion and a half. A dollar a day for every average family, or \$73 a year for every man, woman and child is loaded upon the present high cost of living. This is not all. Dividends are guaranteed upon the water stock valuations; crimes of the past are not punished, but rewarded. The footpad gets interest upon his thefts—surely the cup of the railroad magnates runneth over. Passengers stand eight and ten hours in overcrowded trains.

Socialists would take over the rail-

roads, adopt in principle the Plumb plan, multiply coal and wheat cars immediately to meet the heating and food requirements—then the carriers of building materials for homes, and run the railroads for the people.

*Ninth*—We propose a league of nations, a congress of elected delegates from free countries. We oppose the proposed coterie of international imperialistic financiers looking to exploit the workers of the world under a swindling device from Versailles.

We oppose a treaty which hitches the republic of Ireland to the imperial chariot of Great Britain as it is driven over the necks of four hundred million East Indian serfs. We oppose a league of nations which guarantees the French usurers their pound of flesh for loans to Tzars to crush rising liberalism.

We insist upon self determination, the pledge of America to the world, and open covenants of peace.

The old parties represent private property in banks, railroads, the steel industry and other means for exploiting the producer. We demand the socialization of all such property. Two contending classes confront each other. There is no middle ground. The Greenbackers, the Populists, the Roosevelt Progressives, the Forty-eighters, have been wiped out, and the Farmer-Labor party will go the way of its forerunners.

## Uncle Sam and His Southern Cousins

*(Continued from page 43)*

republics to the south of us. A regular exchange of university professors would do much to strengthen our cultural ties.

I recall in this connection an incident that impressed me very deeply when I was in Argentina. Sarmiento, a former president of that country, brought to Argentina two American Normal school teachers who organized a Normal school in one of the northern provinces.

These two Normal school teachers did more to make the United States known, to make the people of the United States known, to make our attitude toward those people known, than all the ministers and all the ambassadors that have ever been sent to Argentina, and that is no particular reflection on the ministers and ambassadors. It was due to the fact that they were in close contact with the people, and their memory in that province is revered as the memory of great leaders.

In the same way a number of countries in Latin-America are asking us for expert financial advice. Our financial advisers are asked not only to advise as to the best method of increasing revenues, but also as to increasing the revenue in such a way that the masses of the people shall no longer bear the entire burden of taxation, and that the great land-holding classes which have heretofore been able to escape taxation by reason of overpower-

ing influence shall pay their share. Thru constructive service of this character we will bring all the nations of Latin-America closer to us in a bond of unity which at first will be based on our service to them, but which in time will also enable them to render important service to us.

We probably are facing a long period of chaos in Europe. All the indications are that the recovery will require one, two and possibly more generations. The balancing wheel, the influence which will again set Europe on the road to national well-being, must come from the American continent.

The United States and many of the countries of South America have surpluses of food which can be made available to prevent what is now menacing Europe—general starvation. I mean literal starvation, not undernourishment, but the literal starvation of millions of people. The unity of America must therefore be used to meet that need, and I am certain that coming generations will be ashamed of us if we do not meet it. That is the immediate pressing need.

There is a larger need for capital goods with which to resuscitate, to reestablish European industry. Up to the present time the only nation with a large available supply of capital with the possibility of assisting Europe has been the United States, and now the spirit of saving must be developed



to a much larger degree in Latin-America in order that she also may be able to contribute her share.

In that unity of purpose, in that unity of policy of all the republics of America, we can also exert a steadying influence on the politics of Europe. We can assist orderly development, we can discourage anarchistic chaos because we hold in our hands the great weapons of life and death of entire populations. Let us not delude ourselves with the fallacy that what is happening in Europe will not affect us. If Europe enters upon a long period of chaos, its reaction upon the United States and upon all the countries of the American continent will be felt—and it will be felt more severely, more rapidly in South America than in this country, because those nations have not yet assimilated their foreign population to anything like the same degree that we have. Therefore, any anarchistic movement, any subversive movement that is successful in Europe will immediately have a corresponding counterpart in the larger countries of Latin-America.

And then there is the further purpose—the welding together of the peoples of the American continent in order that when the world is again menaced, if it is again menaced by war, America may not again be caught napping, without a definite continental policy.

It is practically certain, as far as events are foreseen, that with a united American policy, with all the republics of the American continent agreed as to the policy which they will pursue at the first indication of another European conflagration, America's influence can do much toward restricting the area of conflict, if it is not entirely successful in preventing the conflict, and, as I look upon the future this unity of sentiment, this unity of policy, this close understanding not only between governments but between the peoples of America, can be made the greatest guarantee of the world's peace. In furnishing that guarantee this continent will be performing its greatest mission, and will give the truest and noblest concept to the term "Pan-Americanism."

Washington, D. C.

## The Discovery of the "Mayflower"

(Continued from page 45)

used as a sort of Quaker home. It consists of the farmhouse, an old stable, a hay-barn, and an old Dutch sunken garden, all built about a pleasant quadrangle that in the olden times used to be the barnyard, but is now turfed over and is broken up by paths of flagstones. The two barns are now used for an overflow of guests when the Quakers have some specially large meeting.

It is the hay-barn directly across the quadrangle from the farmhouse that is supposed to be the "Mayflower." As I approached the barn from the orchard it looked almost as black as



## Mr. Aesop gets a shock

The genial fable-maker of Greece pointed many a moral against self-interest. But what seemed to him an evil, today we place in the column of virtues. Shocking indeed to Aesop!

Events have been happening in the electric light and power industry to prove that self-interest in each of us can benefit our neighbors as much as ourselves. And thereby hangs a tale—

There is a certain broad valley in this land where till recently business was poorer than a church mouse, and the cost of living higher than folks liked to think about. Therefore some merchants and artisans and farmers met to find the remedy.

Said a farmer, "If the electric power plant only reached out my way, I could irrigate a hundred acres more."

"Then I'd build you a new barn," a carpenter replied.

Said a real estate man, "I've fifty building lots nobody will buy, because I can't get electricity there."

"Think of all the furnishings I might sell to fifty homes," sighed a department store man.

Electric light and power! That was the need. The Electric Company couldn't furnish half enough. It hadn't the money to extend its service. Rates were low. Investors wouldn't invest.

So these business men asked the public service commission to grant the Company a higher rate.

The commission raised the rate. That made the Electric Company a safer investment, and people began to buy its bonds. With the added resources the Company built a bigger service. Homes sprang up along the lines. Everybody's sales increased. Factories and farms, with ample power to produce larger quantities, sold with profit at lower prices.

*Moral:* Perhaps in your own community the Electric Company is hampered by a lack of funds. Then, to invest in the Company's bonds or to pay a little more on your electric bill may be the surest way to boost your own business—and boost your town as well.

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tho it had been charred by a fire. A nearer view, however, disclosed the fact that its blackness was that of age alone. I could see that originally it was red. Upon entering the barn I was instantly struck with the idea that I was in a ship turned upside down. For the beams that make the skeleton of the barn are put in almost the same position that they would be in the skeleton of a boat. The man who holds the honor of making the discovery that the barn is the "Mayflower" is Dr. J. Rendel Harris, whose writings on archaeology and Biblical research in *The Independent* a generation ago our older readers will remember. Professor Harris has lived part of his life in America and has always been a deep student of Pilgrim history. He was attending a funeral at the old Quaker Meeting House two years ago when someone remarked to him, "That barn yonder was built out of the 'Mayflower.'" That gave him the clue and he forthwith began an examination of the barn and a search of the public records until he collected the evidence I shall now present.

1. The timbers of the barn at old Jordans have been examined by ship experts and they all pronounce them to be ship timbers quite three hundred years old of a schooner-built vessel, which is about 190 feet long and 150 tons. The "Mayflower," it is believed, was of 180 tons.

2. Bits of iron used as clamps on a ship found attached to the beams of the barn are believed to be parts of the keel of the ship. I have indicated where one of these clamps is located by a black circle in the lower left corner of the accompanying picture of the interior of the barn.

3. There is an iron clamp under the central cross beam which tallies with the story in the "Journal" of Bradford. In Bradford's Journal it is stated that while in mid-ocean the middle beam of the "Mayflower" became cracked and bowed, and on going below the captain declared that the ship was sound below water, but it was weak above. The Pilgrims then produced a great iron screw out of the hold, probably taken from the printing press which they brought with them from Leyden. After screwing the beam together undoubtedly a clamp or bolt was attached to prevent the beam from splitting again. One can see in the picture that there is a split ten or fifteen feet long in the cross beam of the barn. The clamp cannot be seen in the photograph as it is on the underside of the beam behind the supporting arm on the left. Now the question is whether this clamp is preventive or remedial. If it is remedial the case of the "Mayflower" is practically proved. Professor Harris had an expert pronounce upon this clamp, but he did not sustain the professor's hypothesis, saying that it was put in to prevent the beam from cracking. I am only a layman, but it was evident to me while standing in the barn, and I think it must be to any reader of *The Independent* that looks at the beam even

in the photograph, that the clamp must have been put on before the beam was used in the barn because the whole weight of the barn would evidently tend to compress the crack and not extend it, and there would be no use in strengthening it after it was in place. But in view of the expert's opinion we must not make too much of this link in the argument chain, until further corroboration is obtained.

4. Three letters less than an inch long have been found on one of the horizontal timbers at the end of the barn. It is said that three of the letters are clearly decipherable as being H A R and that there may be two letters before these that are E R. If this is the case E R would be the last two letters of Mayflower. The H A R would be the first three letters of Harwich, the name of the port which is known to be the "Mayflower's" port of reference or registration. The Public Record Office established the fact that the "Mayflower" was from Harwich, and also that the "Mayflower's" captain was Christopher Jones. I confess that if I had not known of the historical issue connected with the barn and I had been asked what letters, if any, were on the beam, I could not have read a single one of them. In order to leave no stone unturned I went into the farmhouse and borrowed a mirror and set it in the door as to reflect the bright light of the sun on the letters, thus hoping to throw them in the sharpest relief of light and shadow; but even then I could not see anything very much clearer than the reader can see in the accompanying photograph.

5. Inside the farmhouse there is an old door, shown in the accompanying picture, whose braces have floral emblems carved upon them. It is suggested that these braces were part of the cabin door of the "Mayflower" and the floral emblems may be the May or "Mary-flowers" or Hawthorne flowers carved in conventional design.

6. Part of the ingle-nooked fireside in the old farmhouse also consists of a coat-of-arms of King James the first. This coat-of-arms bears the date 1618. This is evidence that the building was put up in the early part of the seventeenth century.

7. The bricks in the foundation of the barn are also known to have been made between 1618 and 1625, for the sizes of bricks were at that time established by law and no other sizes were permitted to be made or used in England.

8. Probably the most important documentary evidence of all is the fact that in the Public Record Office is an application for the appraisement of the "Mayflower." It seems that the owners of the Mayflower on May 26, 1624, made application to the admiralty to appoint an appraiser so that three of the four owners might sell the boat and get their share of its value. The three owners were Robert Child, Thomas Moore, and Johanna Jones, relict of the captain of the "Mayflower." The fourth owner's name did not ap-



pear. The appraisers were appointed and the document evidently shows that the ship was broken up before appraisal was granted, because the phrase used in the application for appraisal states that the ship was "in ruinis esse." Having discovered this the next step was to trace out the ownership of the "Mayflower" and see if the owners had any connection with Buckinghamshire. The whole countryside, it turns out, was redolent of the Child family.

9. Another very interesting fact turns on the coincidence that in Plymouth, Massachusetts, there is a little green patch known as Coleshill. One of the first emigrants to America, probably on the "Mayflower," tho this is not certain, was a man by the name of Gardner, and Gardner is the name of the owner of the old Jordans hostelry of the seventeenth century. Dr. Harris suspects that these Gardners are one and the same, and that Coleshill in Massachusetts was named after the Coleshill near Jordans. Gardner, therefore, may have been the fourth owner of the "Mayflower," who returned from America and caused the timbers of the old hull to be brought from Rotherhithe, where she was dismantled, and converted into a barn on his small estate. Did he buy it back on appraisal? Or how did he get it? One of the appointed appraisers was Crayford, and Crayford and Gardner are believed to be related.

These are the chief evidences so far unearthed to prove that the barn at Jordans Hostel is the "Mayflower." The proof is wholly circumstantial. It is therefore not complete, but it all points in the right direction. The barn, Americans will be glad to know, is in a perfect state of preservation, and as yet has none of those disgraceful earmarks which certain types of American souvenir hunters and name carvers love to leave behind them. Let us hope that the good Friends who own this priceless relic will keep it as safe and sound in the future as it has been kept intact for the past three centuries.

After a full inspection of the barn and the hostel, we drove back to the station at Chorley Wood and I took the train to Amersham, five miles up the railroad, where the "English-Speaking Union" had "booked" me to preach in the Free Church the following Sunday morning. It was the first large British congregation I ever addressed and I seemed to see in the faces before me the very descendants of the old English families who populated the neighborhood three hundred years ago, and who undoubtedly gave to the world many of our Pilgrim and Puritan ancestors. I naturally made my text the Pilgrims and ended my address with the statement that if I was the first American they had ever seen, I would certainly not be the last if the discovery that had just been made in the neighboring countryside turned out to be the immortal little vessel whose memory the world is honoring today.



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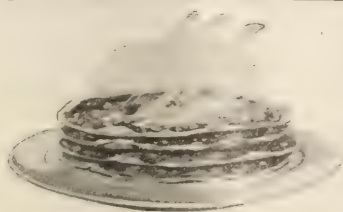
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# Here Are Books—And Books

## America at Work

Another series of *The Chronicles of America*, published by the Yale University Press, takes us into the workshops of history and proves that the plow and hammer contribute as truly as the rifle and the ballot to the making of a nation. The time has gone by when a history could venture to ignore the market place. This is especially true of American history, where politics is always incidental to the main theme of the development of the resources of a continent. Samuel P. Orth contributes two volumes in this field: *The Armies of Labor*, a life-history of the labor union movement in the United States, and *Our Foreigners*, a study of the characteristics of each successive wave of immigration. Particularly worth noting is the chapter on "Utopias in America," which describes the various attempts which have been made to found communistic colonies in the New World by idealists from the Old World. *The Agrarian Crusade*, by Solon J. Buck, deals with the political activities of the class-conscious farmer and more especially with the Populist party. Nor is the man on top ignored by the chroniclers of America. Did you know that high finance could be "history" just as much as high politics? John Moody in *The Masters of Capital* tells you just what Morgan, Carnegie, Rockefeller, Frick, Wall Street, the railway combines, the trusts, the "dollar a year men" during the war, the insurance gamblers, Standard Oil and the panic of 1907 meant in the history of the United States. This book deals mainly with the financing of industry; in the field of industry itself, Mr. Moody has also given us a study of *The Railroad Builders*. This topic leads naturally to that of river navigation, of which Arthur B. Hulbert has given us a study in *The Paths of Inland Commerce*.

Other recently published volumes in the *Chronicles of America* series include *The New South*, by Holland Thompson, covering especially the introduction of manufactures into an agricultural section with all the political and social results of these economic changes; *The Fight for a Free Sea*, by Ralph D. Paine, a vivid and picturesque narrative of the war of 1812, impartially chronicling victories and defeats; *The Canadian Dominion*, a brief history of our northern neighbor by Oscar D. Skelton; and Constance Lindsay Skinner's romantic story of the first explorations in the far northwest by *The Adventurers of Oregon*. Not one volume of the series as yet published has found it necessary to sacrifice interest to accuracy.

*The Armies of Labor*, by Samuel P. Orth. *Our Foreigners*, by Samuel P. Orth. *The Agrarian Crusade*, by Solon J. Buck. *The Masters of Capital*, by John Moody. *The Railroad Builders*, by John Moody. *The Paths of Inland Commerce*, by Arthur B. Hulbert. *The New South*, by Holland Thompson. *The Fight for a Free Sea*, by Ralph D. Paine. *The Canadian Dominion*, by Oscar D. Skelton. *The Adventurers of Oregon*, by Constance Lindsay Skinner. Yale University Press.



Mme. Magdeleine Marx, the author of "Woman." "To me the originality of this book," says Stefan Zweig, "resides in the fact that it describes a perfectly normal case, a form of life that is undoubtedly the true feminine form, and describes it with a frankness and a beauty that make the natural as lovely as a discovery. . . . I am sure I am not detracting from this book if I say that nothing about it surprises me except that it could have been written. It is all truth. . . . Behind the human figure of the woman in it you see the whole of feminine humanity and the eternal lot of womanhood."

## Woman

This is a generation of revolt. Life holds such marvelous opportunities, there are such wonderful things to say, if we could only hold up our hand as a traffic policeman does and stop the industrial machine before it bore down upon us and made us into pavement or having passed, "stopped our mouths with dust." Many young men have dared to voice revolt at lack of self-realization or loss of beauty, Sassoon in his war verse, Barbellion in "His Journal of a Disappointed Man," but it has taken a woman, a French one at that, to tell us something of what the gentler sex has to say. And being a French woman, what she tells us is of love.

For Mme. Magdeleine Marx's anonymous heroine in her book, *Woman*, knows the needs of her nature and is courageous—or selfish—enough to demand their fulfilment. "Listen. I have been thinking. Don't let us part again. Never. It is I who am asking you. Let us live together. . . . I cannot say anything else, that sums up everything, it is everything, to live together," she says in a proposal that is in keeping with the truth that a woman really does the wooing but out of joint with the custom, which at least puts the words into the man's mouth.

They are married. The unknown heroine goes on working. "In our times," she says, "no woman has a right to live under the shelter of a man's labor. The woman who dares to accept such shelter should abdicate and commit her dignity to the hands that are productive. She should consent to her dethronement and take the condescending love that is fed to the weaker

without complaining." There is a child. And eventually—there is another man. Of course, she loves him. And likewise of course she tells her husband, whose "cheeks are ashen, whose eyes are quite wet," who is hurt, but who is big enough to know that if she really cares, she will come back, and if she doesn't, there is no need of rebelling, anyway. She does come back. But in giving her reasons for so doing, as in giving her reasons for going, she is a bit too selfish, too much of an ego-worshipper, to be quite fair to the other person. Both men go to the war, however, and are killed, so that she, in turn, suffers thru separation, the separation of death.

Thruout the entire book, however, there is no doubt that Mme. Marx's heroine feels deeply and that Mme. Marx herself has succeeded in setting down in a fragmentary but quite clear manner the essence of that feeling and the mental reflections caused by it. As she says, "What matters is not the delirium in which two people lose themselves, but the truth they discover." Doubtless Mme. Marx's truth will pain many people, despite the fact that it has won great praise from such European liberals as Romain Rolland, Barbusse and Stefan Zweig.

*Woman*, by Magdeleine Marx. Thomas Seltzer.

## The All-American Poets

"The most poetic period in native literature" is Louis Untermeyer's estimate of the last few decades in these United States, and to prove this point he has gathered into a peculiarly attractive small blue volume examples of *Modern American Poetry* ranging from Emily Dickinson to Stephen Benet. It is a comprehensive and unusually satisfying collection, including almost all of the poems you would have picked out yourself—the test of perfection in any anthology. To any one who doubts the existence of American verse as distinct from British it will be illuminating. It would be a first class book to give to a foreigner sincerely curious to know something of that spirit of America we talk so much about, for the spirit really exists between those two blue covers.

Louis Untermeyer has done another thing which it is harder to understand, to wit including *Horace* which is, he says, "an effort to suggest, through the veil of parody, how certain other poets would have used Horatian subjects." He presents "Integer vitae" as it might have been written by Robert Browning, Amy Lowell, Irving Berlin and others. It is an amusing performance with an immense deal of skill and labor behind it but it leaves you with the same, well, what of it feeling that you have after watching a man on a tight rope.

If *Modern American Poetry* excites, as it undoubtedly will, a desire for a wider knowledge of the field there are a number of recent volumes which will interest you.



In Edgar Lee Masters' *Starved Rock* there is little music but much food for thought, thought on man and America and hypocrisy and a good many other things worth thinking about even though you do not in the least agree with the poet's point of view.

In Arthur Guiterman's *Ballads of old New York* a delightful idea is somewhat disappointingly worked out. He has found and dug up and invented legends of old Manhattan in its Dutch, English Colonial and Revolutionary periods and has woven them into ballads with interludes of various form between.

Among the poets whom Mr. Undermeyer might have included in his anthology, and didn't, is Mary Carolyn Davies. Youth is her greatest asset and her greatest joy, her poetry is spilling over with it; but youth does not exclude technique in which she is very skilful. Though she does some elaborate things well she is at her best in simple little eight line verses, like "The Door:"

The littlest door, the inner door,  
I swing it wide.  
Now in my heart there is no more  
To hide.

The farthest door—the latch at last  
Is lifted: see.  
I kept the little fortress fast.  
—Be good to me.

Her poetry is astonishingly intimate, the revelation apparently of the innermost depths of her soul which makes it peculiarly poignant and effective, but also leaves you with a devout thankfulness that you are not her best friend.

A poet as reserved as Mary Carolyn Davies is confiding is George O'Neil, who is also very young. "Always," as Zoe Akins say in her enthusiastic introduction to *The Cobbler in Willow Street*, "his is the composed statement of the artist—never the disconcerted and disconcerting struggle merely of a personality recording itself." Which does not mean for a moment that the writer is unstirred by emotion or that he leaves his reader so. The emotion is quiet but very sweet and tender and there is a fascinating originality in his turns of thought and phrase:

April brings her violets—  
Introspective little things that hide in  
leaves;  
And nuns—do you ever think of violets as  
nuns?

To leap from youth to age we have Marjorie Allen Seiffert boldly labeling her book of poems, *A Woman of Thirty*, and of course, consequently, the poems are sophisticated and a little cynical. She writes free verse naturally, unaffectedly and effectively. It is clear cut verse, most of it, a little hard, wrought in metals, like her "Japanese Vase":

Five harsh, black birds in shining bronze  
come crying  
into a silver sky.  
Piercing and jubilant is the shape of their  
flying.  
Their beaks are pointed with delight.  
Curved sharply with desire.  
The passionate direction of their flight.  
Clear and high.  
Stretches their bodies taut like humming  
wire.

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The cold wind blows into angry patterns the jet-bright  
Feathers of their wings.  
Their claws curl loosely, safely, about  
nothingness.  
They clasp no things.

The rest has an unfortunate echo of  
Keats.

Tertius Van Dyke writes poetry in the manner of his father, but not quite so well. The *Songs of Seeking and Finding* are unfortunately well named; in the midst of a good deal of obvious morality and many poetic commonplaces there are flashing bits of real originality and song.

Modern American Poetry, by Louis Untermeyer. Harcourt, Brace & Howe. Including *Horace*, by Louis Untermeyer. Harcourt, Brace & Howe. *Starved Rock*, by Edgar Lee Masters. Macmillan Co. *Ballads of Old New York*, by Arthur Guiterman. Harper & Bros. *Youth Riding*, by Mary Carolyn Davies. Macmillan Co. *The Cobbler in Willow Street*, by George O'Neil. Boni & Liveright. *A Woman of Thirty*, by Marjorie Allen Seiffert. Alfred A. Knopf. *Songs of Seeking and Finding*, by Tertius Van Dyke. Charles Scribner's Sons.

*Wide World*

G. K. Chesterton since his recent illness  
has been traveling in Palestine

**Chesterton, Meet Ireland**

Mr. Gilbert Keith Chesterton, who has often in the past written enthusiastically about John Bull's other island, visited that country in the later days of the Great War and has given us his *Irish Impressions* as the fruit of his sojourn. Altho the most patriotic of Englishmen, Chesterton found Ireland nearer to his social ideal than England, for in Ireland there was an agricultural civilization based on religion, family and peasant proprietorship. These are the things he loves as much as he detests their opposites in England—agnosticism, Socialism, industrialism and the landed aristocracy. He supports Home Rule, tho not Sinn Fein, and has little use for Protestant Ulster. At this point the reviewer steps aside to let Mr. Chesterton speak for himself:

Property, when properly distributed, is the poetry of the average man.

Half the case for Home Rule was that Ireland could not be trusted to the English Home Rulers.

It is where property is well distributed that it will be well defended.

In Ireland a man carries the family mansion about with him like a snail; and his father's ghost follows him like a shadow.

The Allies were more right than they realized. Nay, they hardly had a right to be so right as they were. The modern Babylon of capitalistic states was hardly worthy to go on such a crusade against the heathen; as perhaps decadent Byzantium was hardly worthy to defend the Cross against the Crescent.

There is too much separatism in Ireland. I do not speak of separation from England; which happened long ago in the only serious sense, and is a condition to be assumed, not a conclusion to be avoided. Nor do I mean separation from a federation of free states unfortunately known as the British Empire; for that is a conclusion that could still be avoided with a little common sense and common honesty in our own politics. I mean separation from Europe, from the common Christian civilization. . . . This is the deep and real reason why their alienation from the Allied cause was a disaster for their own national cause.

*Irish Impressions*, by Gilbert K. Chesterton.  
John Lane Co.

**The Schoolboy Speaks**

Education just at present is having double innings. It is being pushed forward as the panacea for all ills, social, political, international, and at the same time it is being attacked with peculiar vehemence by those who are supposed to be administering it, and particularly by those who, supposing that they had received it, now feel themselves cheated. They do not as a general rule, however, vent their wrath in print until their school days are many years behind them, so it is particularly interesting to find a well constructed story of school life written by an English lad of seventeen. Our school system lacks some of the faults, as well as some of the virtues, of its English progenitor, but wherever a group of boys is gathered together certain similar problems are bound to arise.

Alec Waugh's *The Loom of Youth* is a story of one boy's progress thru a typical English public school. Its central theme is the harm wrought by the deification of athletics, and it is inspired by a desire to tell the world the real truth of the situation. There are very definite signs of youth in the minuteness of detail in all matters and in the exhaustive descriptions of cricket and football matches, but the writing on the whole is astonishingly mature, and the various boys and masters who figure in the story stand out definitely and clearly. One cannot help being curious to know what the author will try his hand at next.

*The Loom of Youth*, by Alec Waugh. George H. Doran Co.

**Real Wild West Stories**

*The Killer*, the first story in Stewart Edward White's new book, is crammed with action, exciting, unexpected, mysterious; in the last story, "The Ranch," nothing happens at all and yet the chances are that you will read them both with interest and joy. The moral of which of course is that the important thing about a tale is the way you tell it. Mr. White paints the west, the real wild and woolly west of cowboys and bucking bronchos, with all the color, and the truth, with which the



movies are obliged to dispense. He uses the same skill in description that he uses in the construction of rattling good plots. There are several other

good things in the book beside those already mentioned, in particular an account of motoring over the Arizona desert in a tin car driven by a cowboy.

*The Killer*, by Stewart Edward White, Doubleday, Page & Co.

### France and Ourselves

Really good books about France are all too few and most of those we have deal with the spirit of the people, their manners and customs rather than their politics. Of these the average American knows little and ought to know much, so Herbert Adams Gibbons's *France and Ourselves* is particularly welcome. The book is a collection of articles, many of which have appeared in magazine form, written by a clear thinking journalist who thoroughly understands the French attitude and understands also the points at which it needs to be explained to an American. The articles deal with the Reconstruction of Northern France, the French Attitude Toward Peace, The Industrial Effort of France During the War, How We Can Help France, and similar questions.

*France and Ourselves*, by Herbert Adams Gibbons. Century Co.

### All Over the Place

The Great War has compelled the rewriting of books on every nation. Not only are new and rejuvenated peoples to be introduced, but old acquaintances have been so altered by five years of war and revolution that we can barely recognize them. This note of necessary reintroduction is struck in *New Italy*, by Helen Zimmern and Antonio Agresti, which emphasizes the recent industrial development of Italy and the recent orientations of its foreign and domestic policy. For the necessary background and complement of this brief study of contemporary conditions in Italy, Janet Penrose Trevelyan has painted a broad canvas of Italian history from the downfall of the Roman Empire to the union of Italy in 1870 in *A Short History of the Italian People*.

*The New Germany* is depicted with great sympathy by George Young, a British diplomatist of liberal tendencies who visited Germany during the months of revolution. The appendix gives the full English text of the admirable new constitution which German liberalism has at last achieved. *Germany After the Armistice*, by Lieutenant Maurice Berger of the Belgian army, consists mainly of interviews with German diplomats, politicians, radical leaders, financiers, generals and journalists. No better account has appeared of the individuals who are directing the destinies of the young republic. Count Ottokar Czernin's study of the downfall of Austria-Hungary in *The World War* is interesting not only because of the historic events which are related and the vital part which the former Minister of Foreign Affairs played in them, but also on account of the good-natured spirit shown by this representative of a defeated



The waters around the British Isles were thick with submarines during the war, if one is to judge from this reproduction of a daily chart compiled at Admiral Sims's headquarters in London. Information about the positions of submarines, as well as a great deal other data on the operations of the American navy in Europe, is given in John Langdon Leighton's "Simsadus: London," a title taken from the cable address of the American Navy in Europe, which means "Sims—Admiral—U. S." "The presence and exact position of the majority of submarines at sea was learned every night by an elaborate system of radio stations along the coast," Ensign Leighton says. "It was the custom of submarines to communicate with their headquarters in Germany almost nightly by wireless. . . . Every time a submarine wirelessly to Germany, English radio stations would pick up the message. The wireless instruments at the stations were equipped with an apparatus known as a radio-direction-finder by which the direction or bearing of the origin of the message could be determined to a fraction of a degree. . . . In order to illustrate how the submarine's position was then determined, let us take an imaginary example. Wireless stations at Land's End, Milford Haven, and Queenstown have all sent telegrams to the Admiralty stating that a submarine at eleven o'clock at night communicated with Berlin, and that this submarine was in a position bearing due West from Land's End, Southwest from Milford Haven and due South from Queenstown; these bearings naturally would be given in degrees rather than in terms of West and Southwest. When this information was received by the Admiralty, the officers there on duty would draw lines West from Land's End, Southwest from Milford Haven, and due South from Queenstown, and where those lines crossed, there would be the submarine. . . . As soon as the position of each submarine had been worked out on the charts, such information was sent to the different bases or wirelessly to those ships to which the information might be of use. The Admiralty took the greatest care that this method of locating submarines should not be discovered by the enemy, for the authorities regarded it as the greatest secret in their possession; and there is no evidence to show that the Germans ever did discover it"

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and dismembered empire. While he places much of the blame for the war on the Allies and on Austria's too dominant partner, Germany, he seems to feel that in any case the Hapsburg Empire was doomed to disintegration: "Austria-Hungary's watch had run down. . . . I believe today that even without the war the fall of the monarchy would have happened, and that the assassination in Serbia was the first sign."

Turning to the little nations which have profited from the peace we may first mention a general study of *Poland and the Poles*, by A. Bruce Boswell, which deals with the Polish people of today and their achievements in every field of activity from poetry to politics. *From Serbia to Jugoslavia*, by Gordon Gordon-Smith, is mainly a military narrative of the campaigns in the region south of the Danube from 1914 to the end of the Great War. *Some Personal Impressions*, by Take Jonescu, is an interesting series of essays by the wittiest and shrewdest of Rumanian statesmen, a twentieth century Cavour whose political outlook is a strange blend of professional diplomatic cynicism and liberal and progressive principles. His account of an interview before the war with the Hungarian statesman Banffy is worth quoting:

"He began rather brusquely by saying, 'I hope you are not going to tell me that you don't want to annex Transylvania.' 'No,' I replied, 'I shall not tell you that; if I did you would not believe it, and would only think you were dealing with a liar or with a man who does not love his country. I want to annex Transylvania, but I can't do it.'"

And then in my turn I said to him, "I hope you are not going to tell me that you don't wish to move the frontiers of the Magyar state to the Black Sea." With real good temper Banffy replied, "No, I won't tell you that. I do want to move Hungary's frontier to the Black Sea, but I can't do it."

*The Riddle of Nearer Asia*, a study of the conflict between Christianity and Islam in the region of the old Turkish Empire, and *Armenia and the Armenians*, a national history by Kevork Aslan, introduce us to a resurrection of the dry bones of the oldest human civilization.

*The Mastery of the Far East*, by Arthur Judson Brown, deals mainly with the absorption of the ancient Korean Kingdom by the vigorous Empire of Japan. In this limited field the book is exceptionally full and informing on points of detail and must also be commended for its fair-minded attitude toward Japanese imperialism. It does not in the least gloss over the cruelty and greed which the Japanese have sometimes shown to their little neighbor, so temptingly weak and inefficient, but it does not fail to give full credit to Japan for spreading the gospel of modernism and efficiency among somnolent and backward peoples.

Even South America, so far from the seat of war, has been made new in the last few years and J. O. P. Bland's account of *Men, Manners and*

*Morals in South America*, tho rambling in manner and somewhat cynical in tone, is an illuminating introduction to a little understood part of the world; nowhere less understood than by North Americans.

*The New Italy*, by Helen Zimmern and Antonio Agresti. Harcourt, Brace & Howe. *A Short History of the Italian People*, by Janet Penrose Trevelyan. Putnam. *The New Germany*, by George Young. Harcourt, Brace & Howe. *Germany After the Armistice*, by Lieut. Maurice Berger. Putnam. *In the World War*, by Count Ottokar Czernin. Harpers. *Poland and the Poles*, by A. Bruce Boswell. Dodd, Mead & Co. *From Serbia to Jugoslavia*, by Gordon Gordon-Smith. Putnam. *Some Personal Impressions*, by Take Jonescu. Stokes. *The Riddle of Nearer Asia*, by Basil Matthews. Doran. *Armenia and the Armenians*, by Kevork Aslan. Macmillan. *The Mastery of the Far East*, by Arthur Judson Brown. Scribners. *Men, Manners and Morals in South America*, by J. O. P. Bland. Scribners.

## What Is Shell Shock?

Any series of physical phenomena as, for instance, earthquakes, storms, etc., which are comparable in magnitude to the events of the war would probably precipitate characteristic mental disorders. Dr. Southard in this encyclopedic work on psychiatry and the war emphasizes the importance of shell explosion as a physical event in the etiology of the war neuroses, but finds that there is little justification for the creation of a separate disease entity under the term shell-shock and places the majority of these cases in the psycho-neurosis group.

He has abstracted from the psychiatric literature of all the warring countries 589 case histories. A significant section of the book is devoted to psycho-therapeutic measures in these cases. The very comprehensive bibliography includes over two thousand titles.

*Shell-shock and Other Neuropsychiatric Problems*, by E. E. Southard. Monograph No. 3 of the Psychopathic Department of the Boston State Hospital. W. M. Leonard. Boston.

## Books and Things in General

The trouble with a volume of good essays is that one lures you on to another, you read too many in succession and put the book down a little weary and not quite so pleased with it as you were when you began. Most novels gain by being read thru at a sitting, but essays should lie about on your table to be picked up at odd moments; which is probably one reason we read so few of them—if you leave a book on the table today there is so apt to be a new one on top of it tomorrow.

These reflections were induced by three recent volumes of essays which are delightful reading if not taken in large gulps; Philip Littell's *Books and Things* and Solomon Eagle's two series of *Books in General*. The first set appeared in *The New Republic*, the second in *The New Statesman*, under the pseudonym of Solomon Eagle. There ought to be an interesting basis of comparison between the way an American and an Englishman do the same thing, but there isn't. If you did not know which man belonged to which nation you would find it a little difficult to guess. Possibly this is because



Mr. Littell is a graduate of Harvard.

Mr. Squires, who recently left the editorship of *The New Statesman* to become editor of *The London Mercury*, is on the whole a little more skilful with his pen than Mr. Littell, he is happier and seems to have rather more use for the world in general. However, the comments of both on books, politics and things in general are thoughtful, amusing and suggestive, worth reading and thinking about.

*Books and Things*, by Philip Littell, Harcourt, Brace & Howe, New York. *Books in General* (First and Second Series), by J. C. Squires, Alfred A. Knopf.

## Militant Culture

Professor John Erskine of Columbia University, and during the war educational director of the A. E. F. University at Baune, has collected a number of recent addresses under the title, *Democracy and Ideals*. The wholesome and democratic spirit of modern scholarship is well illustrated in the following passage:

If the university should be thrown open to the world—if, for example, we allowed in our classrooms any who desired to enter, there might at first be embarrassment and confusion, but there would be no vulgarization of any scholarship that is really on the frontier of truth. . . . Part of our ideal will be realized when the university says to the community: "Whatever you do, whether for use or for pleasure, can be done beautifully. I am here to show you the way. Whatever you do has a meaning also. I am here to tell you what it means. That I am here at all, after the centuries, is a sign that those long dead, who bade me say this to you, touched the work of their hour with the enduring mind."

*Democracy and Ideals*, by John Erskine. Doran.

## The Real Y. M. C. A.

Katherine Mayo's history of the war service of "That Damn Y" is one of the important chapters in a future account of America's war with Germany. The author went to France, half as volunteer war worker, half as an impartial and (as she admits) not over-friendly critic to find out the real truth of what the Y. M. C. A. had done in France. She visited all the principal leave areas, became acquainted with conditions at the front, questioned headquarters both of the Y. M. C. A. and the A. E. F., and at last was able to write the fullest, completest and most interesting account of Y. M. C. A. activities which has yet appeared. The official army reckoning, here cited, is that "the Y performed 90 per cent of all the welfare work done overseas." That it was frequently short of supplies is admitted; but it is pointed out that the army was able to furnish only 47 per cent of the tonnage space required for canteen supplies and promised in advance to the Y. M. C. A. for its work. But rather than give up the work the Y. M. C. A. continued its necessarily inadequate service; unable to give any explanation at the time because the army forbade any statements of tonnage shortage to be published during the war lest it encourage the



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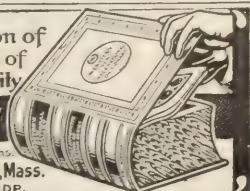
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Germans to believe their submarine campaign a success. In the same way it kept in service a few "47 per cent" secretaries because it was short of personnel for the vast task it had undertaken. For both failure of supplies and the occasional (but very exceptional) failure of individual competence the Y. M. C. A. reaped unmeasured blame, but in both cases the alternative to partial service was no service at all. This is the truth, well known to the Government and the army headquarters, but not so well known to the public and the army at large.

"That Damn Y," by Katherine Mayo. Houghton Mifflin Co.

## What Galsworthy Thinks

John Galsworthy as a playwright has two uncommon talents: he can writeactable plays which are also good reading and he can write plays of propaganda which are also highly dramatic. "Justice" proved that to us several years ago. His fourth series of *Plays* contains two which have been, apparently with success, produced in England. The third, "A Bit of Love," is somewhat indefinite and unconvincing, tho it has effective passages.

"The Foundations" deals with class relations, labor and the lord and his footmen. Its author calls it "an extravagant play," and it is, but that doesn't prevent it from being both amusing and convincing. As usual, Mr. Galsworthy sympathizes with both sides so strongly that he does not succeed in proving anything. However, it is a relief in this day and generation to find any one who can sympathize with both sides.

"A Skin Game" is a dramatic and rather terrible battle between an old county family and the family of a wealthy manufacturer who want to dominate the district. There is good character, tho no character development. In a personal contest like this the ability to sympathize with both sides is a very strong asset. Mr. Galsworthy has written better plays than these, but

if you care for his plays at all you will find them worth reading.

Another unusual thing about Mr. Galsworthy is the number of literary fields in which he works successfully. As a novelist, a short story writer, a playwright, an essayist he has attained definite distinction, and even as a poet, tho not so many people think of him in that role. The reasons lie in his skill in using the English language, which reaches its high in such descriptions as "Buttercup Night" in *Tatterdemalion*, a collection of essays and sketches written during and since the war. Some of them are sheer beauty, some of them are propaganda of one sort or another, many of them are character sketches, and these are the least satisfying. There is a beautiful haze about them; the people are not quite alive.

*Plays, Fourth Series. Tatterdemalion*, by John Galsworthy. Charles Scribner's Sons.

## Colorful Italian Tales

Gabriele d'Annunzio's *Tales of My Native Town* are not to be recommended as throwing any light on Fiume. They are tales in which the author is almost entirely non-existent, and they are somewhat disappointing, for it takes, as Joseph Hergesheimer points out in his exceedingly interesting preface, a rather carefully prepared attitude of mind to thoroly enjoy them. "They are as different from our own short imaginative fiction as the town of Pescara, on the Adriatic Sea, is different from Marblehead in Massachusetts." One difference, which will attract some readers and repel others, is that they are not stories in the sense of having carefully conceived or skilfully twisted plots; they are little pieces of life, not cleanly sliced off from the whole. They are full of rich, warm color and life and emotion. They are written with art and skill but with a lack of reticence in description which is likely to disturb the Anglo-Saxon. If you enjoy Russian short stories you will probably enjoy these.

*Tales of My Native Town*, by Gabriele d'Annunzio. Doubleday, Page & Co.

## What Do You Know?

Here are the answers to the hundred questions in the General Information Test that we published last week. The school instructions for grading the answers are as follows:

Give each question 1.  $\frac{1}{2}$ , or 0. Full answers not always to be required for full credit, for the kind of knowledge to be tested is not so much exceptional verbal memory as ability to identify. But no credit should be given when the answer is wrong: e. g. No. 4, "Mr. Lausang" is wrong, altho it indicates some knowledge, and for No. 26, "capital of state" should only count half, unless the state is named; but "city in Arkansas" should count right, even if no mention is made of capital.

### I

1. William McKinley. Theodore Roosevelt. William Howard Taft. Woodrow Wilson. 2. Philander P. Claxton. 3. Robert Underwood Johnson. 4. Bainbridge Colby. 5. A. Mitchell Palmer. 6. Henry Cabot Lodge. 7. Calvin Coolidge. 8. Alexandre Millerand. 9. Albert, King and Queen of

Belgium. Queen Elizabeth. 10. Cannot be answered accurately.

### II

11. Tea. 12. Watches. 13. Steel. 14. Embroidery on fine linens. 15. Furniture. 16. Automobiles.

### III

17. Chess; hockey (ice). 18. Golf; pool. 19. Baseball; polo. 20. *Bodkin*: used to draw tape thru a hem; to pierce holes in cloth: a pin to fasten the hair; to pick type. *Chisel*: used in carpentry, woodwork and on marble. 21. *Skewer*: a pin, often wood, to hold meat. *Silo*: place where green fodder is kept from air or water, container for ensilage or silage. 22. To bore holes; a wooden form for making shoes.

### IV

23. A stone upon which the kings of Scotland were formerly crowned—now a part of the throne of England. In Westminster Abbey. 24. A stone in the wall of the Castle of Blarney, in Ireland—the kissing of which brings a gift of fluent, flattering speech. 25. Supposed ruins of a Druidical temple; Salisbury Plain, Eng-



land (group of huge stones in England). 26. City in Arkansas. State Capital. 27. A commercial product, drinking water. 28. Landing place of Pilgrims on coast of Massachusetts. A well known breed of chickens.

V

29. Henry Hudson's ship. Discovery of Hudson River. 1609. 30. Only ship on which a President of the United States ever went abroad. President Wilson's ship. 31. German submarine which crossed the Atlantic. 32. Battle of "Monitor" with "Merrimac" in Hampton Roads, Civil War. First ironclad with revolving turret. 33. Deportation of "reds." 34. Giant C-mander, sunk in 1912 on maiden voyage, on striking iceberg.

VI

35. Sandy Hook. 36. Africa. 37. Alecock. 38. Appomattox Court House. 39. Alaska. 40. Mt. Vernon. 41. Balboa.

VII

42. Medical science. 43. Dramatist: wrote "Abraham Lincoln"; "writer" is correct. 44. Writer. A girl of nine years who wrote "The Young Visitors" (sic). 45. Scientist, philosopher: lectures on life after death. 46. Provost of University of Pennsylvania. Resignation recently presented. 47. Writer of poetry; leading American writer of free verse and other new kinds of poetry. 48. Actor. 49. Character in "The Rivals," by Sheridan. 50. Explorer; discoverer of North Pole. 51. Italian writer, patriot, and leader of Fiume expedition.

VIII

52. Mrs. Carrie C. Catt. 53. Lady Astor. 54. Madam Curie. 55. Queen Victoria. 56. Jean of Arc (Jeanne d'Arc).

IX

57. Benjamin Franklin. 58. Samuel Clemens. 59. Marian Evans (Mrs. Cross). 60. Charles L. Dodgson. 61. Washington Irving. 62. Charles Dickens.

X

63. 51. 52. 63. 64. 69. 64. 81.

XI

67. Warsaw; Moscow. 68. Prohibition of manufacture or sale of alcoholic beverages. 69. The earth goes around the sun in about 365 1/4 days. Every four years the quarters add up to one day, the 29th of February. (Exception, most years ending in 00). 70. Spit ball prohibited. Ball may not be "treated" or in any way injured. Deliberate "passing" of batsman restrained. 71. Black Sea; Caspian Sea. 72. Mediterranean; Gulf of California. 73. Monarchies: Spain, Italy, Japan. If two are right, give 1; if less than two, count 0. If wrong names are added, take away the value of a name rightly given for each addition. 74. Baltimore and Ohio; Canadian Pacific; New York Central; Delaware, Lackawanna and Western; New York, New Haven and Hartford. Count 1/2 if three or more are right; give 1 only if all five are right. 75. Stamp collector; having two feet, or legs. 76. Movie machine; teacher. 77. Failed to ratify or pass it.

XII

78. wit. 79. books; end. 80. will; way. 81. sauce; gander. 82. servitude. 83. pyrene. 84. percolator. 85. injunction.

XIII

86. cowslip. 87. python. 88. clavicle. 89. dingo. 90. minaret. 91. barouche. 92. oriel. 93. spinnet. 94. albatross ("oriel" is wrong). 95. rodent.

XIV

96. Kipling. 97. Bible; Judges XIV. 14. 98. Bunyan; Pilgrim's Progress. 99. Vachel Lindsay; Abraham Lincoln Walks at Midnight. 100. Title of play by Shakespeare.

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# How to Study This Number

## THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

### English, Literature and Composition

- I. The Discovery of the "Mayflower."
  1. The teacher should take advantage of the approaching tercentenary celebration for the study of the literature of the subject. What poets have written about the Pilgrim Fathers or the voyage of the "Mayflower"?
  2. Write a poem yourself entitled "The Mayflower Found Once More." If this is done as a class exercise have the poems collected and read by the teacher, without giving the names of the writers, and permit the class to criticize them freely and vote which is the best one.
- II. Uncle Sam and His Southern Cousins.
  1. Imagine yourself a citizen of some South American republic. Write a letter on Pan-Americanism to "Uncle Sam" and sign it "One of Your Southern Cousins."
- III. Nine Steps to a New Age.
  1. Each of Mr. Stedman's nine "points" begins with a "topic sentence." Show how this is developed and expanded into a complete statement by the succeeding sentences.
  2. Define the following words and phrases: "moribund," "manikins," "junker," "chauvinists," "Pariahs," "self determination," "socialization of property."
  3. Outline Mr. Stedman's article as the affirmative brief for a debate on the question: "Resolved, That the Socialist national ticket should be supported by the voters." Prepare a similar brief for the negative.
- IV. The One Consistent Party.
  1. Compare Mr. Watkins' article with that of Mr. Stedman. Entirely apart from your opinion of prohibition or Socialism, give your opinion as to which article: (1) Reads most smoothly, (2) Makes its points most effectively, (3) Is the most adequate account of the party point of view.
  2. "There is one party whose platforms have never been weather-vanes." What figure of speech is this? How do you distinguish it from the figure of speech in the previous paragraph: "The doors of legislation, like the doors of the saloon, swing both ways"?
- V. A Song of Quiet Hearts.
  1. Count the number of hyphenated adjectives and nouns. Evidently this poem intentionally makes use of this peculiar form. Is it used effectively? Which of these "couplings" are new to you; which seem familiar?
  2. Write a descriptive prose paragraph on some picture or image in the poem which particularly attracts you.
  3. Compare this poem with some of the descriptive verse given in the book review, "The All-American Poets."

### VI. Weeping and Bleeding Images

1. Write a story in the first person of a pilgrim's visit to one of the supposedly miraculous images. Choose one of the accompanying photographs to illustrate the story and give reasons for your choice.

### VII. Dynamite or Discussion?

1. Make a short speech suitable for a street corner meeting, in which you present Dr. Williams' chief arguments. What new elements of appeal would you introduce to meet your audience?
2. Write a brief history of the constitutional amendments adopted by the United States.
3. Write a description of the methods by which any one of the last five amendments was "sold" to the people.

### VIII. Here Are Books—and Books.

1. If you could buy four of all the books reviewed under this head which would you choose? Give your reasons in full.
2. Write a short article or essay on "The Books I Want to Own." Explain, incidentally, your theory of the best way to acquire a library.

### IX. Can a Nation Be Moral?

1. Define morality. What distinction of meaning is there between morality and ethics? Give two synonyms of moral.
2. What does the author mean by his statement, "For morality is the outgrowth of group life"? Would you call such a group life as that of the ants moral? Give your reasons.

### History, Civics and Economics

- I. Prohibition—The One Consistent Party. Prohibition in Scotland. Varied Views on Prohibition.
  1. Why does the Prohibition party continue its work now that prohibition is part of the national constitution?
  2. Do you agree that working thru a separate political party is the best way to attain and to safeguard prohibition?
  3. What other issues does Mr. Watkins stress in his appeal to the voters?
  4. Give a summary of the liquor issue from the standpoint of the Scotch voter. Why has the prohibition movement made more rapid progress in the United States than in Great Britain?
- II. Socialism—Nine Steps to a New Age. Another Non-Partizan Movement.
  1. Find the sentences in which Mr. Stedman defines "capitalist society" and contrasts it with "Socialism." Illustrate his definitions by taking some particular industry, such as the railroads or clothing manufacture, and describing how it would be owned and managed under a "capitalist" system and under a "Socialist" system.
  2. What are the nine points of policy proposed by Mr. Stedman? Select one of these as the basis for a classroom debate.
  3. In what respects does the attitude of the Social Democratic League seem to differ from that of the Socialist Party?
- III. American History—The Discovery of the Mayflower.
  1. Who were the Puritans? The Pilgrims? Give an account of the founding of the first settlements in New England.
  2. What new facts do you learn from Mr. Holt's article that you do not find in your history text-book?
- IV. Latin America—Uncle Sam and His Southern Cousins.
  1. Why are the countries south of us called "Latin" America? What languages do they speak? How many are there? Which of them would you consider "backward" in civilization and which "progressive"?
  2. What is the "Monroe Doctrine"? When and why was it first adopted as an American policy? What do you find about it in the Covenant of the League of Nations?
  3. Dr. Rowe says that the food surplus of South America can do much to relieve conditions in Europe. What are the chief exports of the South American nations? What do they produce that the United States does not?
- V. Constitutional Amendments—Dynamite or Discussion?
  1. What methods of amending the Federal Constitution are possible? What nineteen amendments have been adopted? In what manner can your State Constitution be amended?
- VI. The President's Authority—Wilson Opposes Shipping Law.
  1. State the legal case for and against the President's refusal to enforce discriminating dues against foreign shipping. On the evidence as given in the Story of the Week which side do you think has the stronger case?
- VII. French Policy—The New French President. Millerand's Career. The New French Premier.
  1. What has been the foreign policy of M. Millerand as Premier? Why should a French radical and former Socialist have shown himself so hostile to the Russian Bolsheviks? In what respects is France interested in Russian affairs?
  2. What is the "platform" of Premier Leygues? What does he say about the League of Nations?
- VIII. The Irish Question—Raids and Reprisals. Harding on Ireland. The League and Ireland.
  1. If there is a "war" in Ireland why does not the League of Nations stop it? Can you find anything in the Covenant of the League which would authorize intervention either for or against Irish independence? Is there any sure test known to you by which a "rebellion" can be told from a "foreign war"?
  2. How far do you think one nation has the right to express official sympathy with a revolutionary movement within another nation? At what point would Senator Harding draw the line?



# The Independent

## Just a Word

This week we introduce to you Robert C. Macauley, who will address you on behalf of his own candidacy for president and bespeak also your good will on behalf of the Single Tax Party in general. In our columns you have already been addressed by Governor Cox, representing the Democratic Party; Mr. Watkins, the third candidate from Ohio, who believes that the passing of the eighteenth amendment has not destroyed the usefulness of the Prohibition Party, and Mr. Stedman, Socialist candidate for vice-president, who has already fulfilled one duty of a vice-president in acting as a substitute for his chief when the latter was unable to act on his own account. Between now and election we shall also give space to the messages of Senator Harding, the Republican nominee; and Mr. Christensen, candidate for president of the Farmer-Labor Party.

It has been an old tradition of The Independent to assemble the party nominees each four years to speak directly to our readers. We have not confined our invitations to the Republican and Democratic standard bearers, but have gone into the highways and byways to bring to our symposium also the nominees of the third parties, whose very names are now often unfamiliar. Thus in 1896, in addition to an article by Mr. McKinley and another by Mr. Bryan, we had messages from the Populists, the National (Gold) Democrats, the Prohibitionists, the National Party and the Socialist Labor Party. Four years later we had messages from the Populists, Prohibitionists and Socialist Laborites and from two new groups also, the short lived Union Reform Party and the Social Democratic Party, now known as the Socialist but then as now captained by Mr. Debs. In 1904 the two Socialist parties; the Populists, now captained by Tom Watson; the Prohibitionists, whose nominee bore the inappropriate name of Swallow, and the National Liberty Party contributed to our pages.

1908 was a good year for the man who likes plenty of variety from which to select. We had contributions from the Republican and Democratic Williams (Taft and Bryan); from the Socialist and Prohibitionist Eugenes (Debs and Chafin); from the Populist and Independent Thomases (Watson and Hisgen), not to mention one August, Gillhaus of the Socialist Laborites. In 1912 we printed messages from the Big Three—Woodrow Wilson the Democrat, President Taft, Republican, and Theodore Roosevelt, Progressive—as well as from the leaders of three smaller parties, Debs the Socialist, Chafin the Prohibitionist, and Reimer of Socialist Labor. In 1916, the Progressive Party having followed the Populists into the mists of the past, only four parties remained. President Wilson and Justice Hughes crossed swords in our pages, Mr. J. Frank Hanly upheld the Prohibition cause, and Mr. Allan Benson defended Socialism. Apparently the era of small parties has returned once more, for this year you have not four but six Presidential nominees who have elected The Independent as a forum in which to plead the cause of their respective parties.

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## Remarkable Remarks

DR. PEASE Tobacco is more deadly than opium.

GOVERNOR COX—My creed is "God Almighty first."

THE PRINCE OF WALES—I hate to say farewell to anyone.

HERBERT HOOVER—We should save every possible five cent piece.

MRS. CHRISTINE FREDERICK—I certainly cannot keep house without tomatoes.

JOHN BURROUGHS—If you can tickle a frog's back in any way you can put a spell on him.

MME. CLEMENCEAU JACQUEMAIRE—American women do not use cosmetics and scarcely any powder.

SIR G. YOUNGER—There never was better government anywhere than the county government of Scotland.

ROY K. MOULTON—I often wonder what war we are paying for when we buy a theater ticket or a glass of soda.

DR. CHARLES M. SHELDON—Selfishness is the best known sin in the world, and it does not improve on acquaintance.

## New Plays

*Jim Jam Jems*, as might be expected, is a musical comedy of girls and gorgeous costumes. That's all. (Cort Theater.)

*The Merchants of Venus*. Interesting study of the utility or futility of marrying for money, by no means as foolish as the title. Excellent cast and star. (Punch and Judy Theater.)

*The Dawn of Ireland*, a melodrama depicting the sufferings of Erin of the present day. Unfortunately, the production would lack interest to even an ardent Sinn Feiner. (Lexington Theater.)

The much heralded young violin virtuoso by the remarkable name of Mischa Violin, whose debut took place last week before a large audience, was a distinct disappointment. He has ability, however, and he will grow older. (Carnegie Hall)

*Three Live Ghosts*—a cockney comedy with "Bert" of "The Better 'Ole" playing the lead of a returned Tommy "officially dead." Clean cut, humorous entertainment that deserves to be ranked in the best six plays of the season. (Greenwich Village Theater.)

*The Treasure*—David Pinski's comedy of the Yiddish grave-digger whose neighbors thought he had found a fortune—is admirably presented under the direction of Emmanuel Reicher by the Theater Guild. But its four acts could well be cut to one to suit an American audience. (Garrikk Theater.)

The San Carlo Opera Company sticks to the old conventions of staging and acting in its presentation of *Lucia di Lammermoor*. Regina Vicarino combines sentiment with technique in singing the difficult role of "Lucia." In Ponchinelli's *La Gioconda* the universally popular "Dance of the Hours" attracted most applause. (Manhattan Opera House.)





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# The Independent

October 16, 1920

## No One "Owns" Land

A Message from the Candidate of the Single Tax Party

By Robert C. Macauley

**F**AILURE of the old political parties, indeed their flat refusal, to deal adequately and justly in correcting our faulty taxation system, which makes possible appropriation by a special-privileged few of the production of the many, made the formation of the Single Tax party imperative.

The Single Tax party, which was organized five years ago, and which now has organizations in twenty-six states of the Union, declares the remedy for existing taxation ills is embodied in its platform adopted at the National convention held in Chicago, July 10 to 14; and which is unique by reason of its brevity.

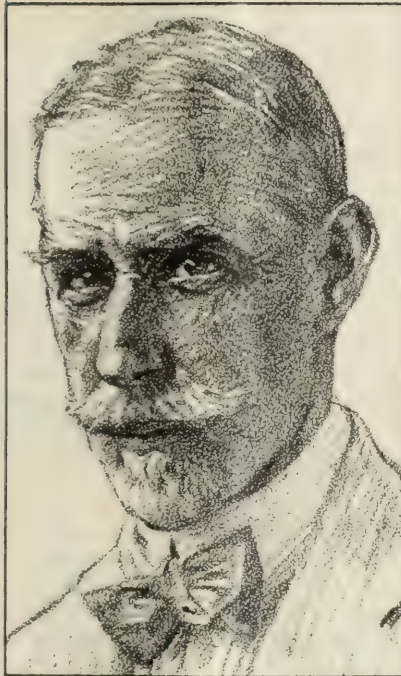
This platform demands the collection by government (all the people) of the rental value of land, and that all improvements, industry and enterprise shall be exempt from taxation.

Being convinced that only in this way can involuntary poverty and the fear of poverty be abolished; the just division of the products of labor be had; equal opportunity be achieved; and industrial justice consummated, the Single Tax party calls upon all men and women, regardless of their former political affiliation, to join this movement for the emancipation of mankind.

The demand that the full ground rent be collected by the Government instead of by private individuals, as under the present system, is based on the principle of justice. No human effort did or could produce the land; and it is reverently submitted that Almighty God did not open a land office from which issued the first title. In addition, the ever increasing use value of the land arises entirely from the activity, industry and enterprise of the community and not from any effort or skill exerted by the title holder.

The insistence on the abolition of all fines on production—now known under the term of taxes—is predicated on the application of the principle of common honesty.

As individuals, none has the right to take even a fraction of another's production without laying himself open to the ugly



New York Globe

Robert C. Macauley

charge of theft. An hundred million of people, calling themselves government, even under the guise of taxation, have no greater right.

Government, properly recognized and understood, is simply a corporate body in which each member of the organization has, or should have, equality of right. Each owes to the government only the value of the service received from such government. Investigation will prove that all government service is accurately and exactly reflected in the rental and selling value of land.

Government service enhances the value of no other commodity save land. This fact is easily demonstrated in the history of every frontier settlement. Before the formation of a stable government in these settlements, land was virtually without rental or sale value; and labor commodities always commanded the highest prices in such communities. With the establishment of a stable government, exactly the reverse was true.

Plainly stated the Single Tax party insists that service alone furnishes the only just basis for compensation; and that healthy industry shall not be fined for producing wealth, as under the present archaic and unscientific system.

We long have applied the principle of fining malefactors. Experience has taught us that such fining had the desired effect of reducing the number of violators of the law. We apply the same principle to production, but expect it, however, to bring about a diametrically opposite result.

A man produces more than he consumes and gives expression to that surplus, let us say, in the form of a home for his family. Immediately he is visited by the real estate assessor, charged with making an improvement, and heavily fined (now called taxed) not only

once but every succeeding year so long as the house lasts. It would seem, therefore, that our present laws regard the building of a home a more serious offense than that of the ordinary malefactor—for it fines him but once.

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This article is the fourth of the series in which each candidate for President of the United States presents in the Independent his message to the American people

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Under prevalent rates of taxation, the man's house, which he produced, either actually or thru the exchange of service with him who did, has virtually been confiscated in a period approximating thirty-five years, for during that time he has been compelled, in the form of what we call taxes, but in reality fines, to pay a sum totaling in excess of the entire value of his home.

How is it, however, in the case of the land, particularly in the large cities?

Here due to increased population and thereby of competition, the use of the land has greatly increased in value; with the result that large fortunes have been amassed by the title holders thereof, who never expended an ounce of effort in the creating of these land values; but which our present unjust laws enable them to appropriate.

The title holder has done nothing, but has received something. The tragic part of all this is, that the community which created the values has gotten nothing for the something it produced; for wealth and value do not come into existence only as a result of industry and

## An Empty House

### By Victor Starbuck

*This place was home: and here were hearts made glad  
With simple things, bread, laughter, wind and sun,  
Red dawn, gray dusk, and rest when day was done.  
(O House, have you forgot the dreams they had?)  
Around it was a whisper of the leaves,  
The smoke curled skyward in the evening air,  
And there were children's feet upon the stair,  
And twittering swallows wheeled about the eaves,  
But now no footfall crosses any room:  
No finger lifts the latch. The hearth is cold  
And black with ash. Nor thru the deepening gloom  
Does any window cast its bar of gold.  
O House of Dreams, will you remember yet  
The hearts that loved you, when all else forget?*

hard work. When, therefore, someone gets something for nothing, it must necessarily be at the expense of someone else, who gets nothing for something. The individuals making up the community pay their share of this virtual confiscation, in proportion to their consumption; for all present taxes and other charges are added to the price of the commodities they are compelled to use.

The Single Tax party, however, has no quarrel concerning the inequalities of wealth possessed by the individual; for it recognizes that nature not only created some more capable than others, but, what is probably of still greater importance, it made some more industrious than their fellows. The Single Tax party does, however, insist that service must be the only recognized measure of compensation. It demands that those who render no service shall receive no compensation.

When laws embodying this principle are enacted no odium will attach, even to a billionaire; for under such a system he must have proven himself one of the best of citizens, for the reason that to be possessed of it he must have rendered the most service.

The present taxation system permits not only the appropriation of wealth by persons who rendered no service in its production, but it makes profitable the holding out of use, more than 80 per cent of our land for purely speculative purposes, thereby depriving man of his natural opportunity to employ himself.

Control of man's opportunity to work, for he must work to live, makes possible his exploitation by the

beneficiaries of the system of private ownership of the earth; for man of necessity must get from the earth everything required for his continued existence.

The power to exploit men in the mill, factory or in mercantile life is made possible only thru his being first exploited on the land or driven off it by the simple process of demanding in the form of ground rent too large a part of his production for the mere permission to work; for that is all that is received in exchange for the rent of bare land.

It will therefore be seen that the present system of private ownership of land is the real regulator of wages, for in normal times it can be and often has been used to artificially regulate the demand for workers. It requires no argument to convince everyone of the effect artificial control of the supply and demand of workers would have on the scale of wages.

Watering of stocks has long been recognized as an iniquitous system by which dishonest manipulators receive return on imaginary investment. But does not the present system of private ownership of ground rent constitute a like offense against justice, ethics and morals?

The land was given by nature to all mankind to provide for its continued existence, and did not cost the expenditure of a single moment of human labor. The ever increasing value of its use, as has already been pointed out, arises not from any effort or service on the part of the title holder, but is purely a community created value. Surely it would seem unreasonable, therefore, that its own production should not be made an instrumentality for taking a larger and ever increasing proportion of this community created wealth. Yet the steadily increasing capitalization of the rent of land makes this possible.

There is just so much land. Man can neither add to nor subtract from this amount. No matter what he may do, the earth still remains. It cannot be destroyed; neither does it wear out as do the products of man's labor.

Can it not be seen clearly that with the amount of land the same and the increased value of its use created by the community that its appraised value—in the United States estimated to be \$150,000,000,000—represents the amount of "water" on which the people of the nation must pay "adequate" return to a few beneficiaries of the present system of private ownership of the land?

And, is it not readily seen that figured at a rate of six per cent return this enormous so-called investment constitutes an overhead charge of \$9,000,000,000 annually, which must come out of the production of the people of the nation in exchange for the mere opportunity to work and produce?

As has already been indicated, the capitalization of land rent is being increased daily. Should the same percentage of increase obtain during the next fifty years as for the last half century, the amount of unearned wealth, now collected by less than five per cent of the population will be in the neighborhood of \$20,000,000,000 annually. A formidable tribute for the citizens of Free America to pay in exchange for mere permission to live in and work on the soil of their own country.

As to the methods by which this alleged right to private ownership of the earth was acquired in the beginning and later sold to others, the least said the better, for the reason that any investigation into the methods employed would show them to have been either force or chicanery.

Probably the best illustration of the injustice of the present system of pri- [Continued on page 100]



# The New Spirit in the Old World

A Message to the American People

By Ernest P. Bicknell

Deputy Commissioner for Europe of the American Red Cross

**T**AKEN as a whole, Europe has made marked progress toward recovery from the effects of the war in the twenty-two months since the armistice. There have been periods of depression in every country, during which the gravest fears for the future were entertained, and in which little progress was made. A new spirit has taken hold of the western nations during comparatively recent months and, barring a serious setback in the immediate future, their progress toward complete rehabilitation from this time forward should be rapid.

The future of the nations of Eastern Europe is more difficult to forecast. No one can tell what is going to happen to Russia. Few persons know what is happening in Russia at the present time. The future of the countries bordering Russia is inevitably linked to a degree with the future of that unfortunate nation.

The bright spot in Western Europe is Belgium and in Eastern Europe Czecho-Slovakia. The darkest spot in all of Europe, with the possible exception of Russia, is Austria. Not only has Austria failed to make progress since the armistice, but there seems no possibility of progress in the future for Austria without radical alteration of the conditions of peace imposed upon her.

Europe has come to realize that complete rehabilitation for the continent is impossible, unless Germany is returned to health. Soon it must realize that the same thing is true of both Austria and Russia. No one set of nations can prosper at the expense of the others.

All of the nations of Europe are suffering from shortages of man-power, due to their losses in killed and wounded in the war. There is only one way in which these shortages can be overcome and that is by a better utilization of the labor that is available thru the adoption of labor saving devices. Hand labor was cheap before the war, particularly in the Latin and Slavic countries, but under post-war conditions labor is dear. Many of the tasks that are still being done by hand could be done less expensively by machine.

The demoralizing effects of army life have made it difficult for the workers who returned from the war to settle down in their old jobs. This, coupled with the feeling of disappointment over the incomplete realization of the things they hoped the war would give, has resulted in a marked decrease in the efficiency of labor. In time this unrest will disappear; it is diminishing already. When it has vanished completely one of the greatest obstacles to quick European rehabilitation will have been removed.

The diminished efficiency of labor and the consequent reduction in the output of raw materials and manufactured

products, led a great many intelligent men in Great Britain to doubt whether full recovery from the effects of the war was possible for Great Britain. There continues to be talk of strikes and other industrial disturbances in Great Britain, but the whole atmosphere has changed during the last few months and all but the most pessimistic now feel that Great Britain will sooner or later be able to get [Continued on page 102]



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Ernest P. Bicknell is deputy commissioner for Europe of the American National Red Cross. During the last three and a half years he has had administrative supervision of all Red Cross activities in Europe and has been in every country except Montenegro, Albania and Norway. He was also a member of the Commission sent by the United States Government to assist Americans to get home from European war zones. Mr. Bicknell has but recently returned to the United States



© Keystone View  
Wide World

The little Polish child of Vilna, at the left, looks considerably happier than the undernourished kindergarten students of Germany shown above. In Poland, the Hoover Mission is providing American condensed milk, cocoa, rice and other nourishing foods for 1,200,000 boys and girls, 15,000 of whom are in Vilna alone





© Painted by Capt. R. Borlase Swart, Machine Gun Corps

From these steps at the "Barbican" or "water front" at Plymouth, England, the Pilgrims set sail for the New World. The dock has been lengthened in recent years, however, so that when you look at this picture you must cut off about three-quarters of it to imagine the place as it was 300 years ago

# The Old World's Homage to the Pilgrims

By Hamilton Holt

*Last week the editor of the Independent described his visit to Old Jordans in Buckinghamshire, England, where he examined the barn which is supposed to have been made out of the timbers of the "Mayflower." This week he gives some of his impressions of the recent "Mayflower" celebrations in Holland and in England, which he attended as a representative of the American "Mayflower" Council.*



The memorial tablet to John Robinson, pastor of the Pilgrims, which was presented to Leyden, Holland, where the Pilgrim Fathers lived eleven years after leaving England, by the National Council of Congregational Churches in America

IT was natural that the Pilgrim celebrations this year should begin in Holland. For it was from "the Low Countries where was freedom of religion for all men" that the Pilgrims first set sail for America. Holland had made great preparations for her celebrations. They began Sunday, August 29, with religious services thruout the Kingdom and continued

without interruption during the five succeeding days.

Queen Wilhelmina had invited all the American and English Pilgrims to a garden party on the 28th. But as my two daughters and I were attending the conference of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship Thru the Churches, at St. Beatenberg, Switzerland, where for the first time in history representatives of all denominations of Christendom, except the Roman Catholic Church, were meeting in friendly conference, we could not accept Her Majesty's invitation, and in fact did not arrive in Holland until late Sunday night.

Our trip from Switzerland thru France and Belgium was a nightmare. Traveling in Europe these days is anything but unalloyed bliss. But when we crossed the border into Holland our troubles ended. Instead of dilapidated, overcrowded, dirty trains bumping and jerking over run-down roadbeds, we found spacious, clean, and well-painted carriages with plenty of room for everybody. The Dutch, as everybody knows, are a hospitable people, and the hundred pilgrims from America and England were not permitted to go to hotels, but were taken into the homes of the people—always the best and pleasantest way to live in a foreign country. Our host, Mr. Tyo H. van Eeghen, a member



of the executive committee of the Pilgrim Fathers' Commission of Holland, met us at the Haarlem station and took us out by motor to his charming country estate on the outskirts of the city. You can well imagine what a joy it was after an unspeakable day and evening in the crowded Wagon-Lits to find Mrs. van Eeghen waiting up to receive us and a pretty table set with eatables and drinkables, the teapot boiling, and the odor of ham, Dutch cheese, and buttered toast whetting the appetite.

Holland is not a country of "magnificent expanses," and Haarlem was within easy auto distance of Leyden, Amsterdam, The Hague, and Rotterdam, where the principal festivities were to take place. So the next morning we all motored to Leyden, which three centuries ago Bradford called "a fair and beautiful city and of a sweet situation." I had not been in Holland since I visited the Second Hague Conference in 1907. I was delighted to find that the flat country was as beautiful to me as ever with its unfenced green meadows, little white farmhouses with red roofs, giant stately windmills, and innumerable sailboats in the innumerable canals, which in the distance looked as tho they were crawling on land. It was fine to see again the sturdy citizens going about their business, the laughing peasants in their fancy lace caps and wooden shoes, and the dogs tugging at the big carts along the roadsides.

Arriving at Leyden we registered at the conference hall, and found that already some forty American and sixty British Pilgrims had signed the book before us.

The first thing we did was to walk down a heavily shaded street by the side of a large canal to the ancient University of Leyden. The faculty in their caps and gowns were already in the front seats and the rector, or president, sat like a judge in court on a high bench overlooking the congregation. We listened to speeches galore, beginning with the rector's address of welcome in Latin. America on this occasion was represented by Mr. W. B. H. Dowse, who was introduced as "the Deputy Governor" of Massachusetts. Mr. Dowse made a very telling little speech, in which he informed the good people of Holland and England of the forthcoming celebrations in Massachusetts this autumn. When he referred to the fact that one of the American delegates present, the Rev. Samuel W. Eliot, was the son of America's "foremost citizen," ex-President Eliot of Harvard, there was universal applause. But when Mr. Dowse added that one of our greatest Americans was to give the principal address at the American Plymouth celebration, and mentioned the name of Senator Henry Cabot Lodge as the speaker, there was not even the faintest

handclap. At the conclusion of the exercises the faculty departed, being led by two beadle-like university officials with enormous silver chains around their necks and carrying great maces in their hands.

After luncheon we attended the first session of the celebration in the Town Hall and then walked about town to see where John Robinson, the pastor of the Pilgrims, lived during his stay in Holland. We saw his home, built about a pretty courtyard, and we visited the church where he preached and read the memorial tablet presented in 1891 by the National Council of Congregational Churches in America and herewith reproduced.

In the evening we drove out into the open country for half an hour to an old castle, situated on a pretty lake, which has recently been converted into a country club. There we were given a sumptuous banquet which it seemed almost a sin to eat after we had just come from hungry France and starving Germany. After the usual toasts to the Queen of Holland, the King of England and the President of the United States, we motored back to town where the Burgomaster of Leyden was to give a reception at the Staathuis.

As we reached the city the pretty chimes were ringing for a quarter of an hour in honor of the Pilgrims. The entire city was lighted and bedecked with flags and bunting. It seemed as tho the whole populace had come out to line the streets thru which the guests proceeded to the Staathuis. My host told me that many of the people actually thought the foreign delegates were real Pilgrims and they expected to see us dressed in round hats and the same somber costumes that were worn by our ancestors as they [Continued on page 104]



Painted by  
Capt. R. Borlase Swart ©

In the hall in Plymouth, shown above, the Pilgrims met to weep, pray and say farewell

#### International

The celebration of the sailing of the Pilgrims held at Leyden, Holland, was religious in tone, that held at Plymouth, England, political. Among the celebrities present at the latter were the Lord Chief Justice of England and Lady Astor (shown in the foreground at the right). The American guests may be seen about half way up the procession





# Wanted: a House

Some Practical Advice That Will Help You Meet the Problems of Our Housing Shortage

By Austin C. Lescarbours

**T**HAT there is a serious housing shortage today, not only in the United States but thruout the civilized world, is a generally known fact. For months back our newspapers have reiterated over and over again the story of little or no building activities and the scarcity of dwellings; we have heard of fabulous bonuses being offered by persons seeking livable quarters in our cities; the "To Let" sign has become a thing of the past; and the ever-increasing independence of the landlords reflects the operation of that inexorable law of supply and demand, now applied to housing facilities with a vengeance. The scarcity of dwellings in our cities is responsible for increase in disease and crime which invariably follow lowered housing standards. Factories, which have been expanded to meet the requirements of business, now find it impossible to house their increased working forces. So serious is this situation as a whole that the Federal, State, and municipal governments are hard at work on the problem of ameliorating the unsatisfactory and even dangerous conditions which we are facing at this moment.

Meanwhile everyone must solve his own housing problem.

There are two courses open: renting and purchasing. Under former conditions it was relatively simple to rent apartments or houses at almost any time; but with the scarcity of buildings and the unduly high prices now possible in the face of such heavy demands for homes, it is becoming increasingly difficult to rent suitable premises. The coöperatively owned apartment house plan is flourishing as never before.

So one's thoughts soon turn to buying a home, and again one encounters alarming conditions. Houses

which formerly sold for less than five thousand dollars now command a tidy eight thousand dollars and more. One writes in haste to the real estate agent who advertises "a modest little cottage for sale, suitable for a young business man," only to learn that said modest little cottage is selling for the *modest* sum of eighteen thousand dollars.

But that is not all. Formerly it was quite the thing to pay only a small sum down on a house, paying off the mortgage on the balance at so much per month. Today a small sum down is no longer accepted; so brisk is the business of selling houses that one is usually confronted with the demand for half the sale price as first payment, or, as a very special concession, perhaps one-third.

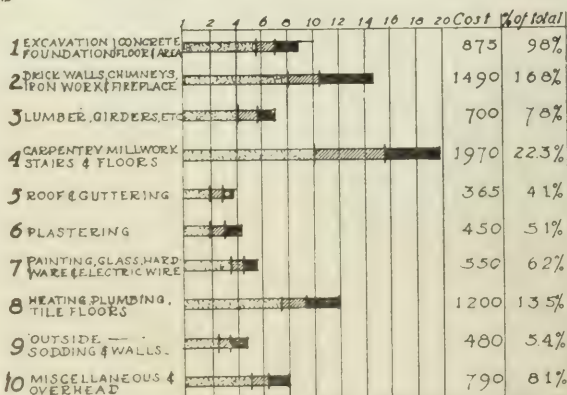
Well, then, the next thing to do is to build a house. Here again one is doomed to a severe shock, for building prices are almost prohibitive. In fact, about the only building that is going on in New York City just



Built in 1853 as the stable on a large estate at the upper end of Manhattan Island, New York City, this building was remodeled two years ago into a comfortable home

## INCREASE IN BUILDING COSTS DURING 1919 ST. LOUIS, MO.

These costs are based upon an analysis of the actual cost of a particular 6 room brick house with full basement, hot water heat, tile roof and brick and cement porch. The cost of the lot is not included. The same house was built in quantities of six or more at one time and in the same locality—except no houses have been built under January first prices.



### LEGEND

- [Solid black bar] = COST MARCH 1, 1919.
- [Hatched bar] = COST SEPTEMBER 1, 1919
- [Dotted bar] = COST JANUARY 1, 1920

Houses which formerly sold for less than five thousand dollars now command a tidy eight thousand dollars and more

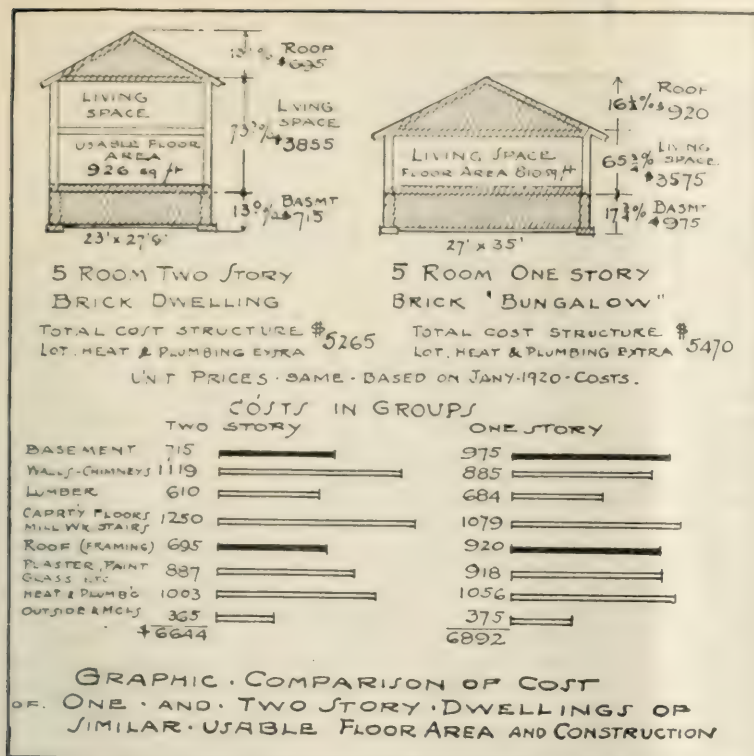
now are a small number of apartments, a formidable assembly of large theaters, and a still larger array of all kinds of garages. The returns from apartment houses, even at the greatly increased rentals, are said to be insufficient to interest the investment of capital in houses costing three times what they would have cost but a few years ago. But theater and garage returns do warrant the building of such structures irrespective of costs.

Why are building costs high? In considering this subject it is wise to recollect that the raw materials in the mines, forest and the clay banks amount to about 15 per cent of the total cost and that the remaining 85 per cent consists of labor used in mining, quarrying or felling the raw materials, transporting them to the factories, transferring them to centers of distribution and ultimately incorporating them into the completed structure.

In normal times the ranks of labor are increased by the youth of the country, but this has never been sufficient; consequently, immigration was resorted to. Immigration, which has just begun again, stopped completely about the middle of 1914.

This labor shortage is reflected in all lines of business thruout the country. The cost of labor per hour in building work has practically been doubled and has a tendency to increase.





Strange as it may seem, in analyzing the cost of dwellings, it will be found that the so-called bungalow is probably the most expensive type of any of them.

Normally building construction in this country amounted to about three billion dollars per annum. From the middle of 1914 until 1917 building decreased in volume, due to the uncertainty of war conditions. In 1917-18—a period of two years—building practically ceased because we were in the war. Now everyone is trying to make up for lost time and it will take years before we are again on a normal basis. Materials are hard to obtain because of shortage of labor and a shortage of transportation facilities. This is the situation briefly stated. An analysis of the conditions demonstrates that building is apt to increase before a decline sets in, but the decline, when it comes, will be gradual and when conditions become normal, prices will be little, if any, lower than they are today.

All of which means that if prices are high there is no help for it. Nothing is gained by waiting. If one decides to build a house, one must be prepared to pay the prices being exacted for materials and labor. True, things were more favorable even a year ago; but why lament over what is past and beyond adjustment?

The high cost of labor has brought the ready-cut house to the front as never before. Made in a factory with all parts cut by machinery so as to reduce manual work, and shipped to the building site in many pieces that fit together without extra sawing and fitting, the ready-cut house should show a saving of quite a neat sum over the usual hand-built house. There is a general misconception about ready-cut houses to the effect that these dwellings are of a portable nature, and more like a garage or bath-house than anything else. This idea is all wrong; ready-cut houses come in all sizes and styles, ranging from the modest one-room hut to the palatial twelve-room home with every conceivable im-

provement, modern appliance and comfort.

In order to escape the high lumber prices, one is tempted to turn to concrete or brick construction. But a study of either of these construction methods soon reveals the fact that nothing is gained over the usual frame construction. Concrete costs about as much; brick is generally more expensive.

Strange as it may seem, in analyzing the cost of dwellings it will be found first that the so-called "bungalow" is probably the most expensive type of dwelling. By reference to the chart, which shows a graphic comparison of the cost of one- and two-story dwellings of similar size, it will be seen that in the "bungalow" about two-thirds of the cost is applied to the actual living space as compared with three-quarters in the case of the two-story house.

The city of St. Louis has done much in the way of studying the problem of relieving the housing shortage. The City Plan Commission of that progressive city, to whom the author is indebted for part of the general information contained in this discussion, has suggested a number of ingenious ideas for reducing the cost of construction which are well worth consideration throughout the country. In the first place, assuming that the prospective builder considers his requirements to be a five-story house, either a "bungalow" or a two-story building, together

with a suitable lot with street improvements, he must be prepared for a cost at least from \$7,000 to \$8,000, upon which any usual financing plan will require a monthly payment of approximately 1 per cent in addition to the original cash payment. It is obvious that many persons who ordinarily might have considered such a type of house must now attempt to find some other form of dwelling at less cost or otherwise sacrifice in other ways to increase their payments. The following methods may be considered for reducing the cost of dwelling:

Arrange houses in groups so as not to require as much original lot cost or as large a cost for outside improvements, including plumbing connections. In the five-room house these two items now amount to from \$1,300 to \$1,500 or from 15 to 18 per cent of the total cost. Deep rear yards are very often little used and a proper group plan will prove ample, light and airy and at the same time reduce the lot cost from 30 to 50 per cent, a saving of [Continued on page 108]



Second-hand lumber and other building material is on sale at Camp Merritt, New Jersey, where the buildings are being dismantled.



# The Next Congress

## Shall We Elect Republicans or Democrats?

### Vote for Liberals, Not Labels

By Norman Hapgood

**D**R. Williams and I have had a pleasant scrimmage in the columns of *The Independent* about the issues and the candidates for President and Vice-President, but we have not crossed swords on the House and Senate. The attitude of the candidates toward Congress has its bearing on the subject. Cox has gotten on extremely well with the Ohio legislature, as the record of laws championed by him shows, but, although he is good at team play, he is captain, and he has announced that if he is elected President he will act as President. Harding, on the other hand, is almost engagingly frank in his repudiation of any claim to a soul of his own. A friend of mine asked him this question: "You say, Senator, that if you are elected President you will be guided largely by the Senate. Have you any individuals in mind?" The Senator's answer was priceless: "Well," he said, "Senator Lodge is a good man. So is Senator Penrose. So is Senator Smoot."

**C**OX has not only asserted and proved by his record that he will show a certain individuality, but he has publicly announced, in spite of Hoover's support of Harding, that if elected he plans to offer Hoover a place in his Cabinet, thus indicating an ability to get away from the most narrow partizanship and also to be free from resentment. Harding will assuredly not have any ideas of his own. Do you remember these lines from Ruddygore?

My boy you may take it from me,  
That of all the afflictions accurst  
With which a man's saddled  
And hampered and addled  
A diffident nature's the worst.

Mr. Taft failed in the Presidency for lack of decision, and Mr. Harding, if elected, will make Taft look like a great leader.

And speaking of Mr. Taft, he has an article in the October number of the *Yale Review* in which he blames President Wilson for putting Justices Brandeis and Clarke on the Supreme Court, and thinks it will be a grand thing to have Mr. Harding choose the four men who will presumably be appointed to that court during the next four years. There you have an excellent illustration. Wilson thought for himself and appointed Brandeis. Penrose will think for Harding and I shudder to conceive what the Supreme Court will be like when 1924 arrives, if next month there is a Harding-Penrose victory.

Such being the situation, the wise thing for the voter to do is to support the most liberal candidates he can for the House and Senate, not being too much bound by party ties. Both in domestic matters and in foreign relations the safest effort, in this period of fatigue and stupidity, is to keep alive some liberalism and free intelligence. As the Democratic party has been so much influenced by Wilson, and as the Republican party has been captured by its most reactionary elements, the chances are that a Democratic nominee will be more liberal than a Republican nominee, but this rule will not hold in all cases. If William Kent had not been beaten by his reactionary opponent in the Republican primaries of California he would have been an ideal candidate for liberals to support. In Wisconsin the

Republican candidate for the Senate, Lenroot, is an admirable man, but it happens that in the same state the Democrats have put up just the right type of man in Dr. Reinsch, who has the advantage of being more enlightened about the League of Nations than Mr. Lenroot is. A demagogic opponent of the League has been nominated for Senator by the Democrats of Georgia, and he will join the Republican bitter-enders at Washington. Among the narrowest opponents of the League has been Moses of New Hampshire, who is now running for re-election against Ray Stevens. Stevens has a splendid record in his state, in Congress, and on the Shipping Board, and it would indeed be a pity if that brilliant and honorable young statesman should not be chosen in preference to his opponent. Brandegee of Connecticut is a reactionary of the deepest dye. No liberal could vote for him. He has been as bitter against Mr. Taft on the League issue as he has against the President. He said of Mr. Taft a year ago: "I never pay any attention to the froth he emits." Wadsworth of New York is popular and attractive, but I cannot remember that he ever voted against the wishes of Boss Barnes in New York or against the Senate gang since he has been in Washington. Of the Big Three, chiefs of the Senate oligarchy, Smoot is the only one who can be beaten of the two who come up for re-election. He is not the person to be in public life in the twentieth century. Of him might be said what some women are saying of his New York companion, "Wadsworth's place is in the home." Penrose also is up, but unhappily his re-election is a certainty.

If in almost any campaign independent voters should give their strength to able and honest liberals, regardless of their party labels, it is a still sounder principle in the election in front of us. Actual party questions, properly so called, will be few: the reimposition of a higher tariff is perhaps the only one. Most questions will be decided on knowledge, honesty, and the presence or absence of liberal sympathies. The Senate today would be a tie if Newberry's seat, called tainted by the courts, were held by Newberry's Democratic opponent. It is possible for Cox to be elected with a Republican Senate or for Harding to be elected with a Democratic Senate. The safe and wise thing to do is to elect the man whose view of our foreign opportunities is generous and whose view of domestic questions is modern. Watson and Reed are essentially in the same party as Brandegee and Penrose. Whether for the House or the Senate those people should be put out of business, all the more because if Harding is elected he will take the color of the majority. He is more comfortable as a standpatter, but he will be a rubber-stamp of the prevailing spirit, whatever it is. You can get his full official record by sending ten cents to the Searchlight Company, Woodward Building, Washington. The exhaustive analysis ends up: "The Senate today stands at the lowest ebb of statesmanship ever known . . . Harding stands at the very bottom of the list." With that man as a possibility for the Presidency the intelligent voter will be doubly anxious to put into the House and Senate men of courage and wisdom, above all men who stand boldly for world cooperation against war, as already being practised by over thirty nations, with



the total, including the applicants, being over forty. In 1915 Col. Roosevelt wrote:

The nations should agree on certain rights which should not be questioned, such as territorial integrity. . . . All should guarantee each of their members in the possession of these rights. . . . They should furthermore agree not only to abide, each of them, by the decision of the court, but all of them to unite with their military forces to enforce the decree of the court as against any recalcitrant member.

Vote, above all things, for the men who will endorse that statement: vote against the narrow-minded and obstructive, in favor of those who believe now what was recommended by Roosevelt, Taft, Hoover, Root, Wickersham, Lowell, and Strauss before the eddies of partizan politics deflected some of them from their proper course.

## Have Done with Waste and Indecision

By Talcott Williams

THE League issue divides the campaign for the Presidency. Governor Cox refuses to say what he will do when he faces, as Wilson has, the inability to get a two-thirds majority in the Senate. Senator Harding will not define his international "agreement" with a court instead of a council as its center. Still, there is here a definite issue.

In the fight over Congress, there is none. Maine was carried against the League by the woman vote. As a Republican canvasser said to me: "You see the women are timid-like and they don't think their first vote is the right time to experiment. So they just votes the family ticket or stays at home." In Maine, the Republican women did one thing and the Democratic the other. In New Hampshire, Senator Moses won the Republican primary, with Republican votes enough against him to beat him at the polls. In Georgia, Hoke Smith was attacked because he was lukewarm on the League and a rank Populist. Thomas E. Watson, far more opposed to the League, goes to the Senate in his place. Massachusetts Republicans manage to support the League and Lodge. Illinois is in doubt from a factious split in the Republican party. In New York, an independent vote and a woman vote will be cast against Senator Wadsworth, though the Democratic candidate, Lieut. Gov. Harry Walker is weak.

No one issue divides in all the States on Congress. No real economic issue divides the two parties. On sugar, rice, tobacco, citrus fruits, cotton goods, the metals, Southern and Northern Democrats are for a high tariff. Currency and banking no longer are on party lines. "Winning" the Senate and House does little more than decide the organization and committee chairmanships. In the present Senate, both parties split on the League. It could have been ratified, if President Wilson had not preferred a futile appeal to the country.

The open current sets towards a Republican majority. This is true now. In five weeks, any change may come. In 1884, the Presidency and House were lost by the Republican party in the last week of the campaign because of one speech. A Republican majority in the Senate and House and for the Presidency seems—I do not say is—likely because the world of business, manufacturing, industry, banking and farming has lost confidence in Democratic leadership, legislation and administration. Do you meet any sanguine Democrats? I do not. But it was also a Republican journalist from Chicago, enjoying a lucid interval in New York, who said: "When I think over Cox, I feel I must hurry up and vote for Harding. Then I read one of Harding's speeches and I say: 'isn't there something to be said for Cox?'"

The Democrats start with 31 Senators in the South, a third of the Senate and 133 Representatives no Repub-

lican can defeat, because the negro is deprived both of his vote and of the education that would make him intelligent. In 1912, '14, '16, the Democrats added enough votes in the North to control Congress. In 1918, the Republicans, aided by President Wilson's foolish letter, gained two majority in the Senate and 50 plurality or 47 majority over all in the House. Can they keep it? When the solid core of the American people grows anxious over business it turns to the Republican party.

The Democratic party, while in control, 1911-19, undoubtedly gained by enacting the Federal Reserve Banking Act—tho this was the work of both parties—the Federal Farm Loan Bank and Board, the Bureau of Markets, Farm Management, the Cotton Futures, Grain Grading and Warehouse Acts and the Federal Trade Commission. Both parties agreed in giving the President the largest powers he has ever had in war and the creation of great Federal corporations for shipping, the issue of securities and many objects came with this.

These acts were generally approved, but their administration has bred widespread distrust.

The Federal Reserve Banking system has brought a perilous expansion of the currency, heavy interest rates and large banking profits. The farm loan system has led to a dangerous inflation of credits. The array of farm legislation has not borne fruit. The Federal Trade Commission has been well-meaning but ineffective and has created great irritation because its personnel has stirred things up and accomplished little the public sees and adjusted much not generally known.

THE business world is alarmed partly owing to war results, but also because the Democratic party has tried to make Uncle Sam a sort of Universal Manager, tho its leaders are always talking of a government of limited powers. This policy has brought the errors and mismanagement of this vast economic legislation on many subjects and in many fields to the doors of every business, big and little. The parcel post has swamped our mails. The enormous operations of the Government in the war have brought blunders close to all men. "Priority orders" on freight, recklessly used by young army and navy officers at the opening of the war, deranged our freight transportation. You really had to see the thing at first hand to realize how an ignorant young West Pointer could tear up a freight yard in an hour or two and put business back, his own included, for days. You were appalled, if you saw the contradictory "priority," "rush" and "special" orders from the War and Navy Departments and Bureaus deranging the operation of a great manufacturing business staggering along with every machine running on three shifts a day. New men, new products, new orders and all hindered and halted by graduates, young and old, of Annapolis and West Point meddling with a mechanism of which they knew nothing. The Government railroad management had ideas, doubtless right in purpose but futile in result, of treating every one alike by "centers of car distribution," rolling up car-mileage, which costs, and reducing ton-miles, which pay. In the zeal to get men, wages were raised to exorbitant figures in new plants, like Hog Island, and government work elsewhere held back by dislocating establishments meeting contracts. Some marine insurance cases have very unpleasant records of wooden rivets and no rivets at all in vessels built at yards that were "beating the world's record" instead of building safe ships. Recent freight rates of the Government Shipping Board were \$20 a ton, New Orleans to Havana, a day's run, \$14 a ton to Buenos Ayres and \$10 to \$12 a ton across the Atlantic Ocean.

When the army was across and functioning as a military machine, the work done was amazing. The three phases, (1) the reconstruction of Brest and Bordeaux and a new railroad system, (2) the transport and feeding, (3) the



# These Workers Seized the Factories in Italy



*International*

These women employees at the Metal Works in Milan stand ready to fight for their soviet at the barricaded entrance to the factory. But in general there was little violence, for the Italian Government refused to send troops against the strikers

*Wide World*

The Fiat automobile works, at Turin, were one of the largest of the 600 factories in Italy where the workmen took over control of the factories and "locked out" the owners. After a month of this inverted strike the workmen found that they needed the managers back, so a compromise was effected and higher wages promised to the men. At the Fiat plant it is planned to organize a cooperative company so that the workmen may have a permanent share in the management



*International*



*Wide World*

A noon-day meeting in the Fiat Central Works at Turin, where 15,000 workmen met to discuss their strike. At the left are four Milan workmen using more violent methods to carry out the strike. It was in Milan that the seizure of factories was begun; the strikers there fortified the factories with elaborate barricades and barbed wire. Their red flags bore the slogan "Viva Lenin"

*Wide World*

During the month of their control of the factories many of the Italian workmen worked eight hours a day and did guard duty for four more. But the factories' production fell off, frequently to less than half their former efficiency, partly perhaps because the soviet conception of work included more discussion than actual labor. In the left upper corner of this photograph is the strikers' emblem; it shows a factory entrance on one side and the Bolshevik crossed hammer and sickle on the other



fighting, the country has not yet begun to realize. Perhaps it never will. But these "close-ups" as the movies say, of mal-administration in the rush of preparation, have soaked into the business consciousness of the country. Joined to the failure to work successfully the legislation, I have outlined, it has filled the land with a conviction that a change is necessary. Every one who reads this, will recognize something he or she has personally known which confirms all I have said and, second, that he or she is conscious that this conviction is all about, leading logically to the election of a Republican Congress, Senate and House.

At bottom this is the bitter fruit of the lying cry four years ago: "He has kept us out of war." Postponing preparedness for war greatly increased the cost of war, when it came. Haste in preparing brought waste and extravagance. This bred such carelessness in the estimates of the Administration, that a Republican Congress could cut them for the year ending last June by \$1,685,867,893 and for the current year \$1,474,422,602. This careless waste can only be known or appreciated by those who, like the writer, have patiently studied Federal outlay from Alexander Hamilton down.

What effect, the close-locked fight on the labor position of the Republican party will have, no one can predict. There are many signs that the American public has determined to show once for all, that the people's peace and the individual bargain shall be protected as well as the collective bargain. Governor Cox has, on this point, declared that he will not use the army to keep the peace as President Cleveland did at Chicago when the Governor of Illinois refused as Governor Cox did in Ohio.

### Definition

A progressive is any one who is walking in one's own direction.

## The Case for Bluffing

By Preston Slosson

WE might as well admit that the student who can get high marks with a small fund of knowledge may be getting a better education than the student who can crush every examination with brute force of memorized information. A general who is outnumbered requires far more skill than his opponent. Such generals as Hannibal and Lee and Napoleon are ranked high by students of strategy, altho they were in the end defeated, because they managed to hold at bay for many years greater forces than their own. Since the average human being never uses his wits unless he has to, every obstacle and disadvantage which is not great enough to discourage effort is an added incentive to thought. The student who knows his lesson may make no use of any power but memory. The student who does not know, but must make it seem as tho he knew, will have to make use of logic, ingenuity, imagination and all the faculties of the creative reason.

Suppose for example that the student forgets a rule in mathematics in working out a problem. If he is to get the right answer he will have to think the rule out for himself; for the moment he is not just a pupil in mathematics but a real mathematician. Suppose he forgets a formula in chemistry. He will have to call to his mind the way in which the chemical elements generally behave and apply it to the particular case in hand. One student will say "Oh, I remember how potassium would act. It is on page 365 of Wasserstoff's Elements of Chemistry." The other will puzzle it out: "I can't for the life of me remember that blame formula, but I know what sodium would do and I think potassium and sodium are enough alike so that potassium would react in a similar way.

It is the same way in translating a foreign language. Two students get a passage of Cicero on their examination. One remembers the passage perfectly and writes out the translation without difficulty. The other scamped that part of the term's work. The passage is only vaguely familiar to him; virtually it is sight translation. He must feel every cog of memory for conjugations and declensions and pick the sentence to pieces in his mind in order to put it together the English way. Some of the words have dropt out of his vocabulary. He must either infer what they are from the general setting of the rest of the sentence (an excellent mental exercise) or else think out some English words which they resemble, which is good training in philology. He may know less Latin than the other student and get poorer marks but, for the moment at least, he is learning more.

But the sciences and languages are so full of exact fact as to give the bluffer but occasional scope. Far greater opportunities are open to him in the more generalized branches of study, such as history, economics, sociology and philosophy. The impact of social forces and classes on each other is as observable to a bright girl or boy as to Ricardo or Marx, and in philosophy every human being starts from "scratch." Someday, perhaps, the advance of knowledge will clip the wings of theory in metaphysics and the social sciences as it has already in the natural sciences, but at present it may be more profitable to let students evolve their own notions, provided they are tested by the criticisms of the instructor and of the class than to learn to label those notions with the names of Kant, Rousseau or Adam Smith.

Even in history a museum of properly dated events is not the ideal. An approximate date that represents some real sense of the relations between events is far better than an exact date memorized from the book. Suppose that the examination paper asks "When did Columbus discover America?" That is a definite, specific question and the student who writes "1492" is sure to get a higher mark than the one who puts down "about 1500." Yet the first student may simply have called to mind the jingle:

In fourteen hundred ninety-two  
Columbus sailed the ocean blue—

whereas the second student might have reached his date by true historical logic. Thus for instance: "Well, let's see. The Pilgrims came over in 1620. That's just three hundred years ago because we are celebrating it. Lucky for me, or I wouldn't have remembered even that date. Now the English didn't come over till a long time after the Spanish had discovered the place. Mebbe a century. Now I come to think of it, Spain was a great power all thru the sixteenth century. Must have had a boom on. Was it the gold from the new world? Likely. So they must have found America not much later than 1500. Could it have been much earlier? No, they weren't hunting for America; they were after a trade route to Asia. They didn't need that till the Turks took Constantinople and that was some time along in the fifteenth century. Then they tried to get around to India by way of Africa for a long time before they thought of cutting across the Atlantic. It couldn't have been much earlier than 1500. That's a good round number, let's put it down."

Such is bluffing at its best. It is not to be confused with cheating, which exercises no mental faculties except the cunning of the sneak thief, or mere guessing, which should be the last resort of the bluffer since it is as apt to be wrong as right. Real educational bluffing is the piecing together of what one knows to cover a gap of ignorance. If the gap is too wide or the bridge of fact too flimsy the attempt will fail, but even such failures may be instructive. No educational system is perfect that does not make allowance for mental adventure as well as for routine memory work.



But bluffing is a game for the bold and the alert. Let no student think that because of the high educational value of being caught unprepared it is well for him to go to school with lessons half learned. Being treed by a bear or surrounded by a superior force of hostile savages or trying to delude a sophisticated professor into a belief that one has studied the textbook are all excellent sharpeners of the wits.

But there is a two-fold drawback. In the first place you may not get out in safety. In the second place, even if you do, you pay for your escape by the most arduous mental toil. Lazy students should always study their lessons. It is, after all, the easiest way.

### The Real Blow

THE muckrakers told the American public that business was full of graft. They replied "business is business." They pointed out corruption in politics. Nobody was much excited. But when it was learned that even baseball was dishonest, then indeed the American people felt that the pillars of society were shaken!

## French Ways and Ours

By Edwin E. Slosson

ON September 22 President Deschanel resigned on account of nervous prostration that made it impossible for him to perform the duties of his office. On the following day an election was held by Parliament and Millerand was elected. He wrote his inaugural while the balloting was going on and within ten minutes after his election was announced he was at work signing bills and commissions.

The amount spent on the campaign was not \$15,000,000 nor \$5,000,000. The time spent on the campaign was limited to the two weeks after the President's physicians had recommended his retirement. There was no effort expended in educating on the political issues of the day millions of people whose opinions would be of no possible value even after they were "educated." There was no hiatus in business. There was no night of rioting and extravagance when the result of the election was announced. There was no inaugural procession outrivalling in splendor the coronation of a king. There was no grand ball in the Pension Building. It was a simple, sensible, business-like and democratic procedure.

Now when Mr. Harding or Mr. Cox is elected it will be four months before he can exercise any authority in the Government. It will be thirteen months before the new Congress will convene in its first regular session. Meantime business must hold its breath, not knowing what is going to happen. If Harding should be elected and the Democrats get a majority in the House of Representatives the country will be ruled for nearly half a year by a repudiated President and for more than a year by a discredited Congress. This is the very opposite of popular government.

The French not only get their Presidents prompt and cheaper, but they get quite as good ones. Poincaré was fully the equal of Wilson in scholarship and culture. Millerand would get as high a grade in an intelligence test as either Cox or Harding. A constitution like everything else must be judged by its results. A government is as good as it works—and no better.

On the other hand the American system of government has some manifest points of advantage over the French. Our President is not a figurehead like the French. He is commander of the armies in time of war and he initiates foreign policy in time of peace. In foreign relations, both of peace and war, the nation must act as a unit and this means concentrating responsibility for leadership upon

some single individual, however much his decisions may be subject to the control of the legislative body. An American President appoints his own cabinet; men who can best work with him and under him, "secretaries," not "ministers." A French President may find his cabinet composed of the men he most hates and distrusts.

The superiority of the American cabinet system in efficiency, smoothness of working and stability became strikingly manifest during the war. Under the European system the entire government is instantly thrown out of office whenever any measure favored by the cabinet is voted down by a majority of Parliament or any act of any member of the administration meets with disapproval. For instance, every department of the administration may be giving general satisfaction except perhaps one more than half the members of the Chamber of Deputies or House of Commons may think that the postmaster general is paying too much for the site of a new building and so all of a sudden the entire ministry is put out of power. Or it may be that the Premier's wife is giving an unusually attractive dinner and so the supporters of the Government may be late at the session. The opposition may then get a majority in a snap vote on a trivial question and the whole Government will be thrown into confusion, altho the most delicate negotiations with a foreign power may be approaching a crisis. That is no way to run a government. During the war every one of the belligerents, except the United States, suffered from frequent, unwarrantable and unpredictable changes of government, amounting in some cases to veritable revolution. No European premier or minister can be sure that he would be in office next week. But in the United States we are assured of a continuity of administration for four or eight years. Cabinet changes are relatively rare and mostly for personal reasons. This security of tenure gives time for working out a consistent policy and even if an appointee does not know much about the business of his department he has a chance to learn something before he leaves. Legislators may well be changed frequently to accord with the fluctuations of public opinion, but executives should be as permanent as possible.

The war has shown the defects of the European system of ministerial responsibility and in fact it was found impossible to prosecute the campaign without reducing the parliaments to a nullity. Since then there has been much discussion as how these defects can be removed and France is likely to be the first to reform her system to bring it more nearly into accord with the American. Premier Millerand was elected on the distinct understanding that he would effect certain constitutional reforms, among which are that the President shall have power to negotiate and ratify treaties; that he and not the Premier shall appoint the members of the cabinet; that the President and not the Premier shall preside at cabinet meetings; and in general that the President shall be the real leader of the nation. These proposals met with the approval of all factions in the French Parliament except the Bolsheviks, who shouted "Down with the dictator!"

The French constitution was originally designed to give the President such a position of power as Millerand desires, but it has, since 1871, been perverted by gradual encroachments by the Premier. In the same way the Mayors of the Palace took the power away from the *rois fainéants* or do-nothing kings of the Merovingian dynasty; the Shoguns relegated the Mikado to seclusion; and in England the Premiers have reduced the King to a picturesque historical relic. But Millerand sees no reason why a French President should not have as much power as an American President.

So one nation may learn from another provided we put aside prejudice and cease to hold the conceit that our way is necessarily the best merely because it is our way.



# Hard Hit by Crooked Baseball

It was a blow to the confidence and enthusiasm of baseball fans all over the United States when these eight White Sox players were indicted on the charge of having accepted bribes to lose the world's series last year



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"Buck" Weaver, the popular Chicago third baseman, is said to have sold his right to the fans' applause for \$5000. Weaver has denied the accusation



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Great Scott, they'll ruin public confidence in the sport if they aren't careful!



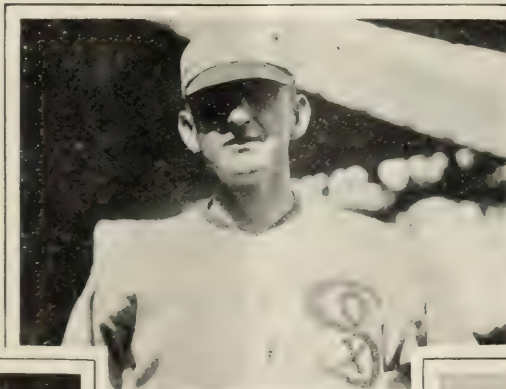
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"Happy" Felsch, outfielder, got \$5000, according to his own confession, for his part in helping the White Sox lose the world's series in 1919



© Keystone View

Claude Williams, pitcher, is named as the first man "fixed" by the gamblers who bribed the White Sox



© Keystone View

Joe Jackson, left fielder, has confessed that he accepted bribes to muf the ball. At the left are Charles Risberg, shortstop, and "Chick" Gandil, first base, also indicted

Right: The pitcher whose confessions revealed the whole baseball scandal, Eddie Cicotte, shaking hands with the Red pitcher just before he deliberately "threw" the series to the Reds



© Keystone View

Fred McMullin, utility man on the White Sox team, is said to have received the largest bribe, \$15,000





# The Story of the Week

## The Old Chief Enters the Battle

**P**RESIDENT Wilson does not yet enjoy that degree of physical health which would permit him to take a personal part in the campaign and to make speeches, even in Washington. But rather than leave Governor Cox without any direct aid from the Administration he has agreed to issue written appeals to the public on behalf of the Democratic ticket and the League of Nations.

His first appeal was dated October 3 and dealt entirely with the League, particularly emphasizing the much discussed Article X of the Covenant. He said in part:

You have been grossly misled with regard to the treaty, and particularly with regard to the proposed character of the League of Nations, by those who have assumed the serious responsibility of opposing it. They have gone so far that those who have spent their lives, as I have spent my life, in familiarizing themselves with the history and traditions and policies of the nation, must stand amazed at the gross ignorance and impudent audacity which have led them to attempt to invent an "Americanism" of their own, which has no foundation whatever in any of the authentic traditions of the Government.

Americanism, as they conceive it, reverses the whole process of the last few tragical years. It would substitute America for Prussia in the policy of isolation and defiant segregation. Their conception of the dignity of the nation and its interest is that we should stand apart and watch for opportunities to advance our own interests, involve ourselves in no responsibility for the maintenance of the right in the world or for the continued vindication of any of the things for which we entered the war to fight.

The conception of the great creators of the Government was absolutely opposite to this. They thought of America as the light of the world, as created to lead the world in the assertion of the rights of peoples and the rights of free nations; as destined to set a responsible example to all the world of what free government is and can do for the maintenance of right standards, both national and international.

This light the opponents of the League would quench. They would relegate the United States to a subordinate role in the affairs of the world.

Why should we be afraid of responsibilities which we are qualified to sustain and which the whole of our history has constituted a promise to the world we would sustain?

Those who do not care to tell you the truth about the League of Nations tell you that Article X of the Covenant of the League would make it possible for other nations to lead us into war, whether we will it by our own independent judgment or not. This is absolutely false. There is nothing in the Covenant which in the least interferes with or impairs the right of Congress to declare war or not declare war, according to its own independent judgment, as our Constitution provides.

Those who drew the Covenant of the League were careful that it should contain nothing which interfered with or impaired the constitutional arrangements of any of the great nations which are to constitute its members. They would have been amazed and indignant at the things that are now being ignorantly said about this great and sincere document.

## Republican Strategy

**S**ENATOR Harding has quit the "porch," not to make a grand swing around the circle like his rival, but to speak in a few strategic centers. So far as the Senator's own campaign for presidency is concerned the Republicans hardly think it necessary for him to exert himself, but they desire his influence to carry local elections and to strengthen the Republican representation in Congress. Republican confidence as to the chances of Senator Harding has been much increased not only by the favorable results of the Maine elections but by the opening of the "straw vote" season. Three wholesale non-partizan straw ballots have been started within the last few days: one conducted by the New York *Telegram*, one by a chain of drug stores, one by moving picture theaters. All of them



Thomas in Detroit News

Time for a forward pass

thus far point to a Republican victory—perhaps to a Republican landslide that will bring back the good old majorities of the McKinley and Roosevelt era.

Of controlling the Senate the Republicans are not nearly so sure. The present Senate contains only forty-nine Republicans to forty-seven Democrats. Of the Senators to be replaced this November eighteen are Democratic. But Alabama (two senators), Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, Oklahoma and South Carolina are "certain sure" Democratic states, so that the Republican offensive in the Senate is limited to nine possibilities. In Arizona, Maryland, Kentucky and Nevada the normal Democratic sentiment should withstand anything but a general landslide. Oregon may go Republican, but the personal popularity of Senator Chamberlain should save his seat for the Democrats. California, Colorado, Idaho, South Dakota are Republican opportunities, but none are certainties.

Many Republican seats are endangered by the Democratic counter-offensive. Penrose is doubtless safe in Pennsylvania and Dillingham in Vermont and Curtis in Kansas are almost equally secure, but all the other Republican Senators will have to fight to hold their own. Wadsworth in New York, Moses in New Hampshire and Brandegee in Connecticut are handicapped by their anti-suffrage record in facing the recently enfranchised women voters. Illinois and Wisconsin are confidently counted on for Harding, but the factional hostility of the followers of Mayor Thompson to McKinley in Illinois and the followers of La Follette to Senator Lenroot in Wisconsin may endanger two seats otherwise safe. In Indiana Taggart on the Democratic ticket seriously threatens Senator Watson's place. Senator Cummins in Iowa will probably win out in spite of the hostility of some labor unions on account of his railroad policy. In North Dakota the Republican victorious in the primaries is an adherent of the Non-Partizan League and cannot be count-



ed as a party "regular." Ohio must find a successor to Senator Harding and the Republican nominee, ex-Governor Willis, must fight to hold the seat now held by a Presidential candidate in the most hotly contested state in the Union. In Missouri Senator Spencer's seat is very doubtful and the Democrats are confident of capturing it. Senator Smoot in Utah has great personal prestige, but the state is doubtful this year. Senator Jones will probably be elected from Washington, but his victory will depend on Harding's carrying the state. There are very few Republican Senators this year who will not, for one reason or another, run behind the nominee for President.

## Ireland and Article XI

IT seems impossible to keep Ireland out of an American Presidential campaign. Article X seems to have frightened many Irish sympathizers, altho, as The Independent pointed out in its issue of October 9, its guarantee against external aggression cannot be applied to the suppression of a revolutionary movement within an Empire. It is true, however, that Article X would forbid a foreign nation, such as the United States, from going to war with Great Britain in order to secure the independence of Ireland and even this limitation is offensive to some extremist Sinn Fein advocates.

But President Wilson, thru a letter prepared by his secretary, Mr. Tumulty, points out that Article X is not the only part of the Covenant which should be considered in connection with the Irish national movement. Article XI reads as follows:

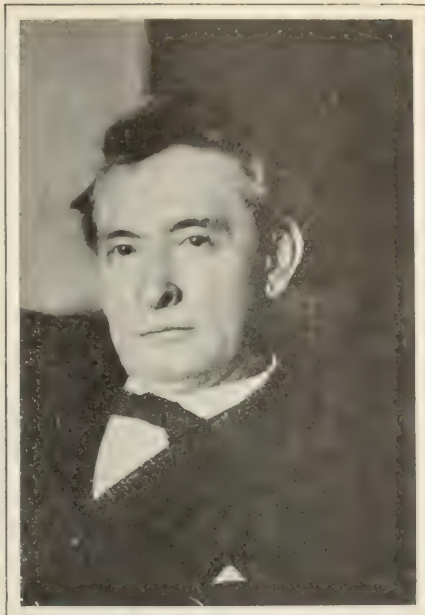
Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations. In case any such emergency should arise the Secretary General shall, on the request of any member of the League, forthwith summon a meeting of the Council. It is also declared to be the friendly right of each member of the League to bring to the attention of the Assembly or of the Council any circumstance whatever affecting international relations which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

According to the last sentence of the article either of the two deliberative bodies of the League of Nations, the Council of the Powers or the Assembly of all the Member Nations, would have the right to consider the Irish question if in their opinion it threatened "the good understand-

ing between nations," for example between Great Britain and the United States. Governor Cox believes that if the United States enters the League it may properly raise the Irish question as a matter for international consideration under Article XI.

The Republicans declare that this is but a Democratic trick to capture the Irish vote. Ex-Judge Hughes points out that, since the League can only act in important matters by unanimous agreement, the objections of Great Britain would put an end

to any attempt to take action on behalf of Ireland within the League Council or Assembly. Granting this, however, some may think it an advantage to Ireland to have the Irish question discussed in the forum of the nations, even if no positive action can be taken.



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### AN OPPONENT OF THE LEAGUE

Thomas E. Watson gained an overwhelming victory over Hoke Smith in the Senatorial primary of the Democratic party in Georgia. If he is elected—and his nomination is probably equivalent to election—at least one Democratic vote in the Senate will always be counted against the Treaty and the Covenant

## Has Harding Scrapped the League?

WHEN Senator Harding spoke in Baltimore to an audience of twenty thousand Mr. Edward Ryan interrupted him to inquire: "Senator Harding, I want to ask you whether you stand with Senator Johnson in his proposal to scrap the League?" To this he replied: "If I believed in one-man government I could answer the gentleman's question"; adding "I am at present without a specific program in foreign affairs." The heckler was arrested for persisting in his question, tho the arrest was without Senator Harding's knowledge or consent, but he repeated his question in later correspondence with the Senator, declaring himself still unsatisfied with the replies he had received. Recent events have given point

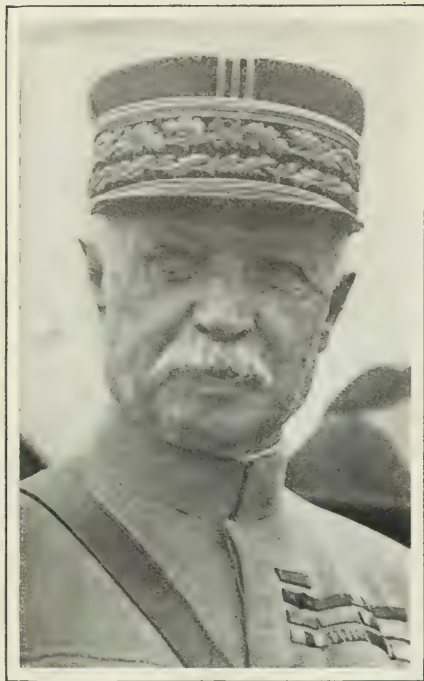


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On the evening of September 11, 1850, Jenny Lind, the "Swedish Nightingale," made her New York debut at Castle Garden, now the Aquarium, shown above. Her repertoire went all the way from "Comin' Through the Rye" to "The Daughter of the Regiment" and "La Sonnambula." Even before she came to the United States, she had adorers in Sweden, France, Germany and England. Among the mementos of the great singer on display during the recent celebration of her birth are a fan given her by Princess Catharine of Sweden, a portrait painted in Munich, medals from Germany and no end of concert posters and photographs







© Paul Thompson

General Marie Emile Fayolle, the personal representative of Marshal Foch to the American Legion Convention in Cleveland. General Fayolle had under his command Gen. Robert Lee Bullard's First American Division, made up of the first American troops to actively occupy a sector along the French front; the Cantigny sector north of Paris in the Amiens salient

Connecticut, who are pledged to fight against the League to the last ditch. This news gave rise to rumors that Harding would take the side of Taft and Root and that Borah and Johnson were ready to bolt. These rumors, however, seem to have been mistaken. Senator Harding promptly declared: "I am perfectly satisfied with Senator Borah's support. I am satisfied with what he has said and I'm sure I'll be satisfied with what he will say." He declared of one of Senator Johnson's speeches: "It dissipates conclusively any notion that Senator Johnson is out of harmony with the platform and the candidate." Since it is well known that Senators Johnson and Borah are opposed to entering the League of Nations even with the most stringent reservations it would seem as tho' the Republican candidate had abandoned his pro-League supporters to save the loyalty of the irreconcilables. But as an offset to this Senator Harding has again assured the country that "America is going to be able to agree on a program that will give the country an opportunity to play its part in expressing the new world conscience."

Senator Harding has raised a new issue in proposing to enlarge the cabinet by establishing a Department of Public Welfare. In this connection he said:

At the present time we find social welfare bureaus and social welfare undertakings scattered hopelessly thru the departments, sometimes the one overlapping the work of the other, and sometimes, indeed, engaging in bickerings between themselves. The picture is one of inefficiency and of wasted funds. . . . When making the proposal for a Department of Public Welfare to America, I am aware that I have made a step in advance of any platform.

to the question. It has been announced that ex-President Taft and Mr. Hoover, both ardent champions of the League of Nations, will go on the stump in behalf of the Republican national ticket. This announcement was followed by the startling news that Senator Borah of Idaho, most uncompromising of all Republican foes of the League, would hereafter conduct his own speaking tour irrespective of the plans of the Republican national leaders. He will devote his time largely to working for the reelection of Senators, such as Brandegee of

## Labor Versus Bolshevism

THE American Federation of Labor, thru its officials Samuel Gompers and Matthew Woll, has protested against the proposal of European labor-unionists to take "direct action" in opposition to the Russian policy of the Powers. The International Federation of Trade Unions sent a note to the American Federation proposing that in the event of war with Soviet Russia not a train or a ship should be loaded or moved by union labor and that if necessary the war should be stopped by a general strike. The Council of Action of the British Labor Party made similar proposals. To such appeals the American Federation makes the reply:

The American Federation is not a revolutionary body and has never had any affiliation with any revolutionary body which would require it to give serious consideration to revolutionary proposals of any kind. . . . One year ago the International Federation of Trades Unions indorsed the League of Nations and proposed to reshape it to correspond to the aspirations of labor. Today it takes a position of anarchistic hostility to all governments without discrimination. . . .

The organized labor of this country does not regard the Bolsheviks as being "the Russian revolution." It is fully aware of the existence of millions of Russian Mensheviks, Social Revolutionaries and trade unionists who object to Soviet tyranny. Polish imperialism is repudiated by labor in this country along with all other imperialisms, and it may have been the chief factor in the Polish offensive, but we also recall that the Soviets have never ceased to threaten to set up Soviet governments with military aid as well as by subsidized revolutionary movements in neighboring countries. . . .

The United States is a republic based upon the principles of justice, freedom and universal suffrage. Our men and our women are not likely to throw these rights and principles into the scrap heap for the dictatorship of Moscow's Lenin and Trotsky.

The attitude of Mr. Debs and the Socialists towards the Russian situation is of course very different from that of Mr. Gompers and the conservative labor unionists, but even the Socialists fight shy of committing themselves too far to Russian terrorism. Mr. Debs, Socialist candidate for President, is reported to have declared to one of his party comrades who visited him in prison: "The indefiniteness of autocratic interference and the experiments of the Third International make it impossible for us to affiliate with them at present without reservation." This agrees with the position taken by the Socialist National Convention in May



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Alexandre Millerand, the new President of France, reviewed the French troops at Wiesbaden, Germany, last month, when he made a tour of inspection of the occupied German territory



that the American Socialists would affiliate with the Third International (organized around the Russian Bolshevik movement) but only on condition that no "special formula for the attainment of the Socialist Commonwealth be imposed or exacted" as condition of affiliation," or, in other words, that the Socialist Party in America be free to choose peaceful and political methods of bringing about Socialism instead of being committed to any program of violent revolution.

## Chilean President Named

THE specially constituted Court of Arbiters which has long been studying the disputed Presidential election in the Republic of Chile has awarded the decision by a vote of five to two in favor of Arturo Alessandri of the Liberal Alliance Party. Elections in Chile were held on June 25, not directly for President but, after the model of the United States, for Presidential electors. The two important candidates were Alessandri of the Liberal Alliance Party and Barros Borgoño of the more conservative Liberal Unionist Party. One month after the popular election the Presidential electors met and cast 179 votes for Alessandri to 174 for Borgoño. The Liberal Unionists contested the election and charged various illegalities sufficient to upset the result. Both parties agreed to submit the case to a special arbitral tribunal which examined all the claims of both sides and decided that 177 electoral votes were correctly awarded to Alessandri and 176 to Borgoño.

It is remarkable how closely the Chilean Presidential contest followed the disputed election of 1876 in the United States. In both cases the result in the electoral college was challenged. In both cases a special bi-partizan tribunal was constituted to examine the claims of each side. In both cases the victorious party had a majority of but one electoral vote. And both nations have shown the world that even a disputed Presidential election, when party passions are at their highest and charges and counter-charges of dishonesty are rife, can be settled without recourse to violence. In many other American republics such an incident as the Hayes-Tilden contest of 1876 or the Alessandri-Borgoño contest of 1920 would have been followed by a civil war; but the United States and Chile stand at a higher level of political evolution than the turbulent nations of the tropics.

## Irish Raids and Reprisals

THE British authorities in Ireland have publicly warned their troops against reprisals against civilians but no effective measures have been taken to prevent such violations of discipline. General Gough, who cannot be suspected of sympathy with Sinn Féin since it was he who just before the outbreak of the war refused to enforce the Home Rule Act against Ulster, writes to the *Manchester Guardian*:

I don't think any truthful or sane person can avoid the conclusion that the authorities in Ireland are deliberately encouraging—what is more actually screening—reprisals and counter murders by armed forces of the Crown. The police and army are being organized as one body and being recruited with a special view to reprisals.

The most sinister feature of the present policy is that lax discipline is actually connived at. This can only have one result—namely, create the most dangerous demoralized force, a terror not only to people in that country but eventually to the government.

I've some evidence I'm not at liberty to disclose, which makes me strongly suspect that actual murder is organized as a method of Irish government.

The military barracks at Mallow were raided in broad daylight by an armed body of 120 Sinn Féiners. Most of the troops, a company of the 17th Lancers, were out exercising with only a dozen left to guard the building. One of these was shot and then the rest were overpowered, leaving



Adachi

### A NEW "LADIES' AID"

The first time in history that the women of Japan have been allowed to take an active part in entertaining foreign visitors was when a party composed of the families of United States Congressmen was received by the Ladies' Welcoming Committee of Japan at the residence of Marquis Kuroda

the raiders free to carry off a machine gun, a number of rifles and revolvers and a large store of ammunition, all of which was loaded into the waiting automobiles. The soldiers took revenge at midnight by setting the town on fire. The town hall, the creamery, the mills and many houses were burned up. The Cork fire brigade was called out but owing to the curfew law was unable to leave before three o'clock.

Captain Lendrum, resident magistrate of County Clare, disappeared on September 22 and was supposed to have been kidnaped. The police posted notices on the houses in Kilkee, Kilrush, Carrigaholt, Doonbeg and Kilprinhill, stating that these towns would be burned unless Lendrum was returned within forty-eight hours. Two men then visited the District Inspectors of County Clare to say that they had been compelled by threats of the Republican army to inform the authorities that Lendrum had been ambushed and shot and his body cast into the sea, but that if the police would forbear burning the villages the body would be recovered and returned. Next morning the body was found on the railroad track wrapped in a water-stained sheet and enclosed in a white wood coffin.

Five hundred Irish Volunteers in uniform followed the bodies of the two Sinn Féiners killed at Belfast, as they were borne thru the streets of that city to the cemetery. The coffins were covered with the flag of the Irish Republic. The procession was protected by lines of British troops with rifles ready. The night before two more civilians had been killed at Belfast in the fighting between the Sinn Féiners and Unionists.

On the night of October 2 a squad of police on Patrick street were fired upon. One constable was killed and four wounded.

A police patrol was ambushed near Tubbercurry, County Sligo, and District Inspector Brady shot dead. That night Tubbercurry was visited by four lorries full of the "Black and Tan" police who spent three hours there, firing guns and throwing bombs and setting fire to buildings. Two creameries were burned.

The burning of the Irish creameries is one of the most serious features of these reprisals for the coöperative creameries have been founded thru the joint action of all factions and have been the chief means of bringing pros-



perity to the country. Their product brings in \$60,000,000 a year and the destruction of so many of them is ruinous to the farmers who have put their money in them.

## Polish-Lithuanian Boundary Dispute

A dramatic and touching scene occurred at the Ninth Session of the Council of the League of Nations held in Paris on September 20, when Paderewski of Poland and Woldemar of Lithuania clasped hands as a token of their acceptance of the good offices of the League in the settlement of the question over which their countrymen are fighting. The chairman of the Council sent messages to both governments expressing his pleasure at their submission of the case to the League. A conference of Polish and Lithuanian delegates is arranging to meet immediately at Suwalki in the disputed territory under the auspices of the League of Nations. The Soviet Government has declared its willingness to withdraw all the Bolshevik troops from Lithuanian territory if the Poles will do the same.

But the Poles prefer to oust the Bolsheviks from Lithuania for themselves. The important railroad junctions of Grodno and Lida, which are within the confines of Lithuania proper but were occupied by the Soviet forces, have now been captured by the Poles. The Lithuanians fear that the Poles will continue their advance and again take Vilna, the capital of Lithuania, which contains no Bolsheviks. To prevent this the Lithuanian Government issued the following call to the peasantry:

Rise and arm yourselves with rifles, scythes and axes and repel the Polish invaders, who are driving into the heart of our fatherland.

It was such a rising of the Lithuanian population that drove the Polish troops out of Seiny last month. The Lithuanians claim the Seiny district by right of race but it has been put on the Polish side by the Curzon line. The Colby note of August 10 denying to Lithuania the right to independence so long as the Soviet rules in Russia has hit the Lithuanians hard for they supposed they had established their position in securing the recognition of all the Allies as well as of Soviet Russia.

## The Riga Conference

At the opening session of the peace conference at Riga it became apparent that Russia is desperately anxious to conclude an immediate armistice and a prompt peace with Poland. The chairman of the Soviet delegation, Joffé, began by withdrawing all of the armistice terms to which the Poles had objected at the previous conference at Minsk. He presented a new set, much more advantageous to Poland, and announced that Poland would have ten days in which to accept them. In reply the chairman of the Polish delegation, Dombiski, refused to consider anything in the nature of an ultimatum but expressed his willingness to proceed to the examination of the questions at issue. Joffé thereupon set aside his own set of peace terms and took the Polish set as a basis for negotiation. He also consented to waive the stipulation that the Bolsheviks have hitherto insisted upon in all their peace conferences,—that the discussions be carried on in public. Both peace programs were summarized in last week's Independent. The manifest eagerness of Bolshevik leaders to make peace at any price has again given rise to reports that the fall of the Soviet Government is imminent. This has been so often prophesied during the last three years that the public has grown skeptical of such prognostications. But it receives now a certain support in the rumors of industrial disturbances and violent strikes in various parts of Russia. In Petrograd, it is said, that the workmen in all the Government factories have struck and that several of the Soviet commissaries

have been killed. Mutinies among the Red troops are reported and mass meetings demanding a prompt peace have been held. The peasants also are in revolt against the Bolshevik regime.

A preliminary agreement on the armistice terms was reached on October 8. The Poles seem to have won most of their points. The opposing forces will remain about where they stand until peace is finally concluded. This means that the Poles will occupy the comfortable winter quarters on the old German front and that they will hold a corridor cutting off Soviet Russia from Lithuania and Germany.

## The Russo-Polish War

THE conflict between Poland and Soviet Russia is fundamentally a revival of the age-long blood feud between Poles and Russians. Observers with the Polish armies



THE PROBLEM OF POLISH BOUNDARIES

A peace conference is now being held at Riga between the representatives of Poland and Soviet Russia to determine the dividing line between these two states over which they are still fighting. The Paris Peace Conference defined in part the boundary between Poland and Germany, but left the eastern frontier undetermined. The Supreme Council of the Allies, on December 8, 1919, drew a provisional line running thru Brest Litovsk, as indicated on the map. This represents approximately the ethnographical limit of the Polish people but the Polish expansionists demand the restoration of the whole of Poland as it was previous to the first partition of 1772. The Polish armies in their eastward drive last summer went even beyond this line and captured Kiev. In their present drive the Poles have overstepped the line drawn by the Supreme Council and have also infringed upon Lithuanian territory. Grodno and Lida, which the Poles have taken, are within the bounds of Lithuania as defined in the recent treaty between Lithuania and Soviet Russia. The Lithuanians also claim a majority of the population about Seiny and Suwalki.

agree in reporting that the Poles show intense hatred against the Russians and Jews in the territory they take, an animosity that too often finds expression in the ill-treatment of prisoners and civilians, but that the Poles manifest no special dislike toward the Bolsheviks as such. On the other hand the Czar's officers who have entered the service of the Soviet are fighting, not for the Soviet, but for the protection of integral Russia against Polish invasion. The Soviet leaders, being in theory internationalists care little where the boundary is drawn. They have already offered the Poles a more generous boundary than did the Supreme Council of the Allies and possibly might consent to grant them more of Russian territory to secure peace were it not for fear of alienating their czarist supporters.



If the imperial régime were restored or if a real Russian republic were reconstituted, either would be less liberal in the allowance of land to the Poles than the present Soviet Government. That the Polish attack is not, like Baron Wrangel's, primarily designed to overthrow Soviet rule, is evident from the fact that it received the support of the Polish Socialists and that Pilsudski who is the instigator and leader of the campaign is himself a Socialist.

Both Premier Lloyd George and Secretary Colby warned the Poles, when they started their eastward advance last August, that they should not go beyond the limits of ethnographic Poland as defined by the boundary line drawn by the Supreme Council of the Allies December 8, 1919. But the French Government on the contrary told the Poles to go as far as they liked and they have taken the French advice in preference to the British and American. They have taken the cities of Pinsk and Baranovitchi, which are on the Russian side of the line, and the cities of Grodno and Lida, which are on the Lithuanian side of the line as delineated at Paris. The rout of the Red armies seems to be complete. The entire Fourth Russian Army was encircled between Grodno and Lida and captured with all its staff except the chief and the commanding general. The number of prisoners was 42,000 and the booty included 900 machine guns, 166 light field guns, 46 heavy field guns, and 1,800 armored cars.

## Industrial Reorganization in Italy

**D**URING the great Italian strike in which the employees seized 600 factories and ran them to suit themselves, the dispossessed owners were loud in demanding that the Government employ the police and military to recover their property. But Premier Giolitti refused to use force and pursued a neutral policy for a month during which time the employers came to realize their incapacity to help themselves and the employees to realize their incapacity to carry on factory production without expert management. For a time the plants ran on as usual by their own momentum and the men worked more zealously than ever under the

red flag, but there was no money for wages and no way of selling the goods. Coal and raw materials gave out, so the works had to close.

When this time came Premier Giolitti called a conference and arranged a compromise by which the works are restored to their owners, the workmen get higher pay and the question of control is to be settled by parliament in accordance with the recommendations of a joint commission of employers and employees. Each party is to choose six commissioners of whom two in

each case are to be of the technical or managerial staff.

The movement started among the metal workers who were receiving only 16 to 20 lire a day, which is less than one dollar in American money. The companies had made much money during the war, and their employees, not having access to the books, greatly exaggerated their profits. The workmen asked for an increase of four lire in their wages. This was refused, so the workmen, instead of submitting to a lock-out, stayed

in the works and ran them to suit themselves. Premier Giolitti points out that if he used soldiers and machine guns for dislodging the workmen the country would have been plunged into civil war and hundreds, if not thousands, of people would have been killed.

The Premier concludes:

Honestly, I think Italy is to be congratulated. Few countries can boast of having gone through such a radical transformation in relations between employers and workers with so little injury to all concerned. The theory of those who urged that the attitude of 500,000 men be considered in the same light as though it were that of only one man is untenable. Whenever offenses against the criminal law have been committed, judicial authorities promptly have taken action, and those found guilty will be punished.

In most cases the factories have been restored without reluctance tho in some places the anarchists and syndicalists resorted to violence.

When the "automobile king," Signor Agnelli, head of the great F. I. A. T. concern, came back to his Milan factory he was greeted with shouts of "Viva Agnelli, the workman's friend!" from the thousands of employees assembled at the gate to receive him, and when he entered his office he found it just as he left it thirty days before except the Soviet emblem of the hammer and scythe had been left upon the walls and a bouquet of red carnations had been placed upon his desk.

Signor Agnelli proposes to reorganize the F. I. A. T. firm into a coöperative company.

He explains his change of policy with regard to his factory in *Il Secolo* as follows:

The progress of revolutionary ideas among the masses and the concrete form those ideas were assuming made it impossible for a great company like the F. I. A. T. to be any longer ruled with authoritarian methods and according to the forms of the capitalist system. For some months past the F. I. A. T. Directors, despite all their endeavors on behalf of the men, had been exasperated by the nightmare of having some tens of thousands of employees in their works who were not coöperators, but enemies. It is impossible to go forward in these conditions, which threaten to grow still graver through the result of actual struggle which has meant the humiliation of masters in the face of their workmen. The future greatness of the F. I. A. T. firm in international industry depends on the overcoming of the present internal crisis, in which event the F. I. A. T. may furnish the pioneer example in Italy of a perfect modern industrial organization.



International

His Holiness Pope Benedict XV from a striking photograph brought to the United States by a Knights of Columbus pilgrim just returned from Rome



Keystone View

Ruins of the town of Fivizzano, Italy, which bore the brunt of the earthquake shock which killed 432 persons in this town alone as well as damaging over 100 other villages in the Emilia and Apennine Mountains between Milan and Messina



# A Little of Everything



## Revival of the Gothic Grotesque

A symptom of the renaissance of medievalism in Europe is the appearance of a magazine devoted entirely to the horrible and uncanny, *Der Orchideengarten*, published in Munich. In this "Garden of Orchids" are to be found the most shivery tales of Poe, Maupassant, Hawthorne, and Hugo, intermingled with modern psychic stories while the old "Dance of Death" woodcuts find congenial companions in the futuristic monstrosities. There is a book department for the review of fantastic literature of all countries and ages. It would seem that the people of Central Europe would have had enough of horrors during the last six years, but apparently they, like their ancestors of the Middle Ages, seek relief from the pain of the present in weird imaginings.



The Saurian. A woodcut by Max Schenke from *Der Orchideengarten*

## A Memorial Clubhouse

As London has six Army and Navy Clubs for officers, and Paris three, it seems especially suitable that a memorial in New York should take the form of permanent headquarters for the Army and Navy Club of America, which has never had adequate quarters in its thirty-five years of existence.

In the memorial clubhouse, which is to cost \$3,000,000, there will be a memorial court or hall which will contain in special compartments the records of all officers, both living and dead, who served in the World War. Already letters from the families and next-of-kin of deceased officers are

pouring in to the present temporary headquarters of the Army and Navy Club at 18 Gramercy Park, offering assistance in the record compiling and in financing the project as well (altho no request for material aid has been sent to them).

With the records and biographic data of officers will be photographs, letters, war souvenirs and other personal material contributed by relatives and friends. The collection of records, of immense historical value, will be preserved in the national headquarters of the Army and Navy Club, for all our citizens to read. Already the records of 2000 officers are promised to the club and are in process of preparation by the respective families. A persistent search is being made by the Army and Navy Club for records of



As the mysterious man ascended the winding stairs in the dark he bore an awful burden on his back. Woodcut by Otto Nückel in *Der Orchideengarten*

the remaining 1500 officers deceased in the war, with an effort to reach them thru the official records of the individual states as no complete list of officers who died in service in the war yet exists in Washington in available form. It is therefore especially desired by the Army and Navy Club that all families whether or not an appeal reaches them, send in records of officer sons or brothers killed in the war, so that complete data can be kept on file in this Memorial Clubhouse.

## Try It Yourself

Arthur MacDonald in the *Open Court* tells of an experiment tried to test the rival philosophies of optimist and pessimist. For thousands of years philosophers have been debating as to whether there was more pleasure or pain in life, but no statistics were forthcoming to take the debate out of the realm of pure speculation. Mr. MacDonald persuaded a Government clerk in Washington to keep a record of a day's emotional experiences by listing the number of his pleasant thoughts, feelings and sensations on





How a German audience looks to a frightened speaker. From *Der Orchideengarten*

each of us about \$0.000282, or less than four cents a century. A war under modern conditions may cost a great nation anything from one to one hundred million dollars a day, according to whether you get a whale of a war or only a minnow. The insurance premium involved in adhering to the League Covenant, however, is not excessive.



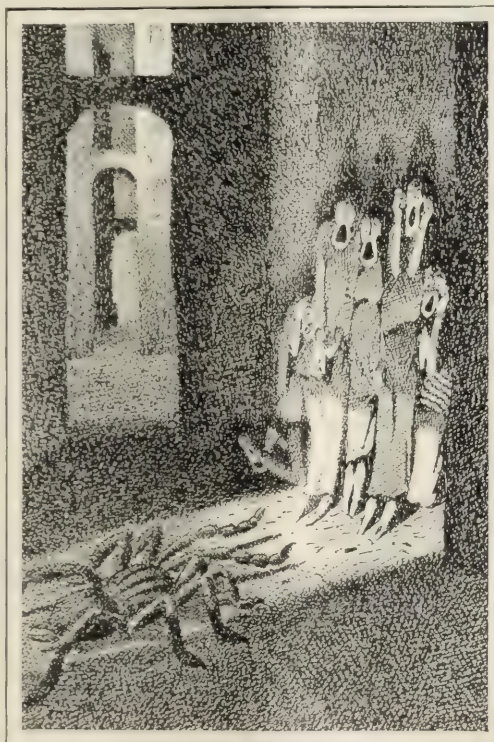
The walking skeleton. Illustration of a Dumas story in *Der Orchideengarten*

one side of the ledger and the number of unpleasant or painful thoughts and sensations on the other. At the end of the day the clerk added them up and found he had experienced 521 pleasant and 158 unpleasant states of consciousness. In other words it was the end of a 76.7 per cent perfect day.

The experiment will not be accepted by the pessimist school as conclusive, because they may allege that the clerk was an exceptionally happy man or that it was an unusually enjoyable day. But at least it opens the way to further observations on happiness and misery. The chief difficulty to us is that examining a state of mind is like stopping a clock to find out how it ticks. A person is happiest not when he is brooding on his happiness but when he is forgetting himself entirely in some outburst of enthusiasm. And a very miserable man may find the new game of counting his successive emotional waves so fascinating that he forgets to be miserable. If this difficulty can be got over, or due allowance made for correcting it in the statistics, perhaps a general happiness census could be taken which would solve once for all the greatest problem of the ages: Is life worth living?

## Peace Is Cheap

War is the most expensive thing in the world; peace is the cheapest. The Secretariat of the League of Nations has communicated to the American Department of State its budget of expenses. In the course of nine months its budget amounted to 10,000,000 francs, which at current exchange rates would be about \$650,000. This is what it costs to run the so-called "super-government" of the world for three-fourths of a year! The share of the United States, had we been among the Member Nations, would have come to about \$31,000. This would cost



The big black spider. From *Der Orchideengarten*

## In a Nutshell

Japan's first census will be taken on October 1 of this year.

\*\*\*

Less than one-fifth of the tillable land in the United States receives fertilizer.

\*\*\*

In a square inch of stocking there are 20,000,000,000,000,000 molecules of dye.

\*\*\*

On the average there is one fire a minute somewhere in the United States, say the insurance men.

\*\*\*

Tilly Alcartra, a Holstein cow, has an annual average yield of 25,780 pounds of milk and over 808 pounds of butter fat.

\*\*\*

French municipal authorities estimate that there are 8,000,000 rats in Paris. They offer a bounty worth about 5 cents for each rat tail.

\*\*\*

The former royal families of Russia,

Germany and Austria are said to have jewels worth over \$300,000,000 safely on deposit in Switzerland.

\*\*\*

New York business men have started a carry-your-own-lunch movement to bring down the high cost of eating at restaurants. The "full dinner pail" thus enlarges its political appeal.

\*\*\*

There are more millionaires in Akron, Ohio, in proportion to the population, than in any other city of the nation. The tire business brings into this small city an increment of about \$700,000,000 a year.

## Flowers That Play Hookey

Sometimes flowers run away from gardens and are caught by the truant officer in unexpected places. My experience has been an unusual one. Strange sights there have been for me and my comrade in miles of wandering over pastures and thru woods.

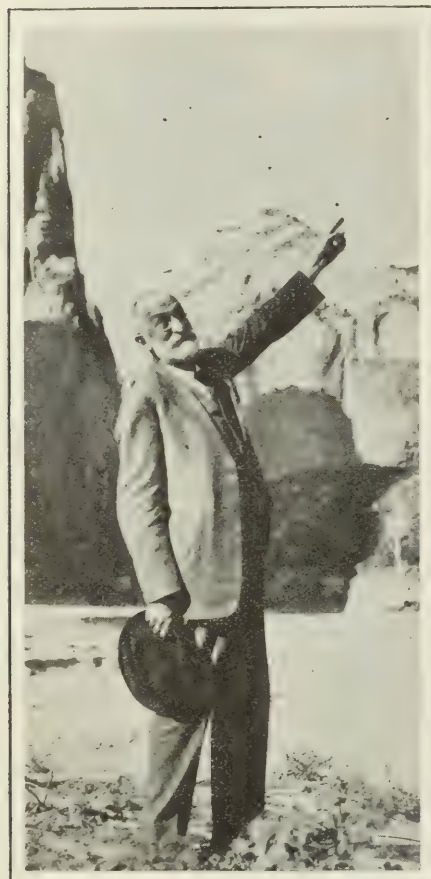
Once, when breaking our way thru a dense undergrowth of sweet fern, low blackberry bushes, brakes and dwarf oaks and sumach, what should meet our eyes, rising above the tangle, but a cluster of spikes of beautiful white flowers. Nothing of this kind was known in this region; and no one could identify it. It proved, when analyzed, to be a pentstemon and was supposed to have come from the West in some bag of grain kept in the storehouse at the foot of the hill.

Quite as unaccountable things have happened since. For instance, in a hollow in the same pasture, we came upon a most luxuriant scarlet trumpet honeysuckle in lavish bloom; and as there was not so much as a sweet fern bush in its way or anything for it to climb it had spread for yards over the ground. The nearest place where there was a honeysuckle was a garden an eighth of a mile away. Of course some bird had been the agent in bringing one of the juicy berries to the spot.

As for a certain tiger lily, found far from home, it may be said that if there was anything eatable about its juiceless and flavorless seeds its presence in a double wall bounding a field on a farm could be accounted for. Perhaps



persons not accustomed to seeing some of the rougher New England farms



International

The Utah country beyond which an exploring party of Mormons under Brigham Young entered the Great Salt Lake Valley and chose it as their home has now become Zion National Park. "Thru that canyon they came in the summer of '47," says Heber J. Grant, president of the Mormon Church, "and those who didn't have light wagons or a seat in a stage coach, pushed their worldly goods in carts." The Mormons didn't thrive at first in the State of Deseret, their name for Utah, but they lived on potato water thickened with flour, and pluck, until they could prove that systematic irrigation—first practised here on a large scale in the United States—would turn the desert into a garden. When Brigham Young died, he had \$2,000,000, twenty-five wives and forty children

may wonder what is meant by a double wall. Just this, in the early days farmers enclosed their fields by stone walls, rude perhaps and uneven, but wonderfully picturesque and to get rid of the numerous stone what was easier and more natural than to add more breadth to the boundary walls, so that they were sometimes four or five feet thick, favorite racing places and hiding places for squirrels, in one of those walls where there was not soil enough for an ant-hill, there appeared a single tiger lily standing erect and stately on its stiff stem.

It is well known that birds distribute seeds. One of the most interesting facts known to me concerns some barberry bushes. A long time ago a minister's wife brought from her home by the sea, a barberry bush and set it out on the parsonage grounds. Years and years after, a man who loved to collect plants and shrubs secured two sprouts from the original bush and set them out by his garden fence. No others of the kind were known in the region, but before many years here and there one was discovered in the nearest pasture.

The minister's experience with the garget must not pass unnoticed. One of his requisitions was a garget root, secured with considerable difficulty and set out in a remote corner of his garden. The result was a nuisance of seeds. The plant grew luxuriantly and produced seeds in lavish quantity, easily discovered by the birds, who with their claws and beaks full might be traced anywhere, everywhere about the premises by the great splashes of rich purple juice. Nor was that all. Garget plants came up all



Wide World

Porcelain coins were tried out in China fifty years ago, when the extremely interesting and original designs shown above circulated in Singapore and Bangkok



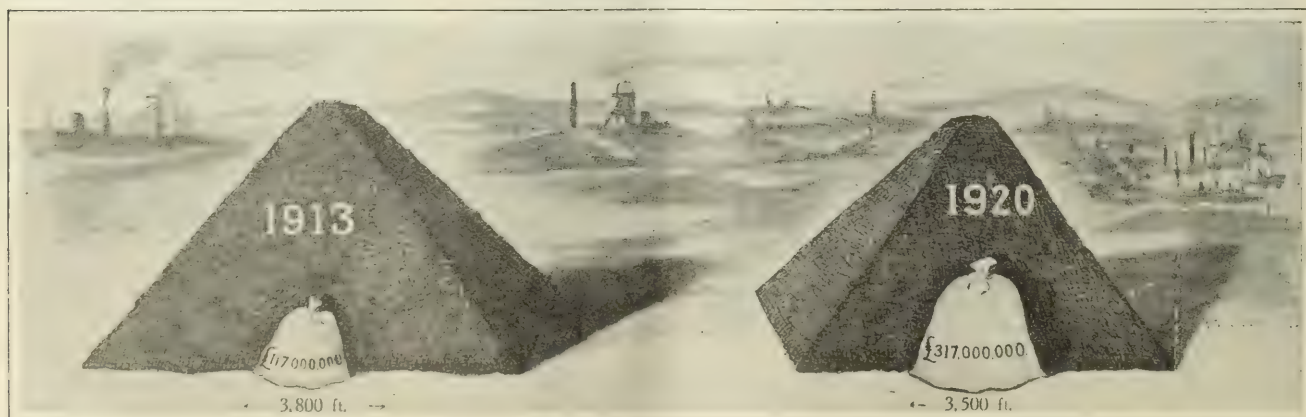
Wide World

Owing to the scarcity of metal in Germany, it has been suggested that porcelain coins be used instead. Badge pieces are now made of porcelain, as is also the tram currency used in Hamburg. Above are shown some German "biscuit" porcelain coins: 2, 3 and 5 mark pieces

over the garden and round about, and finally had to be exterminated.

And what but a bird could ever have removed the seeds from their hard enclosure and planted two sweet-briar bushes miles apart?

Of garden flowers away from home, a clump of poet's narcissus, golden coreopsis, sweet Williams, fly-traps, corn flowers, and others, grow bravely in the ruts of a cart-path across a field, brought there probably in the scrapings of the barnyard, and surviving



London Sphere

In England, altho only 237,000,000 tons of coal have been mined this year, as against 285,000,000 for 1913, the price of coal has more than doubled. Wages, likewise, have increased by 132 per cent and a greater number of men are employed in the mines, despite the fact that the output has materially decreased



# WHAT I THINK OF PELMANISM- By Judge Ben B. Lindsey

**P**ELMANISM is a big, vital, significant contribution to the mental life of America. I have the deep conviction that it is going to strike at the very roots of individual failure, for I see in it a new power, a great driving force.

I first heard of Pelmanism while in England on war work. Sooner or later almost every conversation touched on it, for the movement seemed to have the sweep of a religious conviction. Men and women of every class and circumstance were acclaiming it as a new departure in mental training that gave promise of ending that *preventable* inefficiency which acts as a brake on human progress. Even in France I did not escape the word, for thousands of officers and men were *Pelmanizing* in order to fit themselves for return to civil life.

When I learned that Pelmanism had been brought to America by Americans for Americans, I was among the first to enroll. My reasons were two: first, because I have always felt that every mind needed regular, systematic and scientific exercise, and secondly, because I wanted to find out if Pelmanism was the thing that I could recommend to the hundreds who continually ask my advice in relation to their lives, problems and ambitions.

Failure is a sad word in any language, but it is peculiarly tragic here in America where institutions and resources join to put success within the reach of every individual. In the twenty years that I have sat on the bench of the Juvenile Court of Denver, almost every variety of human failure has passed before me in melancholy procession. By *failure* I do not mean the merely criminal mistakes of the individual, but the faults of training that keep a life from full development and complete expression.

## Pelmanism Comes as an Answer

If I were asked to set down the principal cause of the average failure, I would have to put the blame at the door of our educational system. It is there that trouble begins—trouble that only the gifted and most fortunate are strong enough to overcome in later life.

Either think back on your own experience or else look into a schoolroom in your own town. Routine the ideal, with pupils drilled to do the same thing at the same time in the same way. There is no room for originality or initiative because these qualities would throw the machinery out of gear. Individuality is discouraged and imagination frowned upon for the same reason. No steadfast attempt to appeal to interest or to arouse and develop latent powers, but only the mechanical process of drilling a certain traditional ritual on each little head.

What wonder that our boys and girls come forth into the world with something less than firm purpose, full confidence and leaping courage? What wonder that mind wandering and wool gathering are common, and that so many individuals are shackled by indecisions, doubts and fears? Instead of walking forward to enthusiasm and certainty, they blunder along like people lost in a fog.

It is to these needs and these lacks that Pelmanism comes as an answer. The "twelve little gray books" are a remarkable



JUDGE BEN B. LINDSEY

Judge Ben B. Lindsey is known throughout the whole modern world for his work in the Juvenile Court of Denver. Years ago his vision and courage lifted children out of the cruelties and stupidities of the criminal law, and forced society to recognize its duties and responsibilities in connection with "the citizens of to-morrow." His laws and his court-procedure have been made the model for Acts of Parliament in Great Britain. He is as much an authority in France and Germany and Austria and Italy.

achievement. Not only do they contain the discoveries that science knows about the mind and its workings, but the treatment is so simple that the truths may be grasped by anyone of average education.

In plain words, what Pelmanism has done is to take psychology out of the college and put it into harness for the day's work. It lifts great, helpful truths out of the back water and plants them in the living stream.

As a matter of fact, Pelmanism ought to be the beginning of education instead of a remedy for its faults. First of all, it teaches the science of self-realization; it makes the student *discover* himself; it acquaints him with his sleeping powers and shows him how to develop them. The method is *exercise*, not of the haphazard sort, but a steady, increasing kind that brings each hidden power to full strength without strain or break.

## Pelmanism Pays Large Returns

The human mind is *not* an automatic device. It will *not* "take care of itself." Will power, originality, decision, resourcefulness, imagination, initiative, courage—these things are not gifts but results. Every one of these qualities can be developed by effort just as muscles can be developed by exercise. I do not mean by this that the individual can add to the brains that God gave him, but he can learn to make use of the brains that he has instead of letting them fall into flabbiness through disuse.

Other methods and systems that I have examined, while realizing the value of mental exercise, have made the mistake of limiting their efforts to the development of some single sense. What Pelmanism does is to consider the mind as a whole and treat it as a whole. It goes in for mental team play, training the mind as a unity.

Its big value, however, is the instructional note. Each lesson is accompanied by a work sheet that is really a progress sheet. The student goes forward under a

teacher in the sense that he is followed through from first to last, helped, guided and encouraged at every turn by conscientious experts.

This point, that is its strength to me, may prove to be the weakness of the course. Americans want everything at once. They love to think that they can find something to take at night that will make them "100 percent. efficient" by morning. Pelmanism is no miracle. It calls for application. But I know of nothing that pays larger returns on an investment of one's spare time from day to day.

So I say that Pelmanism is one of the great discoveries of the day. Properly followed, the course guarantees the acquisition of the best of all wealth—the functioning to full capacity of that marvelous machine we call the "mind."

(Signed) BEN B. LINDSEY.

Note: As Judge Lindsey has pointed out, Pelmanism is neither an experiment nor a theory. It has stood the test of twenty years. Its students are in every country in the world. Its benefits are attested by 500,000 men and women in all walks and conditions of life.

The course takes no account of class, creed or circumstance. Its values are for all. Business men, from the great captains of commerce to their clerks, are ardent Pelmanists.

Professional men—lawyers, doctors, clergymen, teachers, artists, authors—have come to the knowledge that Pelmanism will help them to surmount difficulties and achieve a greater degree of success in their vocations. Women—both in the home and in business—find Pelmanism an answer to their problems.

Pelmanism is taught entirely by correspondence. There are twelve lessons—twelve "Little Gray Books." The course can be completed in three to twelve months, depending entirely upon the amount of time devoted to study. Half an hour daily will enable the student to finish in three months.

A special system keeps the examiners in close personal touch with the students right through the course, and insures that individual attention which is so essential to the success of a study of this character.

## How to Become a Pelmanist

"Mind and Memory" is the name of the booklet which describes Pelmanism down to the last detail. It is fascinating in itself with its wealth of original thought and incisive observation. It has benefits of its own that will make the reader keep it.

In its pages will be found the comment and experience of men and women of every trade, profession and calling, telling how Pelmanism works—the observations of scientists with respect to such vital questions as age, sex and circumstance in their bearing on success—"stories from the life" and brilliant little essays on personality, opportunity, etc.—all drawn from facts. So great has been the demand that "Mind and Memory" has already gone into a third edition of 100,000.

Your copy is ready for you. Immediately upon receipt of your request it will be mailed to you absolutely free of charge and free of any obligation. Send for "Mind and Memory" now. Don't "put off." Fill in coupon at once and mail, or call personally at our convenient location—Fifth Avenue at Forty-second. Pelmanism has no secrets.

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(All correspondence strictly confidential.)

Ind. 10-16-20



and blooming tho trampled on by oxen and ground by heavy wheels.

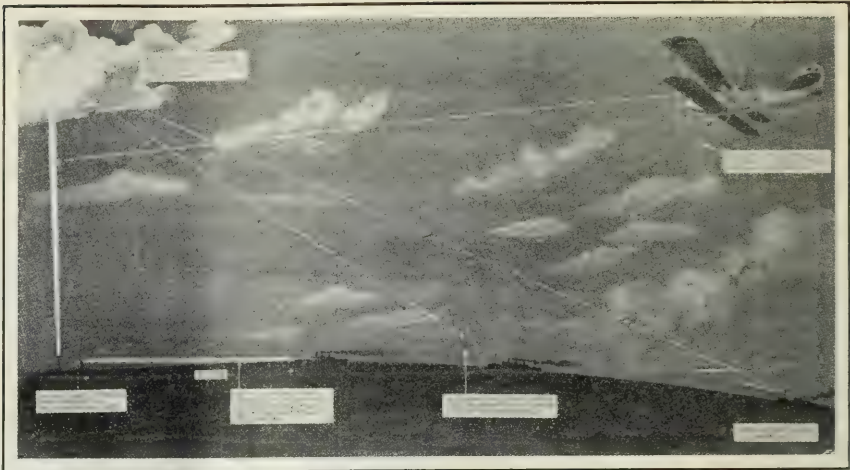
One delightful find remains to the last. The owner of this land used one corner of the pasture as a dumping place; over the wall into a little bog where the water was a foot deep, were hurled broken crockery, tin cans, rusty stovepipe, coils of wire, and all that sort of rubbish. Over that wall one lucky spring day we chanced to look; and there beheld such a sight as had never been seen before, and will never be seen again. Up out of that scummy water, in the midst of the rusty iron and tins, stood strong and sturdy of stem a glorious flower—a daffodil, large and perfect, it seemed to brighten the day. Time and again in the years since, that wonderful sight has been before me. A thousand things more important may have been forgotten, but never that daffodil. How it came there baffles conjecture.

Beautifying Coal Dumps

One of the ugliest sights to be seen from a car window is the black mountains of coal slack that have grown up about the mouths of the mines and threaten to bury the surrounding towns like Pompeii. In South Staffordshire an association has been formed to plant trees on these mounds and according to a report presented to the British Association for the Advancement of Science the experiment is working successfully. The common black alder grows well on the slack dumps, converting them into green wooded mounds, which will later bring in a profitable return from the sale of wood.

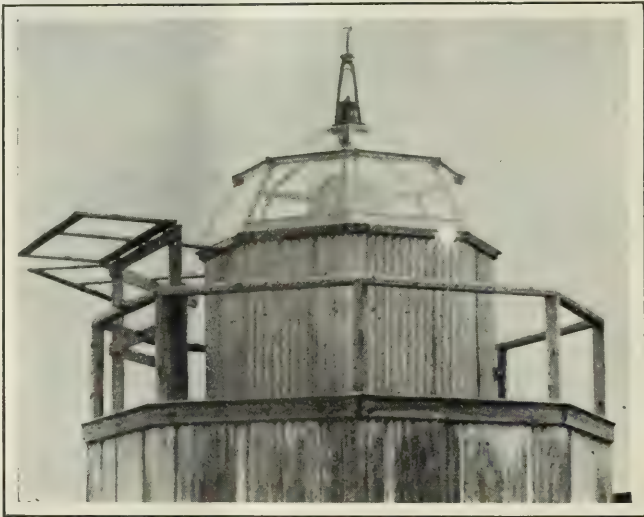
Wages Rise

Those who are hoping or fearing that wages will fall from their present peak to their "former level" are taking a short-sighted view. History shows that under the capital-



© 1920, Electrical Experimenter

The new lighthouses send their beams straight up in a revolving or concentrated shaft of light that can be seen 100 miles by air or sea. That erected at the Hounslow Aerodrome, England (shown below), has a beam of 70,000 candle power



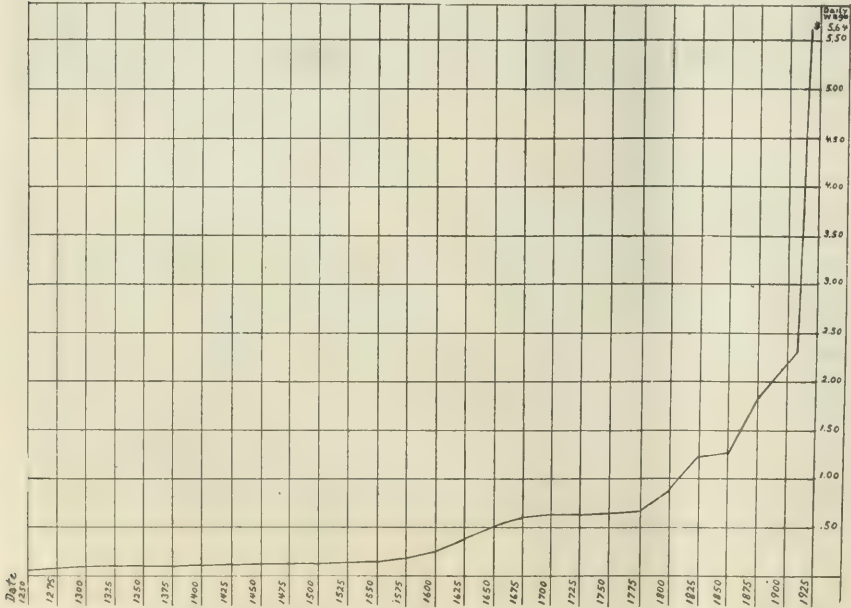
© Kadel & Herbert

the rise has been rapid but even before then there was a continuous slow increase. In order to trace such a curve it is necessary to find a trade in which continuous records have been kept for several centuries of work of the same sort in the same locality. The best material for this investigation has been found in the expense accounts of public buildings in London which are complete from 1252 to 1920 with

istic system wages continue to advance so long as production increases. From the time of the industrial revolution at the beginning of the eighteenth century

the exception of a few years that may be filled in from contemporary building operations in the provinces. William Hardy has been able to obtain from these records the daily wage of carpenters, masons, bricklayers, joiners, plumbers, plasterers and common laborers for nearly seven hundred years. From his article in the London Times we reproduce his table in abbreviated form and with the money translated into American currency at the pre-war rate of exchange. We add a curve that shows at a glance the general trend.

In the course of these seven centuries the wage of a common laborer has risen from a penny to over a pound a day. It has never fallen. The price of skilled labor shows almost as constant an increase. The higher wages paid to builders in 1387-1392 may be ascribed to the building of Westminster Abbey and Palace and the extension of the Tower of London. Efforts to fix wages by law were unavailing to prevent their ultimate rise. Henry VII in 1495 fixed by law the wages of all trades except that of laborer at sixpence a day, but under Henry VIII a general rise began. Fire, plague and war have made no perceptible difference up to the present.



During the last 700 years the wages of a common laborer in London have risen from a penny to over a pound a day. Question, is his living condition any better?







## CHAMBERLIN METAL WEATHER STRIPS

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Chamberlin guarantees its products for all time. Chamberlin Weather Strips invariably outlast the buildings on which they are installed. Chamberlin is the oldest and largest manufacturer of weather strips in the world. Chamberlin has a permanent service organization with branches in principal cities where weather strip experts are stationed to give immediate installation and adjustment service.

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## No One "Owns" Land

(Continued from page 76)

vate ownership of land, and one which will appeal with great force to the average citizen, is afforded in the perpetual railroad and trolley franchises. The citing of a single case, that of the transportation system of Philadelphia, will suffice. It might be well to know, however, that the Philadelphia system is by no means so horrible an example as are those of many other cities.

As is the perpetual franchise to the transportation business, so is the fee simple title deed to every activity arising on the land. The perpetual franchise is now properly regarded as dishonest and iniquitous by virtually everyone save the beneficiaries of the system. In every large city of the nation there has grown up transportation systems out of the smaller organizations which obtained the franchises and for which they generally paid nothing. These underlying companies usually have no physical property, nor do they render any part of the service of transporting the passengers who use them. Yet these underlying companies receive about 80 per cent of the earnings of the systems. Their one contribution is permission to the operating company to engage in the transportation business. Ownership of the people's streets, recognized under existing law, is the continuing right of all its citizens, whether of today or of the time when they were illegally given away. Attention is called to the fact that the city's highways were not the exclusive property of those who gave them away; and consequently the act of the citizens of that day or their officials should in no way be binding on the present inhabitants.

In Philadelphia for the year 1919 the underlying companies of its transportation system received in rentals \$7,700,000, while the return to the operating company was but \$1,500,000, altho it performed the entire service of carrying 2,333,000 passengers on its cars daily, and owns virtually all of the physical property of the system.

There is no essential difference between a perpetual trolley franchise and a fee simple title to land. Both are special privileges to use exclusively certain designated tracts of land. Both make possible monopolies which enable their beneficiaries to appropriate the production of others without rendering any service in exchange.

God made the land for the use of the continuing generations of man. All the people collectively, and not the title holder, are responsible for its increased rental value. This rental value, therefore, belongs properly and morally to the public which created it and should be collected by it and used for community expense, local, State and Federal.

There is, however, a more important phase of the land question than is contained in its mere fiscal injustice. Ownership of the land—the opportunity of man to sustain life—virtually establishes a system of economic and indus-

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trial slavery. The land problem is but the logical continuation of the problem of chattel slavery, which was solved by the Proclamation of Emancipation. The chief difference of the economic phase is that about twenty times as many persons are involved as were affected by the system of chattel slavery, and that most of the victims are unaware of the means by which their surplus production is appropriated.

Both systems—economic as well as chattel—were established for the purpose of enabling the beneficiary to appropriate the surplus production of the slave. Under the chattel system the master candidly took the surplus production directly, but was compelled for purely selfish motives to feed, clothe and properly safeguard the life and health of his slave, lest he impair the value of his investment. The present day economic system, while more complex and less direct, is infinitely more efficient than the chattel system, for it compels the exploited one to pay in advance, thru the agency of ground rent, virtually all his surplus production for permission to produce, while at the same time being compelled to keep himself and to protect his own health and vigor.

In 1914, before the outbreak of the European war, this became a serious task for some ten millions of our people who were unable to find work. So serious was the problem that employment bureaus were established by the Government, Federal, State and local, in order that these persons might find opportunity to work. This it must be remembered was in the United States, where, according to the census of 1910, the population was less than thirty-four persons to each square mile of the richest and most productive soil in the world. But it was held out of use by reason of the unscientific taxation and land laws of our country, which enabled the title holder to withhold it from use for purely speculative purposes.

Happily the destruction of the iniquitous property right in human lives, which in the form of chattel slavery had been permitted to grow up under the sanction of our Government, was accomplished thru the Emancipation Proclamation.

It remains for the Single Tax party to destroy the other iniquitous property right—the ownership of man's opportunity to live—which is bound up in the private ownership of the earth, and which has also grown up under the sanction of our Government.

This can be done only thru the collection by the Government of the rent of land and the exemption from taxation of labor and all its products.

By labor is meant every class of service, whether it be mental or physical, that civilization demands.

*Philadelphia*

Son (whose father has received a letter about his debts).—Like their confounded cheek. I'll give them a piece of my mind.

Father.—But do you think you have any to spare?—*Blighty.*



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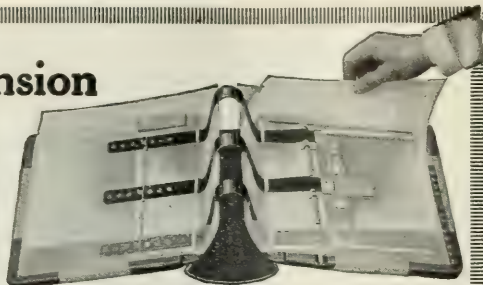
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## The New Spirit in the Old World

(Continued from page 77)

onto its feet again and make a new start.

Belgium is the joy of Europe. Belgium had its strikes and got them over with during the first six months of peace, and now the people have set to work with a will to repair the war's damage. The Germans have returned much of the machinery taken into Germany and converted for the manufacture of munitions during the war. Black smoke is pouring from the chimneys and the wheels are humming. In the rural districts there is the same close cultivation of the land as before the war.

Some machinery has also been returned by the Germans to France, and the important French textile industry is beginning to get into operation again. Negotiations with American manufacturers of machinery have been started by the French Government with a view to quick reestablishment of the beet sugar refineries, leveled by the Germans in the devastated areas.

The Germans are carrying out the provisions of the treaty for the return to France of wagons, agricultural machinery and cattle and are making the deliveries of coal to France agreed upon at Spa. It will be a long time before the French mines wrecked by the Germans are again in full operation. I talked with one of the engineers in charge of the work at Lens. He said some coal could be taken from the mines by midsummer next year, but that three years would be consumed in putting the mines in shape to operate to full capacity.

The peoples of the new nations set up by the peace treaties are rejoicing in their freedom and are going about the work of organizing new governmental agencies with the greatest enthusiasm. This is particularly true of Czechoslovakia. Czechoslovakia inherited some of the richest of Austria's resources and her people are undertaking their further development in a spirit that will soon mean prosperity.

Poland's progress has been seriously handicapped by her war with Russia. In their invasion of Poland, the Bolsheviks overran some of her best agricultural areas, destroying the crops. The crops in the regions that were not overrun have suffered from lack of cultivation due to the recruiting of agricultural workers for the army. Poland needs peace. She has rich agricultural lands and important textile industries that could soon be put into operation if the government could give its full attention to economic reconstruction. As it is Poland will face a serious shortage of food this winter.

Austria is the pauper nation of Europe. Her population has been left utterly without the means of supporting itself. There is more under-nourishment of children in Vienna than in any other European city. Unless material assistance is forthcoming from outside sources Austria faces a

1865



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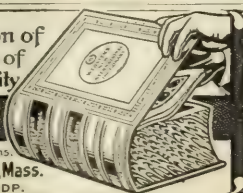
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winter of the most intense suffering.

For the next four or five years the nations, particularly of Eastern Europe, are going to have to concentrate all their energies and resources on economic and agricultural rehabilitation. They are going to have little time or energy to devote to the welfare of the children—the new generation which must carry forward the work of reconstruction in the future. If America wants to help, I know no service it can perform that will be so gratefully remembered, as looking after the children during this period of inevitable neglect.

Happily, the people of Europe are coming to a better understanding of the attitude toward them of the people of the United States. And this is in part responsible for the new spirit with which they are taking hold of the tasks of reconstruction.

They are no longer looking, as they did for so many months after the armistice, to the United States to pull them thru. They now realize that the United States expects them to do what they can to help themselves and that American assistance will be given only in the measure that they prove thru their own effort that Europe is again going to be a going concern.

The American business man in Europe has done much to make this clear. Our Government cannot help you, he has said, but we will help you if you try to help yourselves. His attitude, generally speaking, has been a most generous one. He has not sought to turn Europe's necessities unduly to his profit. Rather he has in many cases entered into negotiations, wherein he has willingly forfeited the advantage that is his as a result of the present exchange situation, in an effort to get European industry into a condition for doing business again.

It is not only the governments and the business people who are gaining a better understanding of the American attitude. The common people, too, are coming to know us better. I believe, as a matter of fact, that there was less misunderstanding of the position of the United States on the part of the peoples of Europe than of the governments.

The feeling of the common people toward the United States is one of sincere friendship and appreciation. American participation in the war has been belittled in parliaments and cabinet chambers, but the people know the part America played and are thankful. They are thankful particularly for the humanitarian service that the people of the United States rendered to Europe with its ambulances, its doctors and its medical supplies. They are thankful for the food America sent. They are thankful for the care it has given the children.

I have traveled in most of the countries of Europe since the armistice and talked with the followers as well as the leaders. The undercurrent of feeling among the people is one of abiding friendship for this republic. Only a deliberately hostile act on our part can change it.

Washington.



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## The Old World's Homage to the Pilgrims

(Continued from page 79)

left Leyden three hundred years before.

The Staathuis was built in the fourteenth century and is considered a very fine type of medieval architecture. It is filled with rare tapestries and some beautiful portraits of the fleshy Rubens school. The Burgomaster, attired in flowing robes and with a great silver chain about his neck, read an address of welcome which was responded to by a member from each delegation. Sir Harry Brittain was chosen to speak for England and I for America. Sir Harry, who was knighted not long ago for the fine work he did during the war and before in promoting closer relations between the United States and England, made a very felicitous and brilliant address. So when I came to reply for America it occurred to me to begin by saying that Sir Harry by his eloquence and wit, and especially by his name, was most fitted to represent the British empire on this occasion, but that while I could not hope to emulate him in the oratorical art, I did feel that by name I also was fit to speak on such an occasion. For only that afternoon I learned that the word "holt," which in old English means a little wooded hill, is still the common word for wood today in the Dutch language. In fact, Holland itself means woodland and is a derivative from "holt land," and therefore nothing could be more fitting than that I a Holt, and a direct descendant of New England fathers, should speak in "Holt-land."

The next day we motored back to Leyden and listened to more speeches. How surprised those old Pilgrims—or rather young Pilgrims, for they were mostly in the twenties—would be if they could have heard all the wonderful things now said about them. In the afternoon we were privileged to witness an exhibition of the national sport of Holland, which is called "Ringerijderij," or "tilting competition." The competitors ride in a "Tilbury" or "Sjees," which is Dutch for chaise. The gentleman drives the horse at a fast trot while the lady has to spear with a long wooden sort of a billiard cue a ring hanging on the end of a pole, a-la-merry-go-round. The lady who secures the greatest number of rings within a certain time is declared the winner. There were twenty-four couples in this competition and all sat on high two-wheeled chaises behind fat horses. Some of the contestants wore charming old-fashioned Dutch costumes. It was a pretty sight to see them driving about the flag-bedecked field to the tune of the band and the applause of the onlookers. We watched this competition for a couple of hours until we were driven away by a threat of rain. That night there was another session in the form of a memorial service in the Pieterskerk, and that concluded the Leyden festivities.

The next morning we went to The

Hague to take luncheon with our Ambassador, Mr. Phillips, late of the State Department, who is the handsomest American diplomat I have ever come across. He made an efficient Assistant Secretary of State during the war and comes from the old New England Phillips family which founded Exeter and Andover. He has already made a very favorable impression upon the Dutch people, I am told.

We had a couple of hours for sight-seeing before luncheon so we visited The Hague galleries, where I saw again the overrated Bull by Paul Potter and the repellant dissecting table group by Rembrandt. But what impressed me the most was our visit to the Carnegie Peace Palace. I was present at the laying of the cornerstone in 1907, but I had not seen it since it was completed. It is really a superb building and my daughters were quick to point out that a thing does not necessarily have to be antique to be beautiful. The grounds have been under the gardener's care long enough to bring the shrubs and flowers into a perfect state of cultivation. The building is practically complete, only a few decorations from the various nations are still to be installed. I admired perhaps more than anything else the exquisite Japanese silk embroidered tapestries that completely covered the wall space in the Ambassador's room. I had seen the Japanese artists working on these tapestries back in 1909 when I was in Kyoto. The replica of the statue of the "Christ of the Andes" at the head of the great stairway was impressive with its famous inscription on the pedestal: "Sooner shall these mountains crumble into dust than that Chileans and Argentines break the peace, which at the feet of Christ the Redeemer they have sworn to maintain." Each nation has contributed something to the Peace Palace, and it is a satisfaction to learn that Mr. Elihu Root's committee, which has just framed the Permanent Court of the League of Nations, has recommended that the seat of the Court shall always be at The Hague.

After a delightful luncheon at the Ambassador's, at which there were no speeches—"silence like a poultice came to heal the blows of sound"—we took the train to Amsterdam and arrived there in time to attend a reception by the Burgomaster at the City Hall. Again we found the hall beautified by old tapestries and Flemish paintings, and again we toasted the Pilgrim fathers back and forth. That evening a wonderful religious service was held in the Nieuwe Kerk, where the American, Dutch, and English ecclesiastical delegates spoke. The musical part of the service was taken by the Oratorium Society. There is no finer church music in the world than the old Dutch hymns, and I shall never forget the choral singing that evening. The Nieuwe Kerk is really a cathedral in



size, grandeur and decoration and in its gilded nave Queen Wilhelmina was crowned.

Early next morning the Pilgrims met at Leyden and proceeded down the canal to Delfshaven, following the exact route that the old Pilgrims took three hundred years ago when they bade farewell to the good city which had given them such generous hospitality for eleven years. About noon we landed at the dock at Delfshaven and there a very pretty incident occurred, which was as touching as it was spontaneous. It was from this very dock that the Pilgrims finally set sail for the New World. All the night before they held vigil, praying, weeping and bidding each other farewell, and when finally John Robinson said "Time and tide wait for no man," they all went to the dock and fell on their knees while Robinson prayed to the good God to give them peace and safety on the great adventure they were about to undertake. As we stood around the quay the Rev. F. B. Meyer started to explain to the Pilgrims and the crowd of townspeople the above incident. Then he said, "Let us do as the Pilgrims did," and the entire throng fell on their knees while Dr. Meyer prayed that we in this day and generation might be worthy of those who embarked from the very spot three hundred years ago.

We then walked up a few blocks to the Presbyterian church in Delfshaven with its famous stained glass window representing the departure of the "Speedwell." Again we had a religious service and again we sang the old Dutch hymns and again clergymen representing England, Holland and America explained to the great congregation what the Pilgrims did for the world.

Then after a pretty trip around the harbor of Rotterdam in a large yacht and another service of song and praise in the Rotterdam cathedral, where Rev. Samuel Eliot of our delegation made easily the best address of the entire celebration, we went to the great banquet rooms in the Zoölogical Gardens, where all Holland's dignitaries were assembled to do us honor and bid us farewell. It was a gala occasion and so many times did the orchestra play the various national airs that I seemed to be standing up most of the dinner hour. Before we left each Pilgrim was presented with a very beautiful volume, entitled, "Leyden Documents Relating to the Pilgrim Fathers." It was edited by Dr. D. Plooi of Leyden, who with Professor van Nes deserves the chief credit for making the Holland celebration the success it was, and Dr. J. Rendel Harris of Manchester, who discovered the "Mayflower" in Old Jordans. The volume contains a facsimile of the official documentary look at Leyden which relates to the marriage contracts of the Pilgrims during their residence at Leyden and such of the Pilgrims as remained in Holland. These documents make a unique volume of permanent value and should be in every important



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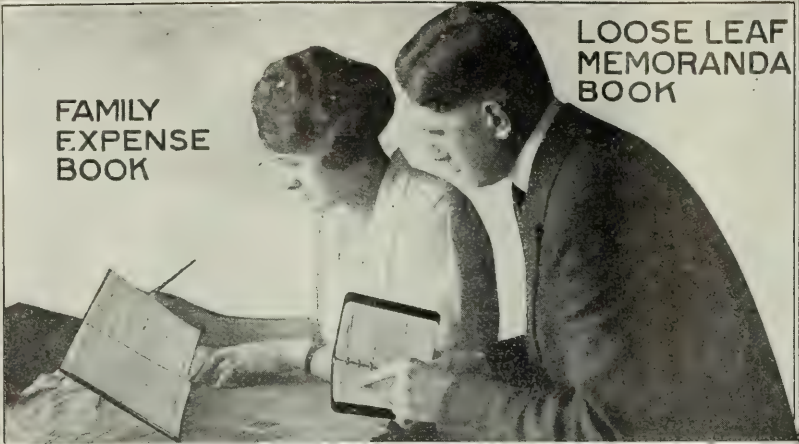


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library of America. Besides the marriage contracts there is a document showing the personal signature of John Robinson, which was hitherto wholly unknown. Another document shows the signature of William Bradford, the historian of the Pilgrims and later Governor of New England, "fresh in memory which smells with odoriferous fragrance." It was drawn up in the very last days before his departure from Leyden to Delfshaven, from where he took passage to England in the "Speedwell," and from where he sailed in the "Mayflower" to New England. The third document is the last will and testament of Bridget Robinson, widow of John Robinson, chiefly important because it gives a number of facts about her children who were yet living in 1643.

After we had bade farewell to our hosts they followed us down to the station and as our special train pulled out of the spotless and spacious station we saw them waving their handkerchiefs and heard them cheering as we disappeared out of sight.

If the keynote of the Holland celebration was religious the essence of the English celebration was political. In Holland it was the character of the Pilgrims, their love of liberty and their passion for religious freedom that was emphasized. At the Dutch celebration even the Protestant churches from France and Switzerland sent delegates. In England, on the contrary, government officials predominated and it was the unity of the English-speaking races which was stressed in most of the speeches.

I spent the 6th, the great day of the English celebrations, at Plymouth. Plymouth is a much larger and handsomer city than I had imagined simply from seeing it from the dock of the steamer in 1907 when we stopped to unload passengers on my first trip to France. The old part of Plymouth down by the "Barbican," or water front, must have looked much the same as it did three hundred years ago, as the accompanying illustration indicates. The celebration was to last a week and every day a pageant was held representing some phase of Pilgrim fact or fiction.

On the great day there was literally a continuous three-ringed performance. I first attended the International Conference at the Corn Exchange. Professor Benjamin W. Bacon of Yale University made the principal American address, while England, Holland, France and Switzerland also had their official spokesmen. At the same time the Lord Chief Justice of England, Lady Astor and other celebrities were laying cornerstones at sailors' homes and Salvation Army barracks.

At 12:30 there was a civic luncheon given at the Guildhall by the English-Speaking Union, the very active British society which is doing so much to promote the solidarity of all people who speak our mother tongue. The luncheon was in honor of their "Right Worshipfuls," the Mayor and Mayor-



ess. It was there I first met Lady Astor, and such a pretty, bright and winning little woman as she was would be hard to find in a day's journey. After seeing and hearing her, I do not wonder that the British people are enthusiastic over their first woman member of Parliament. She was the one who made the most thoughtful speech of any of the delegates and the wittiest, too. To be sure as a good daughter of Virginia she did not permit Massachusetts to receive all the encomiums of the day, but I remember she was the one who first emphasized that America and England are the only two nations whose civilization rests on a genuine belief in the efficiency of the Bible as a guide to conduct and life. The Lord Chief Justice of England made a very pleasing address, but when I came to analyze it afterward I was surprised to discover that it was only a very graceful way of elucidating for over twenty minutes the idea that he was "glad to be present on such an historic occasion."

After luncheon the whole town took a half holiday. It seemed as tho every one of the 150,000 citizens was on the streets. We first assembled at the dock where the Pilgrims set sail for America. The dock has been lengthened in recent years so that when you look at the picture herewith reproduced you must cut off about three-quarters of it to imagine the place as it was three hundred years ago. The Mayor wore his official robes of scarlet and ermine with the gold chain of office about his neck. The Lord Bishops were distinguished by their silk stockings and gaiters. Even the American bishops (who are always addressed in England as "Your Lordship") were in their chromatic costumes. The professors were resplendent in their academic robes and scarlet hoods. Perhaps the prettiest part of the ceremony was the presentation ceremony to Viscountess Astor, acting for Mrs. Walter H. Page, by the city of Plymouth of a beautiful silver replica of the "Mayflower" in honor of the late Ambassador Page, who had been honored with the "freedom of the city" during the war. It was enclosed in a glass case and carried by marines after the ceremony at the head of the procession which formed at the dock and proceeded up to "the Hoe," a word of whose derivation no one seemed to know. The Hoe is a great flat plateau overlooking the harbor and the city, an ideal place for a parade or pageant. As we walked among the cheering crowds that thronged the streets we came to where the costumed actors of the pageant were waiting for us to review them. The English youths of both sexes were dressed up to represent all phases of Pilgrim and Puritan life. There were the wild American Indians, in war paint and feathers, the Puritan mothers, who, as Mr. Choate said, not only had to bear, with the hardships of a New England wilderness but had to bear with the Pilgrim fathers as well. There were John Robinson, Priscilla Alden, Miles Standish and all the other



## Man mills away in wheat vital elements of life

*Largely to this waste we can now trace the fact that one-third of America is undernourished*

**O**NE in every three of us—rich and poor alike—suffers from malnutrition, authorities say.

Not in Russia, in Austria, in Armenia, but here in America, the world's greatest food-producing nation!

You hear, every day, complaints of "that tired feeling." You see your friends developing "nerves," weakening under the strain of our modern life.

Why? Those who study these things say the underlying cause in most cases is malnutrition—lack of the right kind of food. Though you eat *enough* food, the chances are one in three that you or your family do not get enough of certain food elements.

### Elements the body needs

The body is composed of water and sixteen vital chemical and mineral elements. To attain its fullest development, to maintain its health and normal functions it must be supplied with food containing all these elements.

In the whole wheat grain Nature offers us these sixteen vital food elements in more nearly the proper proportion than in any other food, save possibly milk.

But, in the modern preparation of wheat, many of these elements are largely lost through the removal of the six outer layers of the grain, commonly called the bran. The iron, which makes that part of the blood which

carries life-giving oxygen to every cell. The calcium, predominant element in every bone. The phosphorus, which the brain and nerves must have. Elements—these and others—absolutely essential to health and growth.

Only in the whole wheat grain can all of them be secured.

### A sixteen-vital-elements food

There is a food, of delightful flavor, which comes to you undiminished in its nutritive values—Pettijohn's—whole wheat crushed and toasted.

Its natural nut-like sweetness, brought out full in the toasting, appeals to old and young alike.

Served with cream and a bit of sugar if you wish, it makes a vital energy ration of surprising deliciousness.

If you have a child who is not so rosy-cheeked and active as he should be—give him Pettijohn's.

If you yourself are feeling below par in energy and vim—try Pettijohn's.

If you suffer from congestion of the intestinal tract, give this food with its natural bran laxative a chance to set you right.

Make tomorrow's breakfast of Pettijohn's, the sixteen-vital-elements food. Your grocer has it—or will gladly get it for you.

Made by the Quaker Oats Co., 1625 M. Railway Exchange Bldg., Chicago, U. S. A.



### The sixteen vital elements of nutrition

Oxygen	Sodium
Nitrogen	Chlorine
Hydrogen	Fluorine
Carbon	Silicon
Sulphur	Manganese
Magnesium	Potassium
Phosphorus	Iron
Calcium	Iodine

In the whole wheat kernel all of these elements are found. But man mills away most of the last twelve of them in the outer six layers of the grain.

"He has suffered both stomach and intestinal congestion just to the extent that his refining process has been carried on," says one authority. And another says of these wasted elements: "Much ill-health and malnutrition come from their insufficiency."



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worthies so dear to the American boys and girls. After the children had sung the English and American national anthems, and there had been much band playing and flag waving, the crowds melted away and the chief delegates hurried back to the Guildhall, where more speeches were made and listened to. As if all this was not enough for one day the evening ended with a great banquet given by the Mayor in the assembly rooms. I never saw so many decorations worn at one time before. There were Knights of the Bath and the Garter, and commanders, officers and chevaliers were as common as dirt. I sat next to the doctor who served during the war as surgeon-in-chief of the British army and the breast pin on which hung the replicas of his decorations went almost from shoulder to shoulder. I do not believe I ever saw so many honors dangling on one human being before. It was a great gathering of great Englishmen and Americans and the hands-across-the-sea sentiment was thicker than water. Telegrams were sent to the King and the President and we all drank out of the great loving cup in honor of Anglo-Saxon solidarity.

While I was in Holland I seemed to see the Pilgrims in my mind's eye depart three hundred years before, leaving the weeping, kneeling throng at the Delfshaven dock. While I was in Plymouth I stood on the very stone flags on the dock from which they again departed for the New World. As I write this my phantom "May-flower" is on the seas. By the middle of November she will have landed her precious cargo on the bleak shores of Massachusetts Bay and then it will be the turn of the United States to show what it can do to cement friendship with the people of Holland and England, our brothers by blood and spiritual inheritance.

### Wanted: a House

(Continued from page 81)

from \$500 to \$800 for each house.

The basement is quite a large item of expense at the present time, both excavation and rock work being excessively high and even in a comparatively small house on solid ground, a saving of from \$150 to \$200 may be had by excavating only half of the basement. The entire basement can be omitted, if necessary, and a small hot water heating plant installed in the kitchen with a slight modification of the floor plan. By doing this the entire basement may be omitted with a sufficient saving to more than pay for the increased cost of the heating plant and a sanitary concrete floor thruout the first story. Such a heating plant will save from 30 to 40 per cent of fuel over a basement hot air furnace, an item well worth considering in these days of high cost of fuel.

Houses can be built in pairs, which is often done in certain cities and seems a very acceptable way to reduce cost.

Dwellings can be built in the form of



flats as heretofore done in certain cities and a suitable one-family space can be provided for about 60 per cent of its cost as a single dwelling.

The design of the front of the house is often over-emphasized in the hope that other deficiencies may be overlooked, to help convince the buyer that he is to receive something of special or unusual value. In these days of high costs the buyer will do well to overlook ornamentation of all kinds and return to first principles, so to speak. Good taste and simplicity should rule. "Massive" fronts such as are often placed upon even the smallest houses cannot fail to add to the cost. Heavy stone or brick porch columns which usually reduce the size of the porch are costly, and wide projecting cornices supported by heavy brackets will require frequent painting and repair and will be the first things to show depreciation. Heavy tile roofs with wide overhanging eaves out of all proportion to the size of the houses, which seem to be considered the style, should be omitted.

Certain cities in the East have set the style of building houses in long continuous rows, so that the houses are made available to the average family at a much reduced cost. Such building in the past has not usually produced attractive homes and they have often been dark and badly arranged; but it is possible to build an attractive and very livable type of house in rows or groups containing from four to six houses in each group. These houses have an interesting individual outside appearance and where desired may be of different sizes. They may be individually owned. The saving in construction of such houses is from 20 to 25 per cent for all of the inside houses and from 10 to 15 per cent for the end houses over the cost of the same amount of living space in an individual and independently built house. The saving in cost for fuel is in about the same proportion.

Building at best is certain to prove quite expensive, and then again it requires time. For persons seeking immediate living quarters it is well to look into the matter of old houses, which seem to constitute the major portion of the offerings. The very fact that most buyers will not hesitate to reject a dwelling that does not possess the last word in improvements and architecture, makes it that much easier and less expensive to purchase a house say twenty years old or more. Yet such houses, so we are assured by leading architects, are better value today than the majority of cottages put up during the last two or three years. These old houses are floored almost entirely with white pine, a lumber never excelled for building purposes, but which cannot be found at any price now. Finishings, such as doors, window frames and wainscoting, even in inexpensive buildings of the last quarter century, were of the finest heavy hard wood, which has practically disappeared from the market. Lumber which sold for \$45 to \$48 a thousand feet six years ago now sells for \$200.

Is it any wonder, then, that an old

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### THE INDEPENDENT

311 Sixth Avenue

New York



house represents an ideal solution of the housing problem? The person who is handy with tools can purchase an old house and gradually put it in order. Electric wiring, plumbing, a heating system, remodeling the rooms—all these things can be done little by little and at a very moderate cost. Even the ugliest house can be transformed into an attractive dwelling by covering it with metal lathe and plastering it with cement, so as to have stucco finished walls.

Old houses are selling at low prices, and generally a good piece of ground with fine fruit trees and hedges goes with an old house as compared with a barren piece of land measuring but a few feet on all sides of the new house.

Owing to the dismantling of Army and Navy cantonments in various parts of the country, the moment is especially opportune for rebuilding and renovating operations. Second-hand lumber, plumbing supplies, electric wiring, furnaces, etc., can be obtained at less than half cost at the cantonments.

And once the prospective buyer obtains his house he will do well to hold on to it, despite all kinds of tempting offers for it. The high prices commanded by fairly modern houses have caused many owners to sell their homes, in the hopes of realizing several thousand dollars' profit. In their anxiety to lay their hands on so much money at one time, many of these parties have failed to consider their predicament in the event of a sale and their being forced to move into other quarters.

We cannot but help thinking of the individual who lived happily in his own home in a New Jersey town quite near New York City. One day this individual, led astray by the attractive prices being offered for houses in his vicinity, secured a sale on his house at a profit of three thousand dollars. Then he moved to New York, post haste, and set up his home in an elaborate apartment. Six months went by, and the rent took a very noticeable jump. Another six months elapsed, and again the rent went up. Finally, at the end of another six months, the rent went up to a new figure, at which the individual in question began to take stock of his three thousand dollars. To his astonishment he found himself with considerably less than one-third of his original profit, and he betook himself to the little town where once he lived a life of freedom from landlords. Try as he would he could find nothing in the way of a house. Finally, in desperation, he offered to buy back his former home. And he succeeded, but only after paying two thousand dollars more than he had received for it a year and a half before!

Which story is typical of the experiences of thousands who, seeing a seemingly fine opportunity of realizing a handsome profit, have converted their homes into so much money which has soon been found to dwindle away in these days of the dollar which is not worth one hundred cents as of old.

New York City



## A Number of Things

By Edwin E. Slosson

Samuel Pepys was the F. P. A. of the seventeenth century.

Will not the verdict of history be that Woodrow Wilson was a great statesman but a poor politician?

UPROAR CAUSED BY IRISH AT PILGRIMS' MEETING

—Tribune

SINN FEINERS FIGHT AT PILGRIM RALLY

—Times

Land of the Pilgrims' pride?

There are many queer crimes committed in war time. An Australian gunner was courtmartialed in 1915 on the charge:

That he did, to the prejudice of good order and military discipline, at Serapeum, Egypt, tether a piece of cheese to a stake in the ground.

Mrs. Charlie Chaplin has sued for divorce because her husband was too serious and would not allow her more than \$250 a week. It is becoming harder and harder to suit our wives. Not every husband can be funnier than Charlie or afford his wife more than \$250 a week pin money.

If the Senate persists in its opposition to the acceptance of any mandates from the League of Nations we shall have to change a line or two in our national song, "Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean," for this quatrain is obviously incorrect:

Thy mandates make heroes assemble  
When Liberty's form stands in view;  
Thy banners make tyranny tremble  
Three cheers for the Red, White and Blue!

I suggest the following revised version:

Thy mandates make senators tremble  
When liberty's form stands in view;  
Thy treaties make statesmen dissemble,  
Three cheers for the Red, White and Blue.

The London *Times* describes the reception of the Prince of Wales at Ballarat, Australia, in this tactful way:

By the time the Prince reached Ballarat heavy rain was falling. Whatever the cause, the reception at Ballarat was noticeably less warm than elsewhere, tho this is not to say that there was any real failure in proper feeling. Nevertheless, the Prince triumphed again, carrying thru the open-air program in the pouring rain, with the wet dripping from his bared fair hair, and even receiving a present of an elaborate pair of silk pajamas—made by the hands of a number of working girls who devoted themselves during the war years to conspicuously devoted and successful war work—with no more than properly boyish self-consciousness.

Poor little chap, could not somebody hold an umbrella over him to protect his bared fair hair from the wet and to conceal his boyish blushes? It is to be hoped that the silk pajamas will tend to relieve that uneasy feeling caused by wearing a crown in bed.

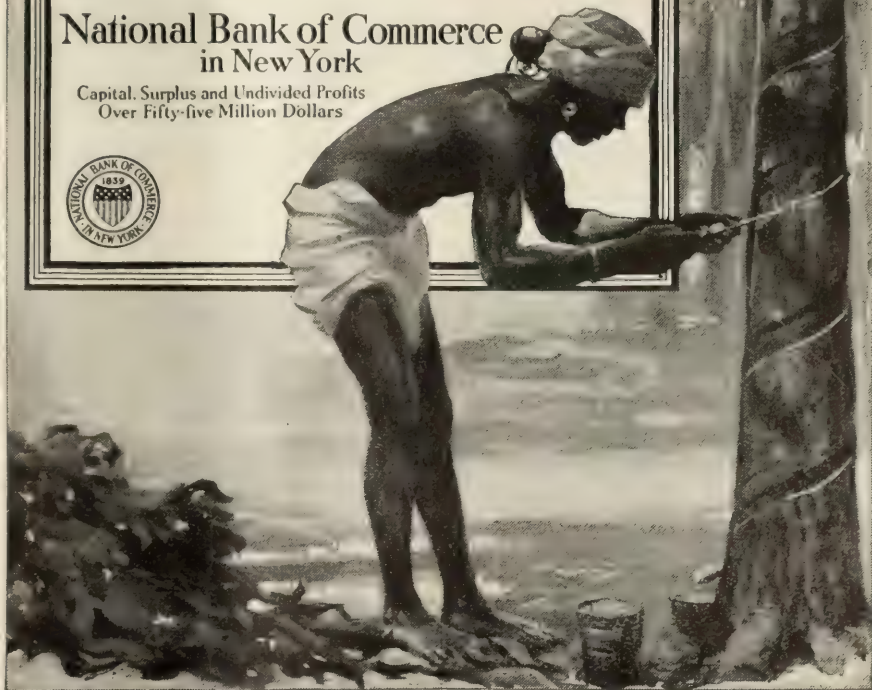
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DIVIDEND NOTICE OF THE  
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The Board of Directors of the above Company at a meeting held October 5th, 1920, declared a CASH dividend of 1½ Per Cent. on the Preferred Stock, a CASH dividend of 1 Per Cent. on the Common Stock, and a dividend at the rate of 1½ shares of Common Stock on every One Hundred (100) shares of Common Stock outstanding, all payable November 1st, 1920.

The Transfer Books will close at 3 o'clock P. M. on October 15th, 1920, and will reopen at 10 o'clock A. M. on October 28th, 1920.

C. N. JELLIFFE, Secretary.

## MIDVALE STEEL &amp; ORDNANCE COMPANY

DIVIDEND NO. 16.

At a meeting of the Board of Directors of Midvale Steel and Ordnance Company, held Wednesday, October 6th, 1920, a quarterly dividend of \$1.00 per share was declared, payable November 1st, 1920, to stockholders of record at the close of business, October 15th, 1920.

Books will remain open.

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October 5th, 1920.

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**DARDS**

FLORIST

341 Madison Avenue, NEW YORK

Established 1874

Journalism As An  
Aid To History  
Teaching

By EDWIN E. SLOSSON, Ph.D.

Literary Editor of The  
Independent

Associate in the School of Journal-  
ism, Columbia University

This address, which was given before the History Section of the New York State Teachers' Association at Rochester, November 23, 1915, has been published in pamphlet form and will be furnished free to teachers.—Write to The Independent, 311 Sixth Avenue, New York.

## How to Study This Number

## THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

English, Literature and  
CompositionHistory, Civics and  
Economics

## I. No One "Owns" Land.

1. Make a four minute political speech for the Single Tax party.
2. Plan and prepare (ready to be printed) a four page leaflet of propaganda urging men and women to vote for the Single Tax ticket in the coming Presidential election.
3. Write a brief for debate in opposition to the Single Tax program.

## II. The Old World's Homage to the Pilgrims.

1. Write a 1000 word narrative of the departure of the Pilgrims from England and from Holland.
2. Write a character sketch of any one member of the group that sailed on the "Mayflower."
3. Memorize for recitation a poem commemorating the Pilgrims.
4. Make an after dinner speech suitable to a banquet at which the guests are descendants of the Pilgrims met to celebrate the Tercentenary of the "Mayflower's" voyage.
5. Which incident of all those that Mr. Holt describes during the "Old World" celebrations of the Pilgrims seems to you the most impressive?

## III. The New Spirit in the Old World.

1. Give a brief talk in which you summarize Mr. Bicknell's observations as to the after-war conditions in each of the European countries.
2. Write a letter to a student of your own age in Austria explaining the attitude of the United States toward reconstruction in Europe.
3. "The bright spot in Western Europe is Belgium." Develop a short essay from this as an opening sentence.

## IV. The Next Congress.

1. Write an argument urging the election of (a) Republicans, (b) Democrats to the next Congress.

## V. The Story of the Week.

1. Give a short lecture summing up the important recent events outside the United States.
2. Write a letter, as if from a friend in Ireland, describing the riots there and pointing out the attitude that he thinks Americans should take toward Ireland's difficulties.
3. Write a description of the Soviet control of Italian factories, choosing two pictures from page 84 to illustrate your text.

## VI. Revival of the Gothic Grotesque.

1. Which of the six illustrations impresses you most forcefully? Why?
2. Write a ghost story or a mystery story to which one of these drawings would furnish suitable illustration.
3. Name at least one famous story by each of the following authors: Poe, Maupassant, Hawthorne, Hugo.

## VII. Pebbles.

1. Which of the jokes in this column seems to you funniest? Analyze your reasons.
2. Write four short jokes or humorous anecdotes either from your own imagination or from occurrences that you have seen. Show upon what element the humor of each depends.
3. Charlie Chaplin once said, "People may not know why they laugh at me, but I know." Does comedy or humor always depend upon skilful technique?

## VIII. An Empty House.

1. What form of verse has Mr. Starbuck used? Scan it. How many of the rhymes are perfect?
2. Can you find in the poem examples of personification, onomatopoeia, simile?
3. Write a short descriptive poem about something connected with your own home toward which you feel deep sentiment.

## IX. Wanted: A House.

1. Write a humorous sketch depicting the adventures of two people seeking a house in which to live. Have them consider a discarded street car, a houseboat, an old barn—anything else they might live in other than a dog kennel or a bird house.
2. If you were responsible for building a house for yourself, which of the types mentioned by the author would you choose and why? Write a description of its exterior, garden, etc.; its interior.

## I. Single Tax—No One "Owns" Land.

1. What is the "single tax" and why is it so called? Who was Henry George?
2. Mr. Macauley speaks of taxation on other wealth than land as "fines on production." What does this mean? Do you think this position sound?
3. If all taxation were laid on land and houses and other improvements were exempted do you think it would contribute to solving the housing shortage by forcing unused land into use?
4. Compare the single tax with Socialism. What points of difference do you note brought out in Mr. Macauley's article?

## II. Conditions in Eastern Europe—The New Spirit in the Old World. The Russo-Polish War. The Riga Conference. Polish-Lithuanian Boundary Dispute.

1. Name as many reasons as you can for the rapid recovery of Belgium and Czechoslovakia from war conditions. Explain why neighboring nations in western and eastern Europe have not been so fortunate.
2. How can American business men assist in restoring economic "normalcy" to Russia, Poland and Austria?
3. What is the Russian attitude with respect to Lithuania? What is the Polish attitude? Indicate on a map the (approximate) boundaries of an independent Lithuania.

## III. Bolshevism Abroad—Industrial Reorganization in Italy. Labor versus Bolshevism.

1. To what extent does the industrial movement in Italy show Bolshevik influence? In what respects does it seem more moderate than the Russian movement?
2. Why are the American Socialists and labor unionists opposed to the establishment of Bolshevism in the United States?

## IV. Latin America—Chilean President Named.

1. Compare political conditions in the countries of tropical America with those in Chile and account as well as you can for the greater stability of the latter republic.
2. What can you find out about the contested election of 1876 in the United States?

## V. American History—The Old World's Homage to the Pilgrims.

1. Tell what you can about the temporary Puritan settlements in Holland.
2. Did the Dutch themselves make any settlements in America?

## VI. The Constitution—The Next Congress—A Debate. French Ways and Ours.

1. Why is it important under our form of government for a President to have a majority in both Houses of Congress of his own political faith?
2. In what ways is the President controlled by Congress? For what purposes must he secure a two-thirds vote of the Senate?
3. Are there any features of the French constitution which you would like to see adopted in our own? If you do not like the French method of securing harmony between the legislative and executive branches of the national government can you suggest some other method of securing this result?

## VII. The Campaign—The Next Congress The Old Chief Enters the Battle. Republican Strategy. Has Harding Scrapped the League? Ireland and Article XI.

1. In what states are there Senatorial contests? Which of these states would you rank as "doubtful"? Based on this estimate, what is the greatest majority each party could reasonably hope to have in the next Senate? Do you think it possible for either party to control two-thirds of the next Senate? What is the significance of this with reference to foreign policy?
2. Is there a Senatorial contest in your own state? What two Senators now represent your state? What is their attitude toward the League of Nations?
3. What is the position of Senator Borah on the League of Nations issue? Of ex-President Taft? Which position do you think Senator Harding more nearly agrees with?
4. How does President Wilson explain Article X of the Covenant?
5. How is the Irish question affected by Article XI of the Covenant? Compare the opinions of President Wilson and ex-Justice Hughes on this point.



# The Independent

FOUNDED 1848

## The Cover

The Girl Scout that we publish on the cover of *The Independent* this week is reproduced from the poster which is to announce "Girl Scout Week" from November 6 to 15 and to ask for \$1,033,400 to carry on the work of the Girl Scouts for another year in the United States and its territories.

The Girl Scouts are one of the few national organizations who have not bombarded the country with appeals. Altho their membership is very large—\$2,176 Scouts in forty-seven states, and in 1184 cities of the United States, they have made only one previous general appeal for funds since their founding in 1912.

The budget of \$1,033,400 they are asking for includes a new building for national headquarters—equipment for Girl Scout Camps thruout the country, running expenses for all local organizations, salaries and expenses of staff including fourteen field organizers. The effort of these workers is to be directed toward developing a larger and better equipped group of volunteer leaders for the Scouts who are joining faster than the organization can care for them. There are already over 7200 volunteer officers in the United States in charge of Girl Scout troops as compared with only 211 paid workers in the service of national headquarters and all local organizations.

The public needs no argument for the Girl Scouts.

## Opening Nights

Alma Simpson, in concert, sang "Wiegenlied" and "Auftraege," the first German songs rendered here since the war. A varied program disclosed, somewhat disappointingly, a voice with skill and technique, but little feeling. (Carnegie Hall.)

*The Meanest Man in the World*, by Augustin MacHugh, gives the most popular man in the world—George M. Cohan—an opportunity to demonstrate that all's well that ends well. Delightfully humorous comedy, well played. (Hudson Theater.)

*The Barber of Seville*, Rossini's tuneful opera, is presented by the San Carlo Opera Company with a charming lightness and gaiety that brings out to the full the delicate wit and melodiousness of this popular piece. (Manhattan Opera House.)

*Hedda Gabler*. A Norwegian actress, Madame Borgny, from the National Theater of Christiania, gives us a new interpretation of Ibsen's most enigmatic character but makes her less interesting than did Mrs. Fiske and Madame Nazimova. Charles Laite as Tesman and Rolf Fjell as Judge Brack did good work. (Little Theater.)

*The Mirage*, an unmellow melodrama by Edgar Selwyn, affords the movie queen, Florence Reed, a chance to thrill in person that super sophisticated host of Metropolitan boobs who think all "life" is compassed in New York's "Great White Way." Sensible Americans who live in Erie, Pennsylvania, and other wholesome centers will find it unelevating and tedious. (Times Square Theater.)

## Including Harper's Weekly

Hamilton Holt  
Editor

Edwin E. Slosson Associate Editor	Hannah H. White Managing Editor
Franklin H. Giddings	Norman Hapgood
Shailer Mathews	Talcott Williams
Preston Slosson	John Spargo

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## Remarkable Remarks

HERBERT HOOVER—A menacing factor today is the moral let-down.

SENATOR PENROSE—Maine has gone hell-bent for the Republican party.

MME. PAUL LAFORGUE—Not a stitch of underclothing do my children wear.

MRS. VINCENT ASTOR—I have not bought any new clothes for months.

CONGRESSMAN HARRY L. GANDY—The nation should be aroused to the danger of peyote.

KARL H. KITCHIN—The people of Richmond, Indiana, believe their city is the art center of the Middlewest.

ALFRED FANTL—Lack of exercise and excess of rich foods have ruined the figures of the majority of our well-to-do women.

PREMIER CLEMENCEAU—I am going into India's jungles to hunt tigers, which is much less dangerous than French politics.

REV. HENRY DAY—The khaki craze has passed, but maidenly modesty and reserve, in speech, dress and conduct leave much to be desired.

H. N. BRAILSFORD—A greener Europe, calmer, duller and less populous will sit down to revise the essay on population which Malthus wrote during the last universal war.

REV. JOHN R. STRATON—You cannot purify a polecat, you cannot denature a smallpox epidemic, you cannot make a rattlesnake respectable and reliable, and the only thing to do with the entire dancing mania, which has done more to corrupt the morals of this age than any other single force, is to destroy it, root and branch.

## Reflections in Vers Libre

On the Anguish of Being Driven by His Convictions to Enroll as a Democrat for the First Time in a Hitherto Blameless Career.

ME!

Son of two Republicans,  
Grandson of four,  
Related to ninety and nine others,  
Born to the tradition of the Civil War,  
northern exposure only,

Born in a Republican town of a Republican county,

Whose first clear memory, at the age of four,

Is of wearing a Major McKinley cap,

And shouting around the streets—

"Hooray for McKinley, Hobart and Ho-o-o-onest Money!"

ME, the adopted son of New York,

Where Democracy means the Tammany Tiger,

Politics corrupt and cynical, ashes of corruption and civic treason;

ME, the Roosevelt-mad, the enthusiastic Bull Moose,

The cheerer on election night of Roosevelt majorities;

ME: to make THAT a Democrat! . . .

O Lodge, Harding, Penrose, Wadsworth, SEE what you done!





Underwood & Underwood

### A New Development in Strikes

These wives of Welsh miners have organized to register their protest against their husbands' proposed strike. Perhaps here is the clue to one sure cure for unnecessary labor troubles. Many a man who asserts his independence of employers recognizes superior wisdom when it comes from the "better half"



# The Independent

October 23, 1920

## We Need a Newly Consecrated Americanism

The Message of the Republican Party to the American People

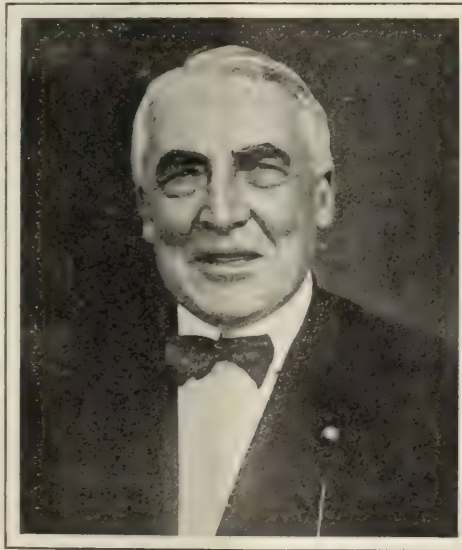
By Senator Warren G. Harding

**T**HE Republican party presents its platform and its record of national service for two-thirds of a century, and asks for the support which has been accorded to it thru-out most of its existence. It keenly recognizes that it is seeking an onerous responsibility; a responsibility proportioned not only to the crisis that confronts the nation and the world, but also to the measure of ineptness that has marked the conduct of national affairs in recent years. But our party has never evaded responsibility, and will not now.

For nearly three years the national administration refused to make any preparation for participation in a war that seemed almost certain to draw us in. It emphasized its devotion to unpreparedness by boasting, on the verge of our involvement, that it had kept us out, and pledging to continue keeping us out. Once in, it was forced to reckless waste and unstinted spending to make up for its failure in foresight. So, despite our advantage of timely warning that none of our allies enjoyed, our part in the war cost us vastly more than like measure of achievement cost any other country.

The most elemental statesmanship would have learned from all this the lesson that preparedness was necessary. Other governments, while engrossed in war, began preparation for peace. Our own refused to make ready for peace, with the same obstinacy that it had refused to make ready for war. So we emerged with our economics confused, our industry out of joint, our finances disorganized, our debt piled mountain high—and no plans for the future.

I say, no plans for the future; but it was really far worse than that. For instead of a program of constructive na-



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"We will have done with one-man rule," says the Republican candidate for President of the United States. "The substance and fact of common counsel shall replace the broken promise of it"

---

This article is the fifth of the series in which each candidate for President of the United States presents in the Independent his message to the American people.

---

tional rehabilitation, we found our national leadership engrossed with a chimerical scheme of reconstructing the world and making America the chief guarantor of the new order! Because the American people and their representatives refused to assume these obligations; they were punished by a denial of the legal state of peace that had been won on the battlefield. That denial has constituted a grievance to the public, an interference with business, an obstacle to resumption of foreign trade, a refusal of substantial peace-time rights to the people, and a means to keep the executive in possession of extraordinary war powers which ought not to be vested in him in peace.

During the war the Republican masses thruout the land, and their representatives in Congress, united to sustain the Government in every way. They put aside party consideration in Congress, and

supported the necessary war measures with a larger proportion of their voting strength than was accorded by their opponents. For this unstinted loyalty they were repaid with an autocratic demand that the country oust them from every place of official power and influence. That demand was emphatically rejected at the election two years ago.

Yet even that verdict was not enough to discourage the régime of autocracy at Washington. The same self-sufficiency that had refused to prepare in peace for war, or in war for peace, now assumed to dictate, in violence to the constitution, the after-war settlement of the world and our relations therein. Thus the obstinacy

of one man temporarily wielding a power which he would not divide with those constitutionally entitled to share it, delayed and prevented the settlement that all the world acutely needed. Political, economical and





© Harris & Ewing, from Paul Thompson

The Republican candidates, Governor Calvin Coolidge (left) and Senator Harding, stand together on a platform of constructive progress for "America first"

social demoralization spread in consequence to many countries, and the world in "peace" found itself engaged in more wars than before. It felt the very bonds of society disintegrating.

Seeing nothing that was going on in the world, interested only in its fantasy of a power league to prevent war, the Washington administration was deaf to all the pressing considerations of the domestic situation. Unstinted spending continued the rule, and a peace-time Pelion was piled atop a wartime Ossa of national debt. The Republican Congress, the election of which in the midst of war might well have served as an effective warning, sought to initiate policies of reconstruction and rehabilitation. To bring order out of the chaos of public expenditure, a budget system was devised and provided for by Congress, that would have enabled both system and economy. It was promptly vetoed. To insure the most effective employment of the merchant marine we had built and bought during the war, a measure of broad constructive policy looking to trade expansion and industrial growth, was passed. The executive signed it—and then announced that he would refuse to enforce some of its most essential features!

Small wonder that the country has lost confidence in the administrative capability of such a régime! It remembers the record of the Republican party, which first won the Civil War and then rehabilitated and unified the nation. Naturally, the country seeks once more

the help and direction that served it so well in that earlier crisis. These we offer to it, with the promise that we will have done with one-man rule, that the substance and fact of common counsel shall replace the broken promise of it.

There will be, there can be, no return to the old order that has ended. The common people—the people of whom Lincoln said that God must have loved them, because he made so many of them—have seen themselves lifted to a new level in the social and economic scheme of the world; and our problems of the future will be to maintain them there. We propose that so far as is humanly possible they shall be so maintained. That which has been saved out of the world's travail has been saved mainly because they were loyal to our civiliza-

tion; that which they have gained, they have earned a thousand times over, and are entitled to have preserved to them and to their children. We stand inflexibly against whatever suggests revolution or destruction; but on the other hand we stand for those wisely guided processes of social evolution which, running in seven-league boots in these times, tend to carry us forward and upward at a rate that no social movement ever before attained.

For these things and their attainment the Republican party gives its promise. It recognizes the [Continued on page 140]



© Edmonston, from International

At the Minnesota State Fair, held in the early fall in St. Paul, a veritable two-ring circus was conducted by Governor Cox and Senator Harding, who both spoke, to the effacement of the prize fruit and stock that had expected to get at least a slight amount of attention

## A Consistent Record

### In 1916 Senator Warren G. Harding said, In an article written for The Independent:

The Republican party has applied the best of thought and honest intent to the solution of all problems which attend exceptional growth, and means to go on—without stopping the growth—deliberately, orderly, conscientiously, neither yielding nor appealing to prejudice or passion, but strengthening the weak in the supremacy of the law, always seeking the ideal over safe and proven paths.

The European war has given us a fictitious, sectional prosperity, but it does not blind us to the depression likely to follow, nor to the industrial reconstruction which must be worked out, nor to the industrial and commercial menace of desperate Europe struggling, after peace is restored, for its own rehabilitation.

We want a real and righteous Americanism abroad, and we need a newly-consecrated Americanism at home. We want the spirit truly American and all-pervading, and we want an outward manifestation. We must be a people with one great ideal, one all-encompassing aspiration, one guiding hope, one common interest, one people and one flag. That's why I am Republican.

We must have a slogan of prosperity and we should make America prosper first.

The Republican party is too big to trail any man. The principles of the party stand ahead of any candidate.



# One Saving Grace of War

A Message from the United States Government to the American People

By William Mather Lewis

Director of the Savings Division, U. S. Treasury Department

**W**AS the war a great victory or a useless, costly experience for America? Some day the balance will be struck and this matter will be determined. And the answer will not come so much from the battlefields of Europe where our soldiers acquitted themselves so nobly as from the counting houses and factories and fields of America in reconstruction days. President Wilson suggested how this momentous question will be answered, when he said: "I doubt if many good by-products can come out of a war, but if our people learn from this war to save, then the war is worth all it cost us in money and materials."

In the latter days of 1917 when our Government was struggling with the problem of raising the staggering amounts called for by an embattled nation, a system was evolved, which enabled every citizen, no matter how small his financial resources, to lend something to the United States. The system was known broadly as "War Savings" and the securities offered were a 25 cent Thrift Stamp and a \$5 War Savings Stamp. As millions of people who had never before saved their money began purchasing these securities, they discovered that in giving aid to their Government they were, in fact, helping themselves.

Those in charge of the work saw its possibilities. The Chairman of the War Savings Committee said: "I see no reason why this should be merely a war measure. I think there may grow out of it a continuing plan to help the people of this country to save and for inculcating thrift into the national character, and if that can be done, if millions of little springs may flow into the reservoir of capital, our financial future will be pretty well assured." His words suggest the reason why the Treasury Department has continued the promotion of War Savings securities since the Armistice. It has seen the vision of what universal saving will mean to America, and, as its share in completing and perpetuating the victory, is striving to place the popular purchase of Government securities on a permanent footing, in order that the people of the country may be taught for their peace-time value the lessons of thrift and savings learned during the war.

In the true Democracy, every worker is a capitalist, every citizen has a financial reserve. The small securi-

ties offered by the Government offer a safe and sure road to such a Democracy. The lesson, like many others of great benefit, is not easy to teach. We have been termed a nation of economic illiterates. 1,250,000 people of America, whose working days are over, are dependent upon charity because the idea of saving was not popular in the America of their productive days. If the safety deposit boxes of the United States would give up their dead stores of fake securities, enough wealth would be disclosed to stagger the imagination. From \$400,000,000 to \$500,000,000 is the estimated amount gathered in each year by fake promoters in this country. Countless numbers of people are losing their hard earned savings each day because they lack knowledge of financial facts. America is overrun with "wild-cat" oil companies today. Such concerns flourish only where there is easy money, when people through incorrect spending habits, develop the "get-rich-quick" germ. No one has to look far to be persuaded of the Biblical statement that "A fool and his money are soon parted."

Economic knowledge has been confined to a few university professors, financiers and advanced college students. The science of finance is a closed book for most of us. When we are sick we consult a doctor, when we need legal advice we see a lawyer, but when the investment bug bites us, instead of consulting a reliable broker or banker, we sneak up an alley and pass our hard earned cash to someone who has hypnotized us with his fairy story of sudden wealth. The Treasury Department finds the answer to this condition in placing financial knowledge before the people in terms which even a child can understand. No greater opportunity has ever come to America than that of making economic literacy universal. It means universal financial independence, and universal financial independence sounds the doom of Bolshevism and industrial unrest, of the power of swollen fortunes. The possibilities of the Savings Movement salvaged from war activities by the Treasury Department are boundless.



That Government securities are the safest kind of an investment is believed by this proprietor of a fruit cart in Washington



Thrift stamps for children are advocated in the public schools of Washington where the members in lines such as this impatiently wait their turn to invest their pennies

The total amount of  
[Continued on page 141]



# Straws in the Wind

## The Results of the Independent Open Forum on the Presidential Election

G OVERNOR James Middleton Cox has won nearly a two-thirds vote from The Independent readers who have responded to our invitation of September 4 for letters on the Presidential contest. Senator Warren Gamaliel Harding has 32 per cent of the vote to 66 per cent for his Democratic rival. The odd two per cent are divided between Eugene Debs, the Socialist, and Aaron Watkins, Prohibitionist. This does not include a very considerable number of letters from correspondents who are still "on the fence" because they cannot make up their minds which ticket they like least!

We are glad that so many of our readers took part in our "straw vote," but our satisfaction is lessened by the fact that the very dimensions of the contest make it impossible to print, or even give extracts from, a quarter of the excellent letters which you have sent us. We will do what we can to give a typical cross-section of our readers' opinions, but the laws of space are as inexorable as the laws of time about which the poets have so much to say.

### Cox and the League

Practically every one of the Cox letters lays chief stress on the League of Nations issue. Many declare outright that but for this issue they would vote the Republican ticket. There are also many readers who consider Governor Cox personally more progressive than Senator Harding; but, generally speaking, the issues are placed first, the man himself second, and the party third.

"A Republican boy in the sixties" makes this plea for Cox and the League:

In 1918 the proposed League was essential in procuring the armistice. Since we profited by the truce and our ene-



Thomas in Detroit News

The League is the vital issue of the campaign

mies' acceptance of its terms, decency forbids we now repudiate this one of its fundamental provisions.

What mother—or father—having a son in the war zone will say the war should have continued rather than make peace on this basis?

What statesman will?

The armistice brought unspeakable relief and joy. I propose to honor its League foundation by voting for such as stand by it—Cox for President and some like-minded man for Senator.

GEO. M. HAGADORN

Anacortes, Washington

A veteran of the Great War writes:

As the situation now stands my vote will probably go to Cox. The League of Nations plank in the Republican platform means nothing to me except a refusal to face the issue. Harding in reference to the League has been indefinite if not evasive. Cox plainly and definitely said he favors going into the League. The Presidency demands of a man energy, courage, resourcefulness, power of decision and vision. If Harding were President it would

hardly be possible for him to stand around, delaying to act until such time as Elihu Root could return from Europe to advise him.

RAY KELLENBARGER

Anselmo, Nebraska

The League as a fire department:

Why Cox? Main question now: Shall Worldville have a live fire company, or dissolve the pick-up volunteer bunch and go back every man to guarding his own house alone with his own bucket? Old days stayed at home, and wondered about the fire-glow beyond the hill. Today, houses are too close together. Sparks fly. So, quench incipient blazes in Balkan Row and Scrappy Quarters before they catch hold in America Block. Harding says, "Not this plan," but "hopelessly approach"—and fiddle. Cox says, "I'm for going in." I vote for the Worldville Fire Company, and a chief who believes in it. Moreover, we have long observed here in Ohio, this: Harding's creed and career, the "grand old" machine, with him a dutiful cog; Cox's way, "What's needed? What'll work? Good. Come on, let's go!" Therefore, for 1920, Cox.

REV. IRVINE L. DUNGAN

Troy, Ohio

This is from a letter typical of many, pleased with neither candidate but anxious to save the League:

I shall vote for Cox tho I admire neither him nor his party. Harding is mediocre and his platform straddles all living issues. Cox is no better and his platform straddles every current issue except the League. I am straight out for the League. Therefore my course is clear.

HOMER FOSTER

Anaheim, California

Several letters stress the economic importance of League membership to America:

Economically the League of Nations is important to America, because American business prestige will be greatly weakened as soon as economic conditions are restored to normal. The nations already members of the



Stinson in Dayton Daily News

The Republican party is leading toward a rejuvenated Prussianism



W. C. Morris for The Independent

Nothing but rebellion and civil war could be worse than the Democratic administration



League, and they are the big majority of the civilized world, will not be too keen to buy from a country which stands aloof in international responsibilities. The world is economically too much linked together, and one country, however great, cannot afford to take an indifferent attitude toward world problems. This being the vital issue of the Presidential campaign, I favor, as an independent voter, Governor James M. Cox and Franklin D. Roosevelt.

NOAH ADLER

#### Stamford, Connecticut

I am for Cox, positive legislation, the League of Nations, and against Harding, negative inactivity, and international chaos. As a nation we have passed the colony stage in which a new country exports its raw materials to the mother country, and we have reached the point where we are exporting more goods to the world than we import—the second stage. If we are to keep on growing industrially we must attain to the third stage, we must go out into the markets of the world and meet foreign competition in order to sell our surplus products. We must invest capital in ships, docks, railroads, and warehouses, in South America, in Asia, in Africa, wherever opportunity for trade offers. In view of this, the League of Nations is an imperative necessity. Certainly we cannot hope to do business in a world which we do not help police. Surely it is our duty to lend, at least the weight of our influence, toward the maintenance of order on the seas, and in the countries with which we trade.

FRANK L. HORMEL

#### West Liberty, Iowa

And then we may consider the letters of some who are impressed with Governor Cox as man and statesman:

I shall vote for Cox, because he thinks straight, talks straight, and, as Governor of Ohio, has acted straight.

R. B. MURPHY

#### Grafton, No. Dak.

Cox is young:

Governor Cox should be near the best age of his life, while Senator Harding (ten to one) is on the decline. We should select younger men to fill our important offices. They are always abreast of the times and will accomplish big things that the older man would not attempt. I call your attention to Theodore Roosevelt.

ARTHUR ROBISON

#### Joy, Illinois

He is independent:

If elected, Senator Harding will feel responsible to his Republican associates only. If Governor Cox is elected, he will feel indebted to the ever-increasing independent vote. Governor Cox does not preach the pernicious theory that in voting for him you are simply voting for Tammany Hall, Tom Taggart and the whole Democratic outfit.

C. BENJAMIN IRWIN

#### Cuyahoga Falls, Ohio

He is energetic and progressive:

The Presidential contest lies between a Governor who has made a remarkably successful record as a state executive and a Senator who has never occupied an executive position, and whose legislative career has no outstanding points worthy of mention.

Cox, as his three terms as Governor of Ohio show, is energetic and aggressive. He is not afraid to hold his ground

against a storm of public criticism. The aggressive and progressive policies of Cox are largely responsible for his nomination at San Francisco.

With Cox as President we would be under an energetic leadership, which is much needed in this critical period at hand, and such as the country became used to under Theodore Roosevelt.

LOYD R. HILL

#### Avon Lake, Ohio

Some voters are dissatisfied with the unwillingness of Senator Harding to make himself a true party leader and assume responsibility for Republican policies:

Republicans who think like Taft on the League and yet follow Harding are in a very Micawber-like attitude, "looking for something to turn up" that will drive Harding and his masters into the League—a hope as unavailing as it ever was with Micawbers.

R. A. D. MORTON

#### El Paso, Texas

Now regarding Mr. Wilson, the Tzar, I admire him for his inflexible qualities. He never in any of his statements has boasted of his party or the man; he has never asked me to do anything of which I or any other would be ashamed. His Fourteen Commandments will go down in history with Moses' Ten. He came from Europe the idol of all humanity, except those people who believe that everyone has a price, and that like Napoleon he would want a crown. Those people, like the beggar, will always be with us, and Washington and Lincoln got spattered with the mud they threw, but mud will wash off and the parties who cast it will disappear and be forgotten.

I am for a One-Man Party when the man who is bossing it is for all humanity instead of a few and who will conduct himself as Mr. Wilson has.

D. C. HALLERAN

#### Independence, Missouri

There are some who believe that the Democratic party deserves support on its record:

Sir Isaac Newton said if he could see further than other men it was because he stood upon the shoulders of giants. The next President of the United States will be a greater man standing on the shoulders of Woodrow Wilson than upon the shoulders of such as Penrose, Smoot and Lodge.

H. N. CARNAHAN

#### Canonsburg, Pa.

In offering the Wilson brand of internationalism as the most potent antidote to that of Lenin, the Democratic party bids high for the support of the existing order. Our two "great" parties are both unfriendly to the dictatorship of the proletariat; but Democrats, more than Republicans, believe that certain features of our social order demand radical readjustments [Continued on page 136]



Spencer in Omaha World Herald

Harding in reference to the League has been indefinite if not evasive



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Shall Worldville have a live fire company?



Thomas in Detroit News

The election of Cox means nothing less than a third term for Wilson



# Master Workshops of America

A Series of Monthly Articles Written from a First Hand Survey of Big Business Enterprises That Have Given the United States the Name of the Foremost Industrial Nation of the World



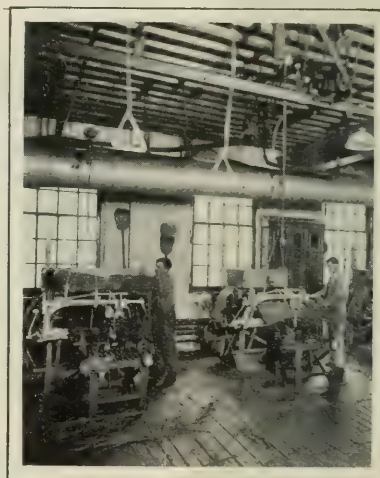
The big thing about the International Harvester Company, part of whose Chicago plant is shown above, is not that one of its factories makes 100 farm tractors a day, or that another has a weekly output of 1000 tons of binder twine, but that the company has done more than any other corporation on earth to make farm life attractive



The present office of the International Harvester Company, owners of the largest of the world's great farm machine factories

## The Farmer's Right-Hand Man

By Edward Earle Purinton



You can make hay any old day in the International Harvester Company plant, where each machine is put to a field test

**T**HE greatest manufacturer in any nation of the world is the American farmer. He produces more than any other class of citizen.

We don't realize the fact because he hasn't organized himself into a billion dollar corporation, to keep his name on the billboards and in the newspapers, with a catchy trademark for his products. But the fact stands.

In the United States there are some 40,000,000 people earning their living—or at least drawing their pay. Of these, about 13,000,000 work on the farm. The next largest class is the manufacturers and mechanics, totaling 10,000,000. In trades and transportation 7,600,000 are employed. The smallest class includes the professions—law, medicine, ministry, education and others, comprising only 1,800,000.

Last year the American farmer produced crops with an estimated value of \$15,873,000,000. Yet in the five years preceding the war the average yield of a farm products was only \$5,829,000,000. The farmer has nearly trebled his output—while the drift of an average factory hand, truck driver, coal miner, cobbler and plumber has been toward loafing as one kind of profiteering.

This farmer doesn't *talk* about "increased" production." He *gets* it. Regarding both acreage and yield per

acre, he surpasses in output all other farmers in the world, having crops 2.3 larger than British, 2.5 larger than the German, 3.2 larger than the French, and over six times larger than the Italian. And the American farmer uses only 40 per cent of the tillable land of the country, leading the world in spite of this handicap.

The most effective material aid to agriculture is the automatic farm machine, doing the work formerly done by four or five men, with operation or supervision by one man only. Machines of this type include the general utility tractor, the ditching machine, the new model harvester, the mechanical milking machine, the individual farm power plant, the "gang plow," turning three or four furrows on each trip, and the long-legged tractor cultivator which will cultivate corn up to four feet high, two rows at a time. A recent convention of the American Society of Agricultural Engineers took this text for a slogan: "Replace hand labor as much as possible with machinery." The president of the society stated that, in the face of prohibitive wages that farm laborers are demanding, and the general scarcity of such labor, mechanical devices must be used to the limit by farmers who hope to make a reasonable profit from their acres.

But plowing a farm isn't itself half as important as plowing the mind of the farmer. One good plowing and



sowing of the mind may yield a perennial crop of ideas and purposes, that you can plant for seed in the meadows of tomorrow, and of their fruitage reap a hundred-fold. The American farmer to-day *thinks* about his job. He is forever studying, experimenting, listening, reading, learning, improving himself and his work. His mind is open—but his fist closed on the tool of his trade. A winning combination.

The world's largest makers of agricultural implements are plowing and cultivating more fields of thought than acres of land. The big thing about the International Harvester Company of Chicago is not that one of the factories makes 100 farm tractors a day or that another has a weekly output of 1000 tons of binder twine, but that the company has done more than any other corporation on earth to make farm life attractive. Labor is most productive where life is most attractive.

The great common fault of education and production has been that neither was human. Profits are not first in manufacturing, nor books in teaching. The employer who is a slave-driver and the pedagogue who is a book-worm equally fail to get results. The six-horse team that everybody with a heavy-laden wagon of ambition must drive to reach the goal is made up of *Feeling, Thinking, Wanting, Knowing, Trusting, Doing*. No tractor ever made will do the work of this team; and until you get them harnessed you can't pull much of a load of ambition. The International Harvester Company aims to put this team on every farm, *whether or not* the farmer buys a reaper, truck or plow.

I have before me a map of the United States whereon 58,403 dots have been marked. Each dot represents a community meeting held under the auspices of the Agricultural Extension Department of the International Harvester Company, the total being the number of meetings during the first six years of the establishment of the department. These meetings, 800 a month for six years, were purely educational, with a total attendance of 9,340,591 people. The Harvester officials who conducted them traveled more than 1,200,000 miles, purposely to make farmers wiser, farming better, and farming communities more prosperous.

Why should a manufacturing and selling corporation thus resolve itself into an educational institution? We quote the official answer:

The Harvester Company believes that it is the duty of every business organization to build up the community in which it does business, aside from just the things it is required to do by law, or the things directly



Two men can do the work of ten, with a McCormick machine (left). How to produce enough to keep the machine from "lying down on the job" is taught by the McCormick demonstrators



beneficial to itself. This is nothing more than carrying out the obligations of citizenship.

The company sends its forces to help people who are willing to work and do something for themselves. If people are to succeed, they must work out their own problems; but the Agricultural Extension Department of the company will do all it can to help in whatever stands for the betterment of town and country—that which will raise the social, physical, and financial standards of the people throughout the country.

As to results, the company will be benefited just in proportion to the benefit its work will bring to others.

Facts and figures quoted in the I. H. C. campaigns are supplied from the demonstration farms of the company in North and South Dakota; where, for example, fifty-five head of steers bought in St. Paul, November, 1917, were fed so as to bring, when sold back, May, 1918, a gain of \$3,245.93; and where the yield of wheat was developed from twelve and one-half bushels per acre in 1893 to thirty bushels per acre in 1918—with acreage value increased from \$9.50 to \$61.20, based on comparative crops and prices. Would it not pay any farmer, any banker, any merchant, to organize in his community an I. H. C. agricultural club, with a proven possibility of increasing land profits \$51.70 an acre?

Do you know what happened out in Arkansas? The people of the state heard of the wonderful things being done by the Harvester Company Extension Department, and resolved to take advantage of the opportunity. They got together—farmers, bankers, teachers, preachers, newspaper editors, traveling men, railroad and express company heads, officials of the Federated Chambers of Commerce and Young Men's Business Associations—saw the need for a great Profitable Farming Campaign, and asked the Harvester Company to direct the undertaking.

Whereupon the company supplied thirty workers and 360,000 copies of booklets and leaflets on profitable farming, all free. Not to be outdone in generosity, the railroads of the state contributed more than \$18,000 in transportation, and for good measure the Rock Island printed and distributed 50,000 copies of a special 16-page publication. The bankers and business men of Little Rock gladly paid the hotel bills and incidental expenses of the central organization, amounting to about \$3,000. The State Superintendent of Public Instruction arranged to have the subject of better farming discussed by teachers everywhere, and 20,000 booklets distributed to their students. [Continued on page 138]



Harold F. McCormick, president of the International Harvester Company



# The Unpuritanic Puritans

By Frederick Houk Law

Head of the English Department of  
Stuyvesant High School, New York

**M**OST people think of the Pilgrims—the first of whom disembarked from the “Mayflower” three hundred years ago, December 21, 1620—as being quite different from the Americans of today. The average person who thinks of celebrating the arrival of the “Mayflower” thinks of the early inhabitants of Plymouth as unusually solemn people who spent most of their time in listening to long sermons or in meditating on religious subjects. He could not imagine a founder of Plymouth smoking a pipe, dancing with a pretty girl, drinking intoxicating liquor, playing cards on Sunday, or even wearing fancy waistcoats. He would be much shocked if someone were to say that the first arrivers from the “Mayflower” stopped their work of building the beginnings of Plymouth long enough to rest—and drink beer! He would hardly admit that the Pilgrims had such ordinary aims as adventure, or money-making. Perhaps the Pilgrims have been made into such popular saints that we have forgotten the very real humanity that makes what they did, and the principles they put forward, so notably great. If an angel works miracles it is a matter to be expected; if an ordinary human being does wonders it is worthy of note.

The people who lived in old Plymouth in its first fifty years did not all come merely because they were saints. Even Myles Standish appears to have been a soldier of fortune who, having missed an inheritance in England, found service in the Dutch army. He was apparently ready for new adventure, and sailed with the “Mayflower.” That interesting young man, John Alden, went on the “Mayflower” because he was hired to go. The company needed a cooper, and engaged Alden at Southampton, he making the bargain that he could return to England at any time he wished. Of the 104 persons who came on the first voyage of the “Mayflower” fourteen were servants, brought by their employers for the sake of service. Four were seamen paid to come. Thirty-one were sons or daughters, many of them being little children, who accompanied their parents.

A certain Thomas Weston of London advanced financial aid to the Pilgrims in the name of a company known as “Merchant Adventur-



© Keystone View

John Alden has become a hero who could do no wrong, according to our popular legends, but this tableau in the Pilgrim Tercentenary celebrations at Southampton, England, shows him being punished with his feet in the stocks. Nor does Priscilla here appear the shy retiring maid our fancy painted

ers.” He expected a full return. In 1622 he sent over two shiploads of men who had no other aim than to make money. The men were a poor and shiftless lot, quick to lie, always complaining, and the sort that finds amusement in ridiculing religion. They stole corn from both whites and Indians, and generally brought disgrace upon the people of the settlement. It is not necessarily an honor to be able to trace one’s ancestry to the early inhabitants of Plymouth.

Even the teetotalers find no comfort in studying the story of the Pilgrims. It is hard for the advocates of prohibition to picture the Pilgrim Fathers drinking beer—but drink beer they did. Shortly after the landing from the “Mayflower” on the first celebration of Christmas, the ship’s captain showed his good will toward his passengers by sending ashore a large supply of beer—which was received with joy and thanks. In 1646 the Pilgrims paid the cost of magistrates by levying a tax on wine, strong liquor, and tobacco—and the people of Plymouth bought enough of the articles named to provide the needed funds. At various other times laws were passed regulating the sale of drink and the licensing of inns. One law forbade anyone to take liquor from a cask on Sunday, except for medicinal purposes. In that respect the Pilgrims, narrow-minded as we think them, were more liberal than we are today. Another law forbade smoking in the neighborhood of a church.

One might have said with a feeling of certainty that no one in old Plymouth would have played cards on Sunday—but he would have been wrong. In 1663 a little group was found cozily playing cards on the Sabbath day—and “raided.” The playing of dice—“throwing craps”—must have been comparatively common, for in 1656 a law was passed whose object was to put a stop to dice playing in Plymouth.

At a masquerade dance it is always amusing to see anyone dressed as a Pilgrim. The thought of “Pilgrim” and “dancing” are inharmonious. And yet, in 1652, Mistress Mercy Tubbs was arrested for joining in “mixed dancing”—nor was she the only one arrested on [Continued on page 143]



© Keystone View

Once we remember that the “Pilgrim Fathers” were young and adventurous we can credit the authenticity of this episode in the Southampton, England, Tercentenary celebration. It enacts the discovery of the refugee Huguenot who was smuggled from France in a cask to join in the voyage to the New World



# The Successful League of Nations

By Hamilton Holt

**I**N his now famous Des Moines speech of October 7, in which he definitely repudiated the League of Nations, Senator Harding said:

Our opponents are persistently curious to know whether, if—or perhaps I might better say when—I am elected, I intend to “scrap” the League. It might be sufficient in reply to suggest the futility of “scrapping” any thing that is already “scrapped.”

This statement is exactly opposite to the truth and shows gross ignorance of the European situation. The League on the contrary has already achieved more than anyone might have believed possible on January 10, 1920, when it officially came into existence.

I have just returned from a trip to Europe where—as on my two previous trips since 1918—I have devoted the major part of my time to getting into intimate touch with the League of Nations situation. I make no apology, therefore, in presenting at some length, the more salient things that have already been accomplished by the League, or are at the present moment engaging its attention.

In the ten short months of the League's life forty-three nations have become members. Evidently they have no fears that the Covenant violates their constitutions or limits their sovereignty or independence. Indeed at the very first meeting of the Council, Lord Curzon, the British delegate, took occasion to answer this purely American criticism by saying:

It has sometimes been said that the League of Nations implies the establishment of a Super-State or a Super-Sovereignty. The very title “League of Nations” should be sufficient to dispel this misconception. The League does not interfere with nationality. It is upon the fact of nationhood that it rests. The League is an association of sovereign nations whose purpose is to reconcile divergent interests and to promote international coöperation in questions which affect—or may affect—the world at large.

Of the three principal agencies thru which the League functions, the Council and the Secretariat are already completely organized and effectively at work. The third of these, the Assembly, will meet for the first time on November 15.

The Council has so far held nine separate sessions. At each one of them questions of world importance have been discussed and so far the members have been able to come to unanimous agreement on every issue.

The Council has already appointed the various commissions entrusted to it by the Covenant. Perhaps the most important of these is the Permanent Advisory Commission on Military, Naval and Aerial Affairs, which was organized at the San Sebastian session and is now at work. This commission is composed of technical military experts. Its principal duties will be to propose plans for universal disarmament; to advise as to the size of the armaments of the new states who apply for membership in the League; and to suggest plans for obviating the evil effects attendant upon the private manufacture of munitions and implements of war.

The Council has appointed an eminent commission of jurisconsults to work out the constitution of the Permanent Court of International Justice. This commission has already met and submitted its report. It is no secret that Elihu Root was the dominating personality of the commission and to him more than any other member is due credit for the truly admirable plan that was worked out. The court if accepted by the Council and ratified by the Assembly will be the first international tribunal on earth with original jurisdiction. The method of selecting the judges, which has baffled diplomacy since the failure of the Second Hague Conference to agree on a plan, has been happily solved by having the Council and Assembly select

the judges. Thus Elihu Root, who has done so little to help and so much to hinder the establishment of the League of Nations, finds that only thru the machinery of the League can his life dream of a Great World Tribunal be realized.

The Council has appointed a Provisional Committee on Communications and Transit. This commission is already engaged in preparing plans for a permanent commission. It will take up all problems connected with international ports, waterways and railways, and it has been especially charged with making an early report on the abominations that exist thruout the world and especially in Europe since the war began in connection with through tickets, customs and passports.

The Council has called a Conference on International Health, which was held in London last April and chiefly concerned itself with the measures to be taken against the spread of typhus in Poland. This conference proposed that a permanent health commission shall be added to the commissions of the League, and as a means of abolishing typhus in Poland it took measures to establish a chain of seventy-two quarantine stations and 200 hospitals.

The Council has commissioned the great Norwegian statesman and explorer, Dr. Nansen, to supervise the repatriation of the half million prisoners in Russia, ill-fed, almost unclothed, ravaged by disease and driven like slaves. Dr. Nansen has reported to the Council that despite almost insuperable obstacles which are being encountered in finding shipping and raising funds and in carrying out many-sided negotiations between allies, former neutrals and Soviet authorities, there is a fair chance of saving most of the half million soldiers before they starve to death this winter.

The Council has called an International Financial Congress which has just completed its labors in Brussels. Although full reports of the proceedings are not yet available I have read thru five carefully prepared preliminary volumes dealing with international trade, finance, currency and exchange, all embellished with diagrams, tables and colored charts. If the open conclusions openly arrived at in Brussels are anywhere near as significant as the preliminary work on the conference was painstaking and illuminating, the conference must have been an unqualified success.

**T**HE Council has taken cognizance of three international disputes, all of which might otherwise have led to war—those between Sweden and Finland, Poland and Lithuania, and Persia and Soviet Russia. I have only space to comment on the Aland Islands case between Sweden and Finland, which raises the vital issue of the rights of secession under the League. Finland claims the League has no jurisdiction over the case, as the Aland Islands are within her territory and the League cannot pass on matters of purely domestic concern. Sweden claims the League has jurisdiction of the dispute as a matter “affecting the peace of the world.” As Great Britain, a nation stranger to the dispute, has brought the matter to the attention of the League, we have here an almost exact parallel to what would happen if America should bring before the Council the question of Ireland's independence as Governor Cox says he will do if he is elected President. It is evident that if the Council decides in favor of Sweden's contention a weighty precedent will be established for bringing Ireland's case before the public conscience of the world.

The Council has taken up the case of Armenia. As the League has no army or navy or treasury of its own it cannot as yet take the mandate for that tragic country



But it is devising a plan by which some single nation may be authorized to assume the mandate under the collective guarantee of the League.

The Council has in addition to the above selected the commissions who will administer the Sarre Valley and Danzig, it has ordered the Secretariat to ask England and Japan to modify their treaty of offense and defense in the Far East so as to make it consistent with the Covenant, it has called an International Conference of Seamen at Genoa, it has heard India's claim to be included in the governing body of the International Labor Office, it has taken under consideration France's proposal to establish an International University at Brussels, it has admitted Switzerland to membership in the League with such reservations as are required by the Swiss constitution, and it has approved plans for sending a commission of labor leaders and employers into Soviet Russia to survey social and economic conditions there.

All this and more the Council has been doing since last January. The Secretariat has been equally active. I visited its temporary quarters at 117 Picadilly, London, and there collected enough information to fill this entire issue of *The Independent*. Suffice it to say that the League has already appropriated 6,000,000 Swiss francs to purchase the National Hotel and neighboring property at Geneva for the seat of the League, and there the Secretariat will shortly repair. The Secretariat now is divided into the following sections: Legal, Mandates, Health, Transit, Finance, Information, Economics, Political and International Bureaus. Sir Eric Drummond, the secretary, has under him 225 experts and assistants, all of whom are supposed to put the world above country and no one of whom, by decree of the Council, is allowed to accept decorations from governments while in office.

The International Labor Office, which was organized before the Council and Secretariat got in running order, is the farthest advanced of any of the Permanent Commissions of the League and is now functioning at Geneva under Albert Thomas of France, the director general, and a governing body of twenty-four representatives of labor and capital from the most important industrial nations. It has held two important meetings already, one in Washington and the other in Paris. The third will convene April 4, 1921, in Geneva, where agricultural questions will predominate on the program. At the first conference six draft conventions were approved. They included provisions for the eight hour day, protection of women and children in industry and the establishment of unemployment offices and insurance. These labor conventions are the Magna Charta of labor thruout the world and deserve the attention of all people interested in the progress of those who work for their livelihood.

The Assembly has been called by President Wilson to meet in Geneva, November 15. It will pass upon all the work done by the Council and the Secretariat and the Labor Office, which I have enumerated above, and in addition will make its rules of procedure, elect its president and vice-president, take up the admission of Germany and other states, discuss the coördination of statistics, devise a method of selection of the four non-permanent members of the Council (it is suggested that a new state be named each year to serve for a period of four years and not to be subject to reelection for the following period), apportion the expenses of the League, revise, if desired, the Covenant, and determine the question of mandatories.

This, then, is the League of Nations that Senator Harding tells the American people has failed. This is the League that is "already scrapped." This is the League that he would "turn his back upon."

What shall the answer of the American voters be? Governor Cox says if he is elected he will go into the League. Senator Harding says he will stay out. My Republican

friends of the League who are still supporting Mr. Harding justify themselves on the remarkable theory that he can be depended on to break faith with Johnson and Borah after the election and then come into the League. Assuming this to be so, he will undoubtedly come in with such a faint heart, with such a wry face, and with so many misgivings and reservations that I for one will not follow such a caricature of a leader. I think it more probable that Mr. Harding means what he says. If that is the case the United States will stay out of the League altogether, for the Senator's proposition to "declare" a separate peace with Germany—when he knows peace cannot be declared but must be negotiated—and to ask forty-three member nations to "scrap" the existing League, enter another Peace Conference and agree on some undefined experiment, cannot be taken seriously.

The question now confronting the American people is the greatest moral issue since slavery. Shall we play our part in substituting coöperation for competition in international affairs or shall we scuttle? We cannot scrap the League. We can only scrap our prestige as a world power.

Knowing that in case Mr. Harding is elected the verdict of the world will be that America has betrayed the League of Nations, I personally, must leave the Republican party, with which I enrolled last week, and vote for Cox and Roosevelt on November 2. And I make so bold as to urge all those Republicans who put patriotism above party to do likewise. I cannot believe that the American people, if the issue is fairly presented to them, will support Senator Harding's policy of "America last" in bearing her responsibilities for establishing the peace of the world.

## Page Finland, Sweden, Lithuania

The news that the League of Nations is a failure hasn't reached the Baltic nations yet.

## The "Wilson League"

OF all foolish political phrases the most so is "the Wilson League." To treat an organization created by the statesmen of all the Allied and Associated Powers, and now including four-fifths of the people of the earth as if it were the personal hobby of a single individual, is unpardonable confusion of thought. President Wilson did indeed contribute much in the way of detailed suggestion, but he would be the first to admit that the idea was an old one centuries before he was born and that it was inevitable that some attempt would have been made to realize the idea even if he had never lived. He leaves to his opponents the attempt to tag a world-wide association with a single name. To speak of the "Wilson League" is like speaking of "the Marshal Foch War" or "the Saint Luke Bible" or "the Milton English language."

## Good Old Times

THIRTY years ago the chief worry of the politicians was "what to do with the surplus in the Treasury."

Thirty years ago there was widespread discontent because prices were too low.

Thirty years ago anyone advocating labor unionism and collective bargaining was considered a dangerous radical.

Wonder what the world will be like in 1950?

## Who Will Govern?

THE man who will rule the United States during the next four years is still unknown and perhaps will remain unknown for several months after the election. Of course either Senator Harding or Governor Cox will be President. But neither man is of the type that prefers to make decisions alone. Both men eagerly assert in nearly every speech that they will listen to advice and work in





Thomas in Detroit News

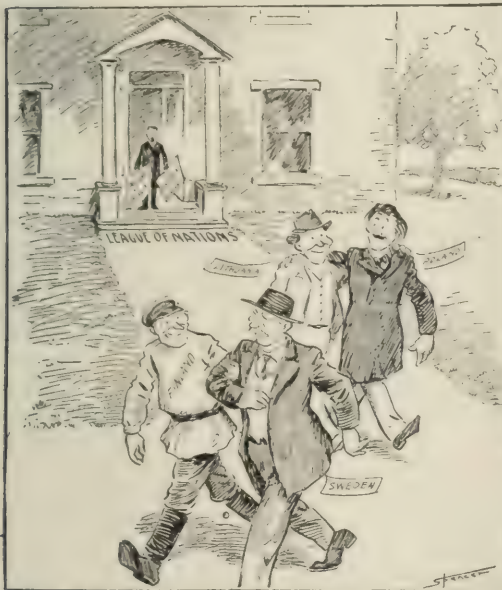
DINNER IS READY

# Half A League Onward



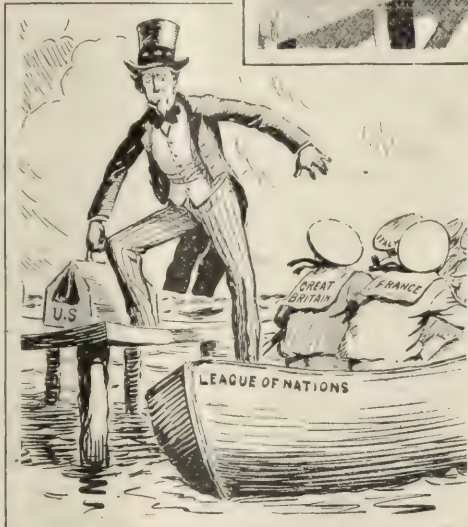
New York American, © Star Co.

**THE PAYING PARTNER MISSING**  
This cartoon from a Hearst newspaper gives the opposite viewpoint on our participation in the League from that presented in the upper left corner of this page



Spencer in Omaha World-Herald

For a "wreck beyond the power of restoration" Mr. League is doing pretty well, don't you think?



Harding in Brooklyn Daily Eagle

**NEITHER IN NOR OUT!**  
It looks like an unfortunate position for Uncle Sam to maintain



Johnson in Dayton Daily News

"Truth crushed to earth shall rise again,  
The eternal years of God are hers."  
(A cartoon from Governor Cox's newspaper)



Kussow in New York Times

**WHY DON'T YOU FIGHT FAIR?**



Left: A 'CARTOON FROM "LONDON OPINION" President Wilson: "What are you all laughing at?" (The pup is labeled "League of Nations")

Right: OBEYING THE BIBLICAL INJUNCTION "Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth"



Marcus in New York Times



harmony with the statesmen of the party. Whose advice will they follow? Which advisers will they choose from the party? The whole character of the next Administration depends on that. If our next President is to have—we will not say a “boss,” but a right-hand man, a trusted party leader—who will he be? Since we are to return to Parliamentary rule, as a reaction from Wilson’s alleged “Presidential dictatorship,” the next President owes it to the public to make known his choice for Prime Minister.

### The Solid South

IT is a question whether the political solidarity of the eleven formerly Confederate states is an advantage either to themselves or to the Democratic party. As regards the Democratic party an emphasis on sectionalism and historic memories rather than on current issues makes for a corresponding sectionalism in other parts of the country. If South Carolina could once go Republican, Vermont might go Democratic. There is no inherent reason why the League of Nations should be more popular in Florida and Mississippi than in Maine and Pennsylvania, and a general “breaking of the ice” all over the union, making all states doubtful, would be better for a live Democracy than relying on the tradition of a Civil War in which the party was both in the wrong and in a minority. As for the South, its political solidarity deprives it of political influence. No one will nominate a President from a section that cannot by its decision determine an election.

### The Suffering Public Wakes Up

By Franklin H. Giddings

THE Rebellion of the Tenants has been less dramatic and less violent than the peasants’ rebellion in the days of Wat Tyler, but essentially the later protest has been like the earlier. It has obtained concessions, and new rights at law. Also it is probable that, like the understanding arrived at in the summer of 1881, the readjustments of 1920 will have enduring social consequences more important than the immediate economic relief.

A new stage has been reached in the evolution of “The Public.” A collective behavior has become more organized and more conscious.

Every now and then somebody asks, “What is the public? Is there any concrete reality corresponding to the phrase?” Always these questions are put whenever a legislature creates a commission with the proviso that one member of it shall represent capital, another member represent labor and a third member represent “the general public.” Socialists and other labor radicals, in particular, have waxed tiresome and puerile in their contention that, inasmuch as everybody is either a capitalist or a proletarian, there is no third estate, and “the general public” is a pseudo-conception to juggle with.

There has never been any real mystery about the public, nor occasion for any. The socialist argument is as childish as would be a contention that because everybody is a capitalist or a proletarian there is no such person as a wage earning stockholder or a bankrupt out of a job. As a stockholder an individual reacts to certain interests, he is in a certain state of mind, and he behaves in a particular way. As a wage earner he reacts to different interests, he is in another state of mind, and he behaves in another way. In like manner “all of us,” capitalists and proletarians, together are affected with a lot of interests to which we all alike react with a particular behavior and in a particular state of mind: we are producers. And all of us as “the public” are affected with yet a different lot of interests to which we react in a suitable way, in a specific behavior and in a specific state of mind: we are consumers.

This is the distinction. It is simple enough for anybody to grasp; but it is immensely important. Practically all

of us are producers. Practically all of us are consumers. As producers practically all of us are capitalists or proletarians. As consumers practically all of us are “the public.” When a commission is made up of representatives of capital, labor and “the general public,” the representatives of capital and labor should look after the interests that all of us have in production as well as the specific interests that capital and labor have in distribution, while the representatives of “the general public” should look after the interests that all of us have as consumers.

The public, therefore, is never something apart. It is always one term of a relationship. The shoe buying and shoe wearing public is made up of capitalists and wage earners, but as a body of consumers it stands over against the much smaller body of capitalists and wage earners who produce shoes. The traveling public is made up of innumerable groups of capitalists and wage earners, engaged in producing a bewildering variety of commodities, but as shippers and travelers they stand over against the capitalists and wage earners that own and operate railroads. The citizens of a state are occupied with all manner of productive undertakings but in their interests and capacities as citizens they stand over against their government as its beneficiaries. In one capacity only are all of the inhabitants of a national domain members of the same body politic or general public. They stand in this capacity in their relations to other peoples, inhabiting other national domains.

A “public” is always in one way stronger and in one way weaker than the body of producers to which it is related. It is stronger because it is bigger, and when it is aroused and organized, it is irresistible. It is weaker in so far as it is less homogeneous, less compact, usually less well organized, and less continuously “on the job.” The public, therefore, is irregular, uncertain and often erratic in its behavior. Corporations and governments can exploit the public, bully it, and tyrannize over it a long time and impudently before the clumsy collective creature rouses and rebels, but when that creature does rouse and rebel the offender may as well throw up his hands.

For three years the world has been going thru the most extraordinary experience of bullying, tyrannizing, and exploiting in all history. Bolshevism, German and Italian radical socialism, English labor radicalism and American I. W. W. ism are expressions of highly particularistic group interests including the so-called class conscious interests. They are organizations of the workers of particularistic industrial interests. Soviets are their natural organization. Over against them stands the vast general public of the world, composed of the consumers of all commodities, the beneficiaries of all useful services. This heterogeneous multitude has been long suffering. It has been slow to resent, and slower to organize; but it is awake, it is coming to an understanding of itself. It will not stand very much more nonsense. The day of wrath for the bullies, the tyrants, the wreckers, the fools and the lunatics is at hand.

$$2 + 2 = 4?$$

IF one hydrogen atom weighs 1.008 how much will four of them weigh? From what we have been taught in school we should answer 4.032, but it seems that this is wrong. For four hydrogen atoms go to make up one atom of helium and that weighs just four and no more. So Professor Eddington of Cambridge University told the British Association for the Advancement of Science at the recent Cardiff meeting. Here is a loss of weight of one part in 123, yet no matter has escaped in the process. All that has escaped is heat or electricity, in short, radiant energy, mere waves in the ether—if there is any ether. This looks like experimental proof that matter and energy are the same or at least inter-convertible. No wonder that conservatives like Sir Oliver Lodge call the followers of



Einstein "the Bolshevik of Science." Where is this relativity business going to stop? Have we got to give up that good old axiom that the whole is equal to the sum of its parts? It was a sufficient shock to our nerves to be told that an atom—the very name means the indivisible—could be split up into smaller pieces, but now we are told that the pieces weigh more than the whole atom.

## The Blind Ballot

ON November 3 the nation will know who has been elected, but politicians and historians will speculate for many years as to the reasons why. It is a pity the voters cannot write on the ballots the reasons for their choice. As things are, a President may ascribe his election to some issue on which he actually lost votes and may neglect some mandate which the voters intended to give him.

## Nothing But—

By Preston Slosson

BY one phrase you may know the superficial thinker. He is forever belittling and oversimplifying this complex maze of a universe. He does this by the magic wand of "nothing but—." The motives which urge a nation to go to war are "nothing but" malice and greed. A capitalist cares for "nothing but" money; a reformer for "nothing but" self-advertisement. Religion is "nothing but" dread of the unknown, or ancestor worship, or the cunning of a priestly caste or whatever other explanation is adopted. The universe contains "nothing but" matter or (if he be a Christian Scientist) "nothing but" spirit. These hard logicians with their cruel, simple creeds, so thoroly convinced that black and white are the only colors and that the mechanism of the human mind is no more complex than that of a wheelbarrow, are sincere enough and often useful in times of revolution. But they are always wrong. For the truth is never simple.

The most certain fact about God is that whatever we know about him cannot be the whole truth. It may be true as far as it goes, but the finite can never measure the infinite. The most certain fact about Nature is that science will always have new mysteries to reveal. Just when men felt most confident that the atom was the ultimate building stone of the universe, the physicists found in radium the key to unlock another complex universe within the atom itself. We know that there are sounds too high for the ear to hear; we know that there are colors beyond the red in one direction and beyond the violet in another which the eye cannot see. Our five senses touch the real universe at five points and we say of the imperfect copy of reality thus obtained: "Such is the universe we live in." But a more highly organized being than man might have a thousand senses as unintelligible to us as sight would be to a man blind from birth. We know of only three dimensions. But we cannot deny the possibility of thir'y.

What is true of Nature is true of man, Nature's most complex product. If you ask a man the reason for his conduct in a particular matter he will doubtless give you a reason, the one most prominent in his consciousness at the time. But in all probability his course of action has been determined not by that factor alone but by a blend of motives and impulses, conscious and subconscious, which he himself could never analyze. To take a concrete case; why did the Kaiser permit Germany to declare war? Many historians will give some simple and single motive. But it is more probable that the Imperial mind was a whirling chaos of conflicting thoughts and emotions at the decisive moment. Memory scraps of what he learned in youth of Hohenzollern traditions; a mental picture of some bright day on which he watched his army in sham battle and thought "If this were only the real thing—"; a fondness for this English friend balancing a distrust for that Eng-

lish diplomat; a chance newspaper phrase which irritated him; jealousy of the popularity of some member of his Ministry; a rehash of old opinions and prejudices about Russia or Austria or France; a golden dream of Bagdad; recollections of casual conversations with his generals and admirals as to the state of Germany's defenses; apprehensions as to what attitude the Socialists might take—all these and a thousand other factors battled and blended until they coalesced in the final act of will.

As Browning pointed out in *Bishop Blougram's Apology* and other dramatic monologs, you have only to dig deep enough into a hypocrite to find a great deal of sincerity. Few people wholly pretend to believe what they do not; but very many make themselves believe, or half-believe, what it is to their interest to think. Even our simplest acts, such as leaving the office for a noon luncheon, have complex causes; what we call hunger is a blend of physical hunger, anticipatory delight of palate, habit, social custom, and desire for a break in the day's work. As for our more specialized decisions, such as voting a ticket or choosing a wife, or joining a particular church, our reasons, great and small, are as the sands of the seashore for multitude. Every human mind is a Congress, and decisions are obtained after warm debate and many roll calls. Instead of saying, "I made up my mind to become a lawyer rather than a doctor because it paid better," the man who could truly account for all his mental processes (only no such man exists) would say: "My mind gave a majority of 125 votes for being a lawyer over all other occupations; financial considerations casting about 60 per cent of the winning vote. The medical profession came a fair second, and scattering votes were cast for journalism, teaching, business and burglary." "Nothing but" is nothing but nonsense.

## A Ghostly Conference

THESE are the times when unseen presences make themselves felt all about us. Seances are in session everywhere, but the most marvelous of them is that held in the historic Blackheads Hall at Riga. Here, according to the despatches printed in the most reliable newspapers, the representatives of the Polish Government met the representatives of the Russian and Ukrainian Governments to conclude a peace. The representatives of the Lithuanian Government, who are likewise negotiating peace with Poland, were also reported to be present. The American Commissioner to the Baltic States, Captain Young, attended at the invitation of the Latvian Government and sat in a box alongside of the British, French, Italian and German representatives.

Now in the eyes of our Government no one of these five Governments except the Polish is in existence! Kerensky is still President of the Russian Republic and Boris Bakmetieff represents him at Washington. Russia remains united as under the Czar, except for Poland and Finland. The Baltic States have never seceded and Ukraina is unknown. It must then have been a weird experience for Captain Young to sit in that box at the invitation of a non-existent president and watch the invisible delegates and listen to their inaudible speeches as they transacted their impossible business. His companions could see them all but he could not unless he were disloyal to his own Government. To his eyes the Poles were alone in the great hall talking and gesticulating to the empty air on the other side of the green table. But hold, since Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania, according to the Colby note of August 10, are not in existence and cannot be till united and democratic Russia gives her consent, there can be no "American Commissioner to the Baltic States" and Captain Young must himself be a spook. Or else we must conclude with Hamlet that there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in our politics.



# The Story of the Week

## Harding's Foreign Policy

IN an address at Des Moines, Iowa, Senator Harding expounded his attitude toward the League of Nations far more explicitly and emphatically than in his speech of acceptance or any of his subsequent addresses on or off the Marion "porch." Iowa is considered a sure Republican state and the candidate has been very chary of his visits even to doubtful states, but he wished to strengthen the position of Senator Cummins, whose railroad policy has been attacked by the labor unions. Senator Harding referred to his colleague from Iowa as "one of the ablest statesmen of the present time and one of the most useful men in public life," and spoke of the Esch-Cummins Transportation Act as "the most progressive measure and the most constructive act of Federal legislation enacted in a decade." Then he turned to foreign policy. He asserted that "the Paris League" had already been "scrapped" by President Wilson's obstinate refusal to accept the reservations desired by the Senate. He would have nothing to do with the "clarifying reservations" proposed by Governor Cox. He declared:

I do not want to clarify these obligations; I want to turn my back on them. It is not interpretation but rejection that I am seeking. . . . I understand the position of the Democratic candidate and he understands mine. . . . In simple words, it is that he favors going into the Paris League and I favor staying out.

This declaration identifies Senator Harding's position entirely with that of Senators Johnson and Borah and the other 'bitter enders.' As long as the existing League of Nations lasts, Senator Harding, if elected President, will keep the United States out of it no matter what reservations may be suggested on either side of the Atlantic. The Senator added, however, that when the present League had been thoroly scrapped and abandoned the United States, acting alone, would devise another League and that Europe would be glad to enter it. "The world

will be glad to have us formulate the plan and point the way." But altho, if we are to take his wording literally, the United States will devise the new League all unaided by foreign statesmanship, Senator Harding refused to assume the responsibility of formulating the plan personally. This duty would fall to the Senate.

There are many

and conflicting opinions among the people and among the members of the Senate upon the subject. These opinions must be reconciled and harmonized if we are to have any international association for peace at all . . . As soon as possible after my election I shall advise with the best minds in the United States, and especially I shall consult in advance with the Senate, with whom, by the terms of the Constitution, I shall indeed be bound to counsel and without whose consent no such international association can be formed.

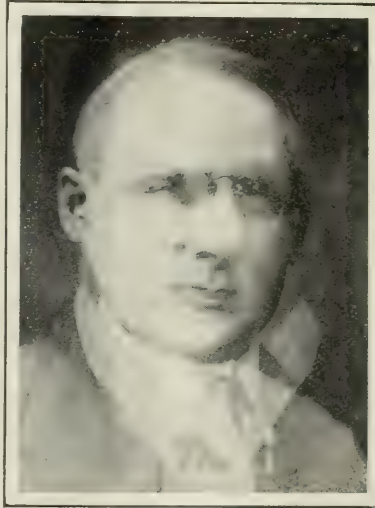
In a further speech at Omaha, Nebraska, Senator Harding elucidated with equal frankness other features of his foreign policy. He will not have the Treaty of Versailles ratified on any terms; on the contrary he would have Congress "pass a resolution declaring a state of formal peace" and he would sign it. The break with our associates in the Great War is, apparently, to be complete, for we would not only make peace outside the terms of the Treaty negotiated at Paris but would bring home the American army of occupation on the Rhine "just as soon as we declare formal peace." He even declared that the American soldiers in Germany "haven't any business there." With respect to Great Britain he asserted on the one hand that he "certainly wouldn't have the United States Government in

any capacity dominated by Great Britain," and on the other hand that with respect to Ireland he would not "care to undertake to say to Great Britain what she must do any more than I would permit her to tell us what we must do in the Philippines." America and Europe are, it would appear, to go their several ways in completest isolation from each other. This new elucidation of Senator Harding's policy has been jubilantly welcomed by one wing of the Republican party and received in consternation by the other.

## Parsons Bolts G. O. P.

LEUTENANT Colonel Herbert Parsons, former chairman of the Republican County Committee in New York, has announced that he cannot support Senator Harding's recent stand on the League of Nations issue. This announcement created a nation-wide stir, for while it is true that many pro-League Republicans, including men and women of prominence in various walks of life, had declared for the Democratic ticket as the only way to secure ratification of the Covenant, the ranks of professional politics and the "organization" had hitherto held firm. It was a new thing to find a veteran party leader placing principle above party fealty. Mr. Parsons said in part:

The League of Nations offers the one practical opportunity for this generation to unite the nations in an effort to prevent war and effect disarmament. Democracies only make striking changes under the stress of great emotions. It was while fresh with the recollection of the millions of lives lost, the terrible suffering endured and the billions of property destroyed that the people of the world would, if at all, rouse themselves to an arrangement designed to prevent repetition of such a horror. The fainter the recollection became, the less was the likelihood



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### OUR NEXT PRESIDENT

Will look something like this. For this is a composite picture made by superimposing photographs of the four leading candidates: Harding, Cox, Debs and Christensen



Knott in Dallas News

They never let him in to see the big show



of action. We are told that the American people are tired of the League. They will be more tired of it after March 4. Less will be possible then than now.

Harding's expressions scattered thru his speeches about an association of nations, an amended League and preserving what is good in the treaty—expressions plainly designed to secure the votes of pro-League Republicans, but intermingled with expressions equally designed to give comfort to those who wish the League scrapped—have induced many distinguished Republicans, who desire to see the United States enter the League, to support Harding. They are being deceived. Harding will not accomplish anything constructive. All his talk is mush.

He says he has no international program and that it is folly to be specific. He is a member of the Senate and of its Committee on Foreign Relations, and has thus had before him the Treaty and the League for over a year, and he now says that he does not know what should be done. He never will know. He is negative and sentimental. On one point he is definite: He is not for what, after a year's consideration, he voted for in the Senate, the League with the Lodge reservations, altho this is the solution which would come nearest to satisfying American aspirations and is substantially what will work out by the election of Cox.

## Spencer Versus Wilson

SENATOR Spencer of Missouri has been nominated for the Ananias Club by President Wilson. The Senator claimed that in a secret session of the Paris Peace Conference President Wilson had pledged the diplomatic representatives of Serbia and Rumania that American military aid would be sent if those countries should ever be endangered by a foreign foe. Secretary Tumulty denied that such assurances had been given, but Senator Spencer questioned Tumulty's authority. Then Wilson wrote directly:

I wish to state that your statement was called to my attention by Mr. Tumulty, and that I requested him to issue the denial to which you refer. I reiterate the denial. The statement you made was false.

Senator Reed of Missouri supported his colleague's assertion. Various journalists have given, in slightly varying form, President Wilson's assurances to the representative of Rumania in the plenary session of May 31, 1919. As the meeting was secret, no one outside of official circles has the

exact text. But Mr. Fred Carlson of Chicago, official American stenographer, has forwarded to Washington his version of the words of President Wilson and this has been given to the press as a more accurate report than the English retranslation of a French translation of President Wilson's speech on which Senator Spencer appears to have relied.

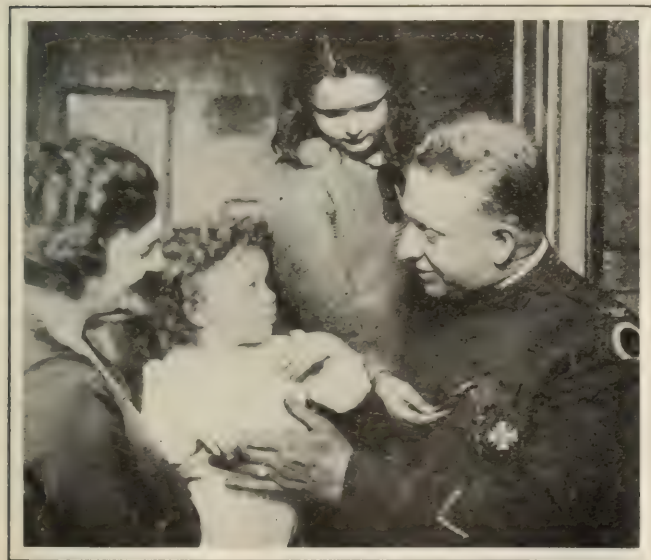
The truth of the matter seems to be this: Premier Brătianu of Rumania and several other representatives of small states expressed some resentment at certain features of the peace settlement. The Rumanians particularly objected to placing the rights of national minorities within the country under international guarantees. President Wilson arose to pour some oil on the troubled waters of the Conference. He reminded the little nations of eastern Europe that they owed their independence, their security and the enlargement of their territories to the good will of the Allied and Associated Powers and pointed out that, since their territorial integrity was guaranteed by the military forces of those Powers under the Covenant of the League of Nations, these Powers had a right to see that the territorial settlement and the position of minority nationalities in the newly acquired areas were such as to promote peace and not war in the future. He did not, however, commit the United States specifically to any undertaking not already agreed to in the League of Nations Covenant itself; still less did he enter into any "secret treaty" or other special agreement with Rumania and Serbia.



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HE'S STILL FROM MISSOURI

Senator Spencer, of Missouri, started a considerable controversy when he charged in a campaign speech that President Wilson had promised Serbia and Rumania the aid of the American fleet and army if the integrity of their territory was threatened. The President denied the truth of the statement and offered to leave the issue of his veracity to be decided by the voters, who are from Missouri, too



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THE AMERICAN LEGION'S NEW COMMANDER

Soldier, sailor, business man—Colonel Frederick W. Galbraith has won distinction as all three in turn. He started his career on the sea; he left it to please his mother and went into business, becoming eventually treasurer of the Western Paper Goods Company and international vice-president of the Rotary Club. He foresaw the war before most men and held a commission in the Ohio National Guard for years. He led the 147th Infantry thru the Meuse-Argonne fighting in France, was wounded there, and awarded the D. S. C. and the Croix de Guerre with palm. Since the war he has been commander of the American Legion in his state—Ohio—and he built up its membership there from 16,000 to 44,000. As national leader of the Legion he is going to work first for the interests of the disabled soldiers

## The German-American Bridge

THE agreement between the American Ship and Commerce Corporation, of which W. A. Harriman is president, and the Hamburg-American line for the revival of the carrying trade between Germany and the United States has provoked a good deal of discussion. It has been charged that the agreement was unduly favorable to the German interests and was in fact camouflage for the revival of German mercantile sea-power. Mr. Clegg, vice-president of the Kerr Steamship Company, commented:

The fundamental principle of equal participation is just only after contributions and sacrifices are equal. It would be bad enough if the Hamburg-American Line contributed nothing yet secured equality, but, as the operating agreement is at present drawn, the Americans contribute everything and are repeatedly and consistently penalized. . . . If Shipping Board steamers are operated under this contract the loss to the taxpayer will be enormous with no compensating benefit such as building up the carrying trade for the future. If the provisions of the Jones Bill are enforced, an American marine can be sustained without an alliance of this one-sided character.

On the other hand, Admiral Benson, chairman of the Shipping Board, declared that while the Board had not yet passed on the terms of the Harriman shipping contract: "I have given it my personal approval as chairman, and



believe that it is the greatest thing that can be done to establish the American merchant marine." Mr. Harriman denied that the agreement was one-sided or sacrificed American to German interests:

The American company pays no money to the Hamburg line except for service actually rendered to the American company by the Hamburg line.

The contract gives to the American company the use of the facilities, experience and established trade routes of the Hamburg-American Line. During the twenty years of the contract the American company has complete control of all activities of the Hamburg Line in the United States. The contract gives the American company the right to participate in 50 per cent of all business originated in Hamburg by the most important shipping agent in Germany. Without this contract the American company would have no right whatever to participate in that business.

The American company assumes but one definite obligation, namely, to act as agent in American ports for the Hamburg Line. In all other respects the American company shall put its money and effort only in directions which appear to it to be profitable.

## Night Riders Once More

A few years ago the tobacco growers of the South combined to fight low prices. A few of the wilder spirits threatened personal violence and destruction of property against those who sold their tobacco at an unreasonably low rate. As their reign of terror involved the aid of friendly darkness these terrorists took the name of "night riders." Now the night riders are abroad once more, but this time to keep up the price of cotton.

Their method is to post notices on the ginneries warning the owners that no cotton must be ginned at less than forty cents a pound. A box of matches is sometimes left with the notice as a silent threat of destruction by fire. Mercantile establishments selling raw cotton wholesale have also been ordered to close their doors while prices remained low. In a few instances ginneries and stores which disregarded the warnings of the night riders have been burned and others have had to be protected by armed guards. The Governors of the cotton states have offered rewards for the arrest and conviction of night riders. Rumors are spreading among the negroes that under cover of the night riding movement of the cotton farmers the Klu Klux Klan is being reorganized with political as well as economic motives.

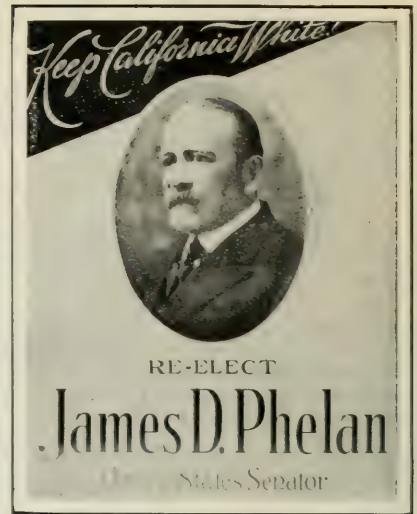
## Uncle Sam's Boys and Girls

THE Census Bureau has at last completed its general count of the population of the United States, exclusive of outlying possessions. The number of inhabitants in the continental United States is 105,683,108. This is an increase of 13,710,842 or 14.9 per cent. since 1910. This increase is less in absolute numbers than that from 1900 to 1910 and less proportionally than in any previous decade. This falling off in the rate of increase is due almost wholly to the cessation of immigration from Europe after the Great War broke out; minor factors are the general downward tendency of the birth rate, the loss of American lives in the Great War, and the heavy death rate during the great influenza epidemic.

For the first time in American history more than half the population is living in urban territory; 54,816,209 per-

"KEEP CALIFORNIA  
WHITE"

The implication of this campaign slogan by which Senator Phelan is seeking reelection from California is justified by prejudice rather than by facts. Japanese and Americans get along amicably on our Western coast except when the professional agitators stir up trouble. As some one phrased it, "It's not the Yellow Peril we need fear, but the Yellow Journalism Peril"



Lothers & Young

sons are resident in incorporated places of at least 2500 inhabitants; 50,866,899 in small villages or rural districts. The number of farms has increased by only 1.5 per cent during the decade and, while there has been some increase in the population of the small villages, the population of the open country shows an actual decrease. One does not have to seek far for an explanation of the high cost of foodstuffs. The manufacture of munitions during the war accelerated the cityward movement.

## Keeping the Lid on Mexico

THE Mexican Government is in the position of a cook whose dishes are all coming to a boil at

once. No sooner is one outbreak attended to than another demands instant action while a third starts to simmer in the distance. Fortunately President De la Huerta and President-elect Obregon and Minister of War Calles have been able to cope with each difficulty as it has arisen, tho not to attain that stable peace which prevents new rebellions from breaking forth. The bandit leaders Villa and Zamora have retired to private life; the rebellion in Lower California has come to an end; the military authorities have ordered the arrest of Rodolfo Herrero, who fled to escape the accusation of having murdered the late President Carranza; General Felix Diaz has recently surrendered after five years of continuous revolutionary activity; political strife in the local governments of the states of Michoacan and Aguas Calientes has been moderated by a policy of watchful neutrality on the part of the Federal authorities. These are no mean achievements for a few weeks of resolute administration, but it must be disheartening to govern a country where a new crisis must be faced each week.

The latest outbreak was in Mexico City itself and bears the brand of "Bolshevism." On September 26 a number of radical workingmen gathered under the red and black banners of the communist party, cheered the Russian and Italian revolutions, listened to incendiary speeches and invaded the balconies of the National Palace. The Government did not interfere with the demonstration but announced later that such lawless conduct would not be tolerated in the future.

Apart from the ever-present danger of a new revolution-



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Going about it in just the right way to start one!



any movement the Mexican Government seems secure. Obregon has thus far worked in harmony with President De la Huerta and his partisans control a majority in both branches of the national congress. Some legalists have contested the legality of Obregon's election to the Presidency on the ground that he had taken part in the revolutionary movement which overthrew Carranza and was thus, under the Mexican constitution, ineligible for office. But none of these critics have the power to make their constitutional theory, whether sound or not, practically effective. It is a drawback to the Mexican Government that the United States has not granted it full recognition, but the main obstacle to recognition appears to be the attempt of the Mexican authorities to carry into effect the Carranza laws respecting alien ownership of oil lands. The American Government has regarded some features of the oil laws as confiscatory of American property rights. If a compromise can be reached on this point it is probable that the Mexican Government will be recognized as there is no question of its *de facto* authority thruout the greater part of the country.

Even if the Obregon Government becomes as thoroughly established as the old regime of Porfirio Diaz, the long years of revolution will leave many an embarrassing legacy. Over ten thousand claims for damages have been filed, principally by Mexicans, for losses sustained during the ten years of disturbance. The Fall committee in the United States Senate estimated American property losses at over \$500,000,000 and placed the number of American citizens in Mexico or on the border killed during the last decade at 784.

## China and Russia

THE Soviet Government has accomplished a clever diplomatic stroke in offering to renounce all the concessions and special privileges that imperial Russia had wrested from the Chinese.

The acceptance of this offer by China has put the other powers, especially Japan, in an embarrassing position. If they fail to follow suit the Chinese will be more favorably inclined toward Bolshevism.

In the famous Colby note of August 10 our Government took the ground that the Soviets having illegally usurped power in Russia, had no right to dispose of any of the territory or privileges of the old empire. Our Secretary of State called upon the European powers



Williams in Indianapolis News

Just when your favorite fruit is right!

powers, especially Germany, intended to make the payment punitive rather than restitutive. The United States after satisfying the claims of its nationals remitted the rest to China and it is being spent in educating Chinese students in America.

But since our Government has renounced part of its share of the Boxer indemnity it cannot with propriety object to Russia's renouncing all of hers. It would look rather peculiar for the United States to intervene and to compel China to pay what Russia now refuses to receive.

Ever since the Czar's overthrow the Chinese Government has been paying the Russian share of the Boxer fund to Prince Kandacheff, who had been appointed Russian Minister to Peking by Kerensky. Of course none of this money has reached Russia but it has been used to support not only the Russian minister in Peking but the diplomatic representative elsewhere, including the United States. Altho the Soviet has been the only real power in Russia for nearly three years, it has never been recognized as a *de facto* government by the United States which holds that Kerensky is still in power and treats his appointee, Boris Bakhmetieff, as the Russian Ambassador to this country.

But the Chinese Government deprives all these absentee officials of support when on September 23 it issued its mandate declaring that:

As the Russian Minister to China and all the Consuls now in the territory of the Republic are no longer in a position to represent their country, the treatment which has heretofore been accorded them as diplomatic and Consular officers is hereby suspended. However, inasmuch as this nation remains as friendly to the Russian people as before, it is but proper that the lives and property of all these Russians now peacefully residing in this country shall be as fully protected as heretofore.

As to the internal political trouble in Russia, we still maintain our neutrality, and will act in accord with the allied and associated powers.

The American Government has instructed Minister Crane to inquire into the action of China and has opened negotiations with other powers looking to concerted action in opposition to such a course. It is proposed to protect Russian interests by an international receivership.

The Soviet Government also restores to China the Chinese Eastern Railroad which forms the short cut of the Siberian line thru Manchuria to Vladivostok. This road is now held by the Japanese who regard it as essential to maintain communications with their troops in Siberia. The Russian tea houses at Hankow are ceded to China.

The Russian note says further:

The Soviet Government restores to China without any compensation whatsoever the mining, forest and all other privilege concessions of which China was robbed by the Government of



Mrs. C. B. Hamilton, of Grand Rapids, who is running for State Senator, is the only woman candidate on the Republican state ticket of Michigan this fall. She won her nomination after a hotly contested campaign against the standpat politicians who either feared or resented the idea of giving the voters a chance to elect a prominent suffragist and civic welfare worker, and a woman, at that!



the Czar, the Government of Kerensky, of the brigands Horvath, Semenoff, Kolchak and Russian generals and capitalists.

The Chinese Government is preparing to take possession of the Russian railroad, mining and forest concessions but if this is attempted it will bring about a conflict with Japan and other powers.

Another embarrassing feature of the affair is the relinquishment by Soviet Russia of the rights of extra-territoriality for her nationals. All foreign nations in China maintain their own consular courts where alone cases involving their own nationals may be tried. The reason for this was that the Chinese courts were corrupt and cruel and could not be trusted to deal justly with foreigners. The same system of the exemption of foreigners from native laws and judges formerly prevailed in Japan, Turkey and Egypt. But it has been abolished in all these countries and the Chinese Republic is naturally anxious to receive the same recognition of its status as a civilized state. The United States and the European powers are not yet ready to follow the example of Soviet Russia, yet it is hard to see how they can prevent China from taking this opportunity to recover her property and privileges.

## Poles Seize Vilna

WHILE the Polish delegates were parleying over peace terms with the Lithuanians at Suwalki and with the Russians at Riga the Polish General Zellgouski took possession of the Lithuanian capital, Vilna, and set up an independent government. His action is apparently instigated by the success of d'Annunzio, who with a body of Italian troops seized the city of Fiume after it had been refused to Italy. Vilna is well inside the ethnic frontier and was conceded to the Lithuanians by Soviet Russia in the recent treaty.

The "Central Lithuanian Government" which has been set up by the mutineers of Vilna is headed by the Polish Nationalist leader, Abramowicz. A proclamation of the new government claims control over all of the territory north of Niemen river, including the cities of Grodno and Lida, recently captured by the Poles from the Russians. Another proclamation promises the prompt convocation of a Diet.

Ostensibly General Zellgouski is acting without authority from the Polish Government and he and his chief of staff sent their resignations to the Polish army headquarters by telephone before establishing their provisional Government at Vilna. The commander-in-chief of the

Polish northern army, General Sikorski, has publicly disavowed the seizure of Vilna. But the Council of Foreign Affairs of the Polish Diet at Warsaw has passed a resolution favoring the annexation of Vilna to Poland. The annexation movement finds support among the Polish landlords of the district in question, but the peasantry is largely Lithuanian. The importance of the strip from Grodno to Vilna lies in the fact that it separates Lithuania from Soviet Russia, which the Poles are very anxious to accomplish.

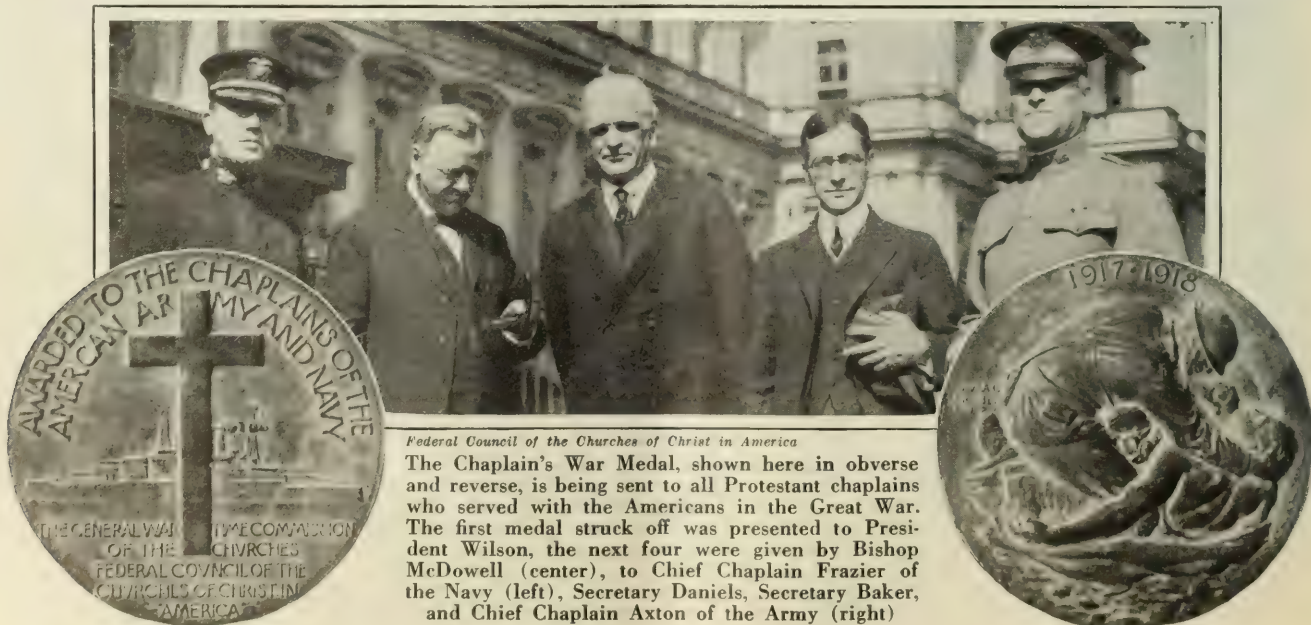
At the Paris meeting of the Council of the League of Nations recently Paderewski, the Polish delegate, and Woldemar, the Lithuanian delegate, agreed to leave the question of the boundary between their countries to a conference of the contestants to be held at Suwalki under the auspices of the League. The Lithuanian Government has now protested to the League against this violation of the armistice by the Poles "under the treacherous pretense of a mutiny" and Leon Bourgeois, chairman of the executive committee of the Council of the League, has ordered an investigation of the occupation of Vilna.

It was at Vilna that the recognized Lithuanian Government was organized when the Russian revolution first gave the Lithuanians a chance for freedom, but later the Poles took Vilna and the Lithuanian Government had to remove to Kovno, sixty miles west. Last August the Bolsheviki drove the Poles out of Vilna and restored it to the Lithuanians.

Lithuania has been recognized as a *de facto* Government by all the Powers except the United States. Our Government took the ground in the Colby note of August 10 that Lithuania and the other Baltic states had no right to claim independence until after the Soviet Government was overthrown and Russia restored in her entirety. But since the League of Nations has not only recognized Lithuania but has become its protector against Polish encroachments we have the curious spectacle of President Wilson acting in opposition to the League of Nations on this question.

## Polish Russian Truce

AN armistice has been arranged between the Polish and Russian representatives at the Riga conference. A provisional boundary line has been drawn from Drissa on the Dvina river at the north to Kamenets-Podolsk on the Dniester river at the south. This gives Poland considerably more territory than was allowed her by the decision of the Supreme Council on December 9, 1919. The strip of



Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America

The Chaplain's War Medal, shown here in obverse and reverse, is being sent to all Protestant chaplains who served with the Americans in the Great War. The first medal struck off was presented to President Wilson, the next four were given by Bishop McDowell (center), to Chief Chaplain Frazier of the Navy (left), Secretary Daniels, Secretary Baker, and Chief Chaplain Axton of the Army (right)





Undeveloped &amp; Undersized

Reprisals for the murder of District Inspector Burke, of the Royal Irish Constabulary, reduced to ruins recently a large part of the famous Irish seaside town of Balbriggan. This wrecked public house is a fair sample of the punishment meted to Sinn Feiners thruout the town

territory between Grodno and Vilna that is claimed by Lithuania, but held by Polish troops, lies to the west of the new line and it is provided in the armistice that Lithuania and Poland shall settle their ownership between themselves. During the armistice and until peace is concluded both armies shall keep fifteen versts (ten miles) away from the boundary line.

The armistice comes into effect on October 18 and will run for twenty-five days, tho either party may revoke it on forty-eight hours' notice. If it is not broken for twenty-five days it will continue in effect automatically for an indefinite time, but may be broken on ten days' notice. The armistice must be ratified within fifteen days. The document is written in the three languages, Russian, Polish and Ukrainian, all versions equally valid.

The peace treaty will secure the rights of minorities and allow free choice of Polish or Russian citizenship. Indemnities for war losses and damage are reciprocally renounced. Removable state property of economic and cultural importance such as libraries, art collections and memorials shall be returned on both sides. Poland is to have the right of transit thru Russia and Ukraina and *vice versa*.

Both contracting parties assure each other complete respect for their state of sovereignty and agree to refrain from any kind of intervention in the internal affairs of the other. Moreover, both agree to include in the treaty obligations neither to create or support organizations which have for their purpose an armed struggle against the other contracting party, nor to seek the destruction of the existing state and social order of the other side—meaning an attempt against territorial integrity, as well as the organization assuming the role of the government of the other side.

This means on one hand that Poland shall cease to be used as a base for military operations against Soviet Russia and on the other hand that the Bolsheviks shall cease their efforts to start a Soviet movement in Poland.

The ceremony of the signature took place in the historic Hall of the Black Head Knights at Riga on the evening of October 12. The room was crowded with the two hundred spectators, including Lettish officials and the entire diplomatic corps. The Soviet delegation entered the hall first and took seats on one side of the long table. When the Poles entered the Bolsheviks rose to greet them and the two chairmen shook hands across the table. Then the Russian version was read by Joffé, the Polish by Dombbski and the Ukrainian by Manuilski, a tedious proceeding since there are about thirty articles in the document.

A treaty of peace between Soviet Russia and Finland was signed at Dorpat on October 6. Peace had previously been concluded with Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania, so if the Polish armistice is followed by a permanent treaty

Soviet Russia will have made peace with all five of the Baltic States.

It is reported that the Soviet Government has made peace overtures to Baron Wrangel, who has been invading the Ukraine from the Crimea. He is now making desperate efforts to gain Odessa and the whole Black Sea coast before the peace with Poland enables the Soviet to turn its forces against him. He is being aided by anti-Bolshevik risings in the Ukraine. The Bolsheviks are said to have been expelled from Kiev, the Ukrainian capital, and from Nikolaiev on the Bug river. Kiev has changed hands half a dozen times during the revolution. The loss of Nikolaiev breaks the railroad connection between Moscow and Odessa.

## Lloyd George on Ireland

THE British Premier in a speech to his constituents at Carnarvon, Wales, on October 9, laid down the law on the Irish question in his usual trenchant fashion. He said that 280 policemen had been shot in Ireland during the past year and 109 of them killed. The police are in uniform; their assailants are civilians, undistinguishable from others until they shoot. This is not war but murder. The Sinn Fein leaders do not say a word in condemnation of such crimes. The people refuse to give information against the criminals either because they sympathize with them or because they fear they will be murdered if they do.

Even if you cut Ireland adrift and let an independent republic be set up that will not satisfy the Irish. Ulster will not have it. "While we are trying to restore peace to the world we do not want to negotiate for civil war at our own door." There could not be an independent republic in Ireland any more than we could have one here in Wales.

The Southern States of America had just as good a right to set up an independent republic as Ireland, Wales or Scotland. They were a distinct community. Mr. Gladstone thought they should have been allowed to do so at that time. History now shows that Abraham Lincoln was absolutely right in saying there is a limit to the right which even a separate community has to tear up a large combination which has been working together for the common ends. That is the limit in Ireland.



© Keystone View

WINNER OF THE INTERNATIONAL AIR RACE

The French aviator, Lecoq, flying over his own country, won the Gordon Bennett Aerial Cup race this fall, the first international air race. The American contestant, Schroeder, met an accident in landing before the race was flown

If Ireland has Dominion Home Rule as Mr. Asquith advises, Great Britain will have to keep a large standing army recruited by conscription. Ireland was our worry during the war tho we did not say much about it. Every Irish representative in Parliament approved of the war at the start but the Irish are a changeable people.

In 1916 they were shooting down in the streets of Dublin British soldiers, many of them not recovered from wounds received in the war. In 1917 and 1918 they were conspiring with German submarines, and we discovered documents in the pockets of men who were arrested in 1918 showing that they were prepared within two months of a German offensive that they knew of to raise a huge force in Ireland to stab Britain in the back when it was engaged in a life and death struggle for the freedom of the world. What a chance you are asked to take to trust the destinies of Britain and the empire to a people who are apt to get fits of passion that sweep away all reason and make them swing violently from one extreme to another in the middle of a great conflict.



# A Little of Everything



## From Wing to Paddle

"From Wing to Paddle" might be the title of the interesting transition by evolution which time has wrought in the structure of the fore-limb of such vertebrates as birds, fishes and reptiles. It is assumed that the ancestry of, for instance, the penguin had to pass thru a long series of fore-limb modifications before the flipper-like wing of the penguin was developed. Thru an examination of explained specimens of white bones mounted against a black background, the modifications in shape, area and structure of various types of fore-limbs, conforming with their special functions, may be demonstrated. The transformation is of course brought about thru various adaptations of muscles and outer coverings as well as skeletal modifications.

To be adapted to flying a limb must be light and at the same time strong enough to support a large surface of membrane or feathers spread for flight. For this reason such wing-bones are hollow, slender and strong.

For swimming, a limb must be strong and it must furnish adequate support within the space of a comparatively narrow paddle, so the bones are solid, stout and short. The degeneration of the wing may be traced downward from the classes of birds that fly high, soar and remain on the wing for extended periods, as in the case of the vulture or eagle and hawk, to the birds that fly rapidly and soar but little, as the swallow, or to birds that fly heavily and do not soar, as the turkey and hen, and finally to the birds that do not fly at all but use their wings as an aid to running rapidly, as does the ostrich, or that use them to paddle in swimming as does the penguin.

The fore-limbs are divided into generalized and specialized types. The simpler and more generalized the organisms, the lower the form of life. In chang-

ing from wing to paddle the fore-limb of the manatee is the most specialized and that of the beaver, most generalized. The snapping turtle offers another example of the generalized fore-limb, for it has no special modifications to adapt it for any special purpose such as flight. The fingers and digits are much alike, the bones of the wrist or ankle are numerous and similar to one another, as in some earlier reptiles and little motion is possible between the bones of the forearm.

The vulture and eagle, on the other hand, have a specialized fore-limb adapted for rapid and powerful flight, and flight only. In this case, the wing has a good sailing surface, being large in comparison with the weight of the body and long in proportion to its width. Of its three digits or fingers two are small, and the three probably correspond to the third, fourth and fifth fingers of the human hand.

Ascending further in the scale of life, the fore-limb of the monkey is still more highly specialized, being primarily adapted for grasping and climbing. The fingers are long and somewhat curved, the first finger or thumb being in a somewhat different plane from the others so that it may be opposed to them for seizing firm hold of objects. The bones of the forearm move freely, affording the monkey facility in climbing.

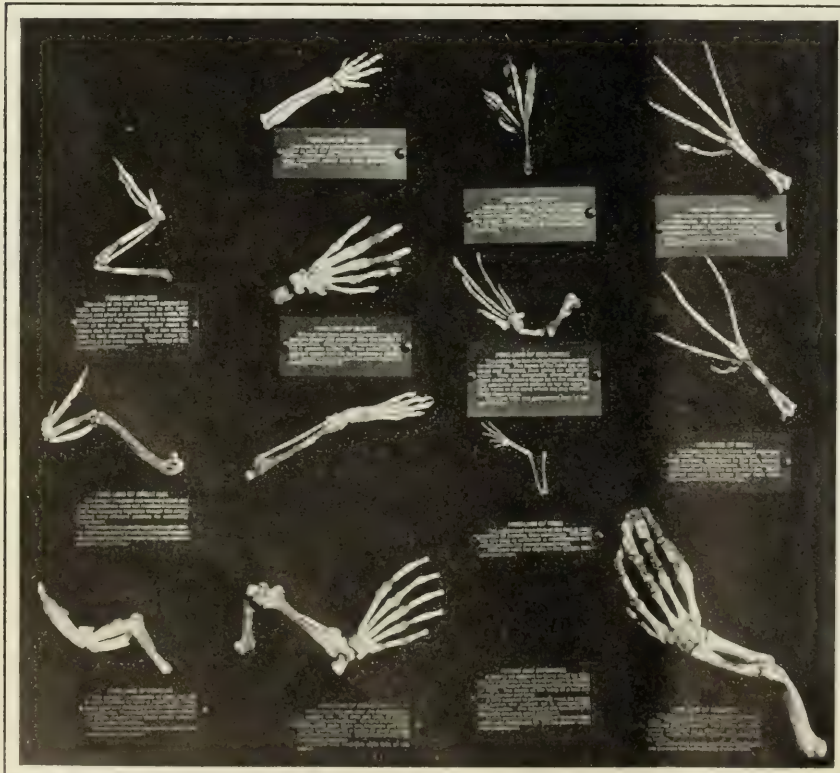
Highly specialized for aquatic life is the fore-limb of the penguin. Altho called a wing, it is useless for flight and is modified to form a paddle, the bones being solid and flattened. The feathers are small and scale like. The muscles which raise the wing are stronger than those which lower it. Here the adaptation is just the reverse of the wing muscles of the vulture, each modification being the result of a peculiar need.

Then there is the sea turtle, with its paddle like fore-limb, highly specialized for swimming in which the bones,



American Museum of Natural History

Mr. Penguin, of the Antarctic regions, has developed, according to his needs, a wing that is no use for flying but very efficient as a paddle



American Museum of Natural History

In these forms can be traced the evolution of animal skeletons to meet the change from flying to swimming. Left to right the examples are: (Top row) beaver's fore limb, coot's hind limb, pelican's hind limb, (second row) hen's fore limb, beaver's hind limb, sea turtle's fore limb, swan's hind limb, (third row) great auk's fore limbs, frog's hind limb, (bottom row) penguin's fore limbs, sea-otter's hind limb, manatee's fore limb



elongated and flattened, give additional width. They are completely enveloped by a sheet of skin to form a flapper, as is also the case with the forelimb of the manatee, popularly known as the "sea cow." On the other hand the fins of fishes are not believed to have been derived from or to have passed thru any stage comparable to those passed thru by the limbs of other vertebrates, but to have been developed thru folds of membrane; an entirely different sort of evolution.

## Outwitting the Measles Germ

There is no doubt that the great armies of contagious diseases that in times past, and indeed up to the very present, have swept over the world wiping out vast numbers of the earth's population must ultimately meet complete defeat by modern preventative measures. Already smallpox and yellow fever have succumbed. Others, including the treacherous measles germ, are losing their deadly grip.

The measles germ itself does not do

violence to mankind, but the condition in which it leaves its victims paves the way for the onslaught of a more vicious band of germs—chiefly those producing pneumonia and tuberculosis.

The serious results of measles in army camp life led to a study of "prophylactic inoculation against measles" by Major A. W. Sellards. The men used in the experiments were selected with the greatest care to eliminate any who might by any chance be immune to the disease. Furthermore, all those persons who showed any trace of infection of the respiratory system were refused for the experiments, as were also those who had had a recent attack of tonsilitis. It was the plan of the investigator to conduct the work in a most cautious manner, in order to avoid the risk of a large number of men becoming infected.

The first step in the work showed that the injection of blood taken from measles patients into those who showed no record of ever having had the disease did not produce measles. In all,

eight individuals, who so far as it was possible to determine were susceptible to measles, were inoculated with the blood serum of measles patients. None of these contracted the disease or showed any symptom of an attack, however slight.

That it was not possible to produce an attack of measles in this way does not, according to Major Sellards, prove that the virus of measles is absent from the blood of infected individuals. There was obtained by subsequent studies considerable evidence that these men under experiment were perhaps rendered immune to the disease by the blood injection. When it became apparent that not a single case of measles was going to develop as a result of the blood injections, two of the men were selected to test what the result would be if they were exposed to measles germs in the ordinary way. These two men had the mucous membrane of the eyes, nose, and throat inocu-



Wide World

### A BICYCLE DIVE

A number of sensational dives into the Seine were made by French athletes, including a cycle dive from the end of a cantilever bridge just under the Eiffel Tower

lated with secretions from the mucous membranes of a measles patient. Furthermore, they remained in the room with the patient (a little girl five years old) and played with her for three-quarters of an hour, but they did not contract the disease.

This pioneer work indicates that in the not very distant future science will have the measles germ upon the run.

## On the Side

In the first eight months of 1920 automobiles killed 427 persons in New York City.

\*\*\*

Skunks yielded \$1,000,000 worth of hides to New York State farmers and trappers in one year.

\*\*\*

The United States built more than half of the world's shipping tonnage produced during the Great War.

\*\*\*

During the last fiscal year Federal and state expenditures on road building amounted to \$250,000,000.

\*\*\*

In the last hundred years the number of Federal officeholders has increased ten times as rapidly as the general population.

\*\*\*

Officials of the census bureau estimate that in the United States there are 26,500,000 women eligible to vote this November.

\*\*\*

Fewer passengers and employees were killed on American railroads in 1918 than in 1910 in spite of the increase in volume of traffic.

## Hurrah for the City Manager

There are eighty-six cities in the United States which at present are governed by a city manager. Have they prospered? Here is the answer:

Grand Rapids, Michigan, has the lowest tax rate of any city in the state.

Wichita, Kansas, ended the year with a current surplus of over \$56,000.

Portsmouth, Virginia, saved \$44,000 the first year.

Jackson, Maryland, sold potatoes and fish at less than market rates.

Waltham, Massachusetts, reduced debt \$80,000.

Alameda, California, has the lowest infant mortality of any city in the United States.

Sandusky, Ohio, wiped out a floating deficit of \$18,500.

Albuquerque, New Mexico, recovered stolen goods to exceed total cost of police protection by over \$3000.

Auburn, Maine, ran a Chautauqua at an average charge of 12 cents per entertainment.

San Angelo, Texas, reduced the fire insurance rate from 56 cents to 31 cents.

Norwood, Massachusetts, established a public market and canning kitchen.

Glendale, California, reduced tax rate 5 per cent.

Goldsboro, North Carolina, raised a bond issue of \$90,000 without increasing taxes.

Sumter, South Carolina, has had more improvements in last five years than in all its previous history.

Cadillac, Michigan, by virtue of its city manager, has "done away with all feeling at election time."

Albion, Michigan, has purchased \$10,000 Liberty Bonds.

Taylor, Texas, has saved \$2 per capita the first year.

Fredericksburg, Virginia, saved \$152,602 from current expenses.

Towanda, Pennsylvania, finds no more opposition to the city manager plan.

Morehead City, New York, has paid old debts and ended the year with a surplus.

Birmingham, Michigan, has sold coal at cost.

Largo, Florida, is "well satisfied."

All the remaining cities would make as good a showing had we the space to enumerate the good things that have happened to them since they adopted the city manager type of government.

A word to the wise city is unnecessary.



# Straws in the Wind

(Continued from page 119)

for the common welfare. These readjustments promise the safest guarantee of the status quo.

The Republican party, by its championship of intensified nationalism and short-sighted isolation, is leading toward a rejuvenated Prussianism. Its bitterness against Article X betrays unwillingness to respect territorial integrity and bares the motive to imperialistic aggression.

The apparent success of the great Republican money "drives" is significant. Are those men of "Big Business" who donate so lavishly to resuscitate "normalcy" quite sure that the easiest way to crush Bolshevism is to enthrone special privilege and reaction?

WILLIAM Y. WARD, M. D.

*Ivanhoe, Texas*

Mr. Cox will receive my vote because he heads the party that out and instituted the Federal Reserve law that saved our country from panic and the civilized world from bankruptcy; because his party assembled and outfitted in incredible haste an army and navy that saved the world from despotism; and because his party will enact the best treaty of peace ever thought out, and that maintains Monroe Doctrine not only for America, but also for all other countries no matter how small or great.

CARRIE KENDALL EASTERLY.

*Bartlesville, Oklahoma*

And here is the unique reason for voting the Democratic ticket from a Kentucky farmer's wife:

I am a middle-aged farmer's wife and will cast my first vote this November. I intend to vote for the League and against Mr. Harding, because my husband champions the Republican combination.

I believe hundreds of farmers' wives will act on the same principle. Why? Because in most cases the farmer is an ignorant man and narrow—largely because he has not had the advantages of schools, clubs and libraries that broaden folks. Now, when a man lives to himself, or his tribe, he becomes selfish and *stingy*. Usually a farmer makes plenty of money—if he hasn't made money the last few years it's because he didn't stay on the farm. But does he split 50-50 with his wife? Does he have the rooms papered, or buy the victrola the children have been mad for, or have a sink put in the kitchen? Indeed, he does not. The pump is convenient to the barn rather than the dwelling; a farm tractor with latest improvements is indulged in.

Editor, do you see what I mean? Ask any farmer's wife—I am not speaking of the landed gentry—and they'll tell you mine is no exceptional case.

## Harding and the G. O. P.

The Cox vote is a pro-League vote, but the Harding vote is not an anti-League vote. Not a single correspondent seems to occupy the position that he will support the Republican ticket just because it opposes the League of Nations. Some, on the contrary, believe that the Covenant is ultimately as safe in Republican hands as in Democratic and that Cox has raised a false issue. Some hold that other questions are of paramount importance. Particular emphasis is laid by nearly all our Harding voters on the party question; the alleged inefficiency

of Democratic administration in general or during the last four years in particular, and the superior ability of the Republicans to find able men for office. Directly reversing the order of emphasis among the Cox voters, the Harding supporters place the party first, the candidate second and the issues last.

Here is a lucid statement of the average Republican position on the League:

Dr. Williams has given the true basic facts and his arguments cannot be met. I do not, however, share his apprehension as to the fate of the League. We are going into it in due time, but with our nationality fully protected and all doubtful points made clear. Senator Harding's statement has opened the way to full readjustment, and with Mr. Root at hand to advise, the results will satisfy the nation.

WM. HOYT COLEMAN.

*Narberth, Pa.*

A native of Ohio, tho now resident in another state, testifies from personal knowledge as to the fine quality of the Republican candidate:

Harding was once defeated for governor because he stood for prohibition and for a rigid enforcement of the local option law then in force in the State of Ohio. Senator Harding's paper, *The Marion Star*, is clean of all sensational stuff, absolutely safe for the reading of any boy or girl in any home. He, who makes his newspaper and his community morally sound and safe for the protection of the thousands of homes in Marion, Ohio, him can I trust with the safety of the millions of homes in our great American republic.

THE "COUNTRY PARSON."

A "small town" vote:

As an independent Republican I am supporting Mr. Harding as against Mr. Cox because of his evident broader grasp of the vital matters which confront our country. Someone has called Mr. Harding a small town politician. He may be, but his small town training enables him to see thru the maze of conflicting conditions which surround us and propose a true remedy.

J. J. JEWETT.

*Riverton, Wyoming*

Cox and Harding contrasted:

Approved by, and, on the League at least "at one" with Woodrow Wilson, the election of Cox means nothing less than a third term for the Cambridge school teacher. Nominated by Tammany of New York and the Taggarts of Indiana, his election cannot mean a thrill for the mothers and fathers who would live under a stainless liquorless flag.

Always eager for the advice of his fellows; cautious as to radical moves or measures but proven in his ability to fight for his principles to the last, Harding will win in November by the greatest plurality the nation has ever sent a patriot to pilot the Ship of State thru a trying sea of national turbulence and international chaos.

HAL CROUCH.

*Muskogee, Oklahoma*

But it is the contrast between the Republican and Democratic parties which is the burden of the majority of the Harding letters:

History shows that the Republican party can command the confidence of the country

the better. Even with his disappointing platform, yet with a great running-mate, an accordant senate, and swayed by public opinion, and influenced by the visioned men of his party, will not our chances be better with Harding?

EDMUND A. FREEMAN.

*Hinckley, Maine*

I am going to vote the Republican ticket because nothing but rebellion and civil war could be worse than the Democratic administration. They have squandered one-tenth of the wealth of the country, and are still bidding for loans at six per cent. interest, while the industries of the country are crippled by lack of funds and high interest. Predatory wealth and predatory labor have both been turned loose to prey on the public, in the fond hope that they would remember the favor and keep the Democratic party in power.

Practically everything that the farmer has to sell is on the free list, while everything that he has to buy is protected by a tariff.

The Adamson law, which turned the railroads over to the labor unions, put a premium on laziness and inefficiency which is costing the country millions of dollars every year.

The civil service law has been largely nullified by the Democratic administration.

The Democratic party has been weighed in the balance and found wanting, the Republican party is still on trial.

WM. C. COLEMAN.

*Peculiar, Mo.*

I shall vote the Republican ticket on November 2nd, 1920, because:

1st. I have greater confidence in the statesmanship of the Republican party to formulate the terms upon which the United States may enter a League of Nations. I feel that such men as Elihu Root and Wm. H. Taft, to name only two, should have the opportunity to help directly to work out this great problem; a problem second, but only second, to that of our own national existence and welfare.

2nd. I have greater confidence in the financial policies of the Republican party.

3rd. I believe the Republican party represents evolutionary, as against cataclysmic, progress. . . .

WALDO H. DUNN.

*Wooster, Ohio*

Mr. Williams's reference to the negro question in the South called forth several letters on both sides. Here is the reason why Cox cannot count on any large fraction of the Afro-American vote:

I cannot understand the Democratic state of mind, so well exemplified in the present administration, that keeps on regarding the Negro as a negligible quantity in our political and economic life. No race respecting Negro can vote to continue such a political party in power. Here the Negro may well rest his case against the Democratic party whose entire history, with one exception—Grover Cleveland whose administration was repudiated by his party—has been unfriendly to him. However liberal he may be, Cox will find it impossible to break thru the anti-Negro blockade that his party has thrown around the White House. And he does not seem to be the type of man that is going to make any very serious effort to do so.

NATHAN B. YOUNG.

*Tallahassee, Florida*



This general summary of the merits of Republicanism may fitly conclude our examination of the case for Harding:

The Republican party will be victorious in November, because both its candidates and platform are superior to those of any of its opponents. The great industries—farming, mining, shipping, and manufacturing—will vote for the party that will protect their products. The laboring men will vote for the party, that will guarantee employment, fair wages, and fair laws. The women will vote for the party, which has already ratified the amendment in over twenty-five states. The former soldiers will support the party, which backed them up in the war. These important forces in America (all American) will decide the election in favor of Republican law enforcement, economy, and efficiency rather than Democratic extravagance and breakdown. The nation desires a party of deeds—not creeds; a party of action—not promises.

LAURENCE R. CAMPBELL.  
Los Gatos, California

### Outside the Big Parties

Mr. Watkins, the third Ohio candidate, finds a champion from his own state:

The debate between Messrs. Hapgood and Williams greatly interested me. But they failed to declare the whole truth. They brought into their discussion, along with that of other vital questions, the workings of the Fifteenth Amendment, but had not a word to say concerning the Eighteenth. In view of the fact that there are attempts, both by evasion and by legislation, to nullify this last named amendment, as well as the other, their silence in that respect seems more than significant. It was nothing more nor less than an effort to shield their candidates whose records on that question will not bear inspection. The political party that ignores that question is cowardly and reactionary, and not progressive, whatever may be its claims in that regard.

O. F. GEIGER.

Mendon, Ohio

A young college graduate will cast a protest vote for the Socialists:

I am not a Socialist; neither am I a Democrat nor a Republican. But because my state compels party affiliation in order to cast the ballot, I am registered under the last-named party. This fall I shall cast my first ballot for President of the United States, and I frankly admit that it will be for Debs. Why? Well—

In the first place, I have nothing to say against the candidates of the two so-called major parties. They apparently are taking care of that themselves. But I do say that they were nominated, not because they were the choice of the people, but because they were the choice of none-too-honest politicians.

Now regarding Mr. Debs. Certainly he is not the type one would vote for President of the United States under normal conditions. He has done many things which I think he should not have done; but he apparently believed they were right. And that is why I admire him as a man—he has the courage of his convictions.

Another reason why I shall vote for Mr. Debs is that a large Presidential vote for the Socialist candidate at the present time will be a stinging rebuke to the Democratic and Republican parties and will probably bring them to their senses before the next national conventions.

G. STEWARD WYCKOFF.  
State College, Pennsylvania



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Carnegie Steel Co.	9	47	59
DuPont DeNemours & Co., E. I.	2	31	62
General Fire Extinguisher Co.	3	35	49
General Electric Co.	10	17	31
Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co.	5	12	53
International Paper Co.	11	28	42
Pennsylvania Railroad Co.	23	40	75
Standard Oil Co.	16	41	94
Telling, Belle Vernon Co.	2	19	51
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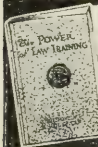
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## The Farmer's Right-Hand Man

(Continued from page 121)

The campaign covered forty-nine counties and lasted six weeks. Every day some two or three thousand farmers and business men were addressed.

What was the net cash result? The chairman of the Profitable Farming Bureau of the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce says: "The Profitable Farming campaign added \$30,744,150 to the value of the agricultural products of Arkansas. This is proven by government statistics."

Almost everybody knows that the reaper was invented by Cyrus Hall McCormick; that the McCormick Works is the largest of the world's great farm machine factories, and that the International Harvester Company is under the leadership of the McCormick family. But there are hundreds of interesting facts relating to the feeding of America and the world that the McCormicks can supply, and that everybody should know. How much of a farm can the average farmer and his family cultivate with hand tools? About two acres. How much with machine tools? At least 150 acres. Who has done the most to increase the American farm by 148 acres? I would give that honor to the inventor of the reaper—to McCormick, the young Virginian, whose first clumsy machine was the forerunner of all our mechanical husbandry; who, in truth, planted nearly ninety years ago the seed that has found fruition in the Harvester Company, now making fifty-four distinct classifications of farm implements and with a present manufacturing capacity in its score or more of factories of about 2,000,000 machines.

These manufacturers never make a sale until assured by personal investigation that the article sold will be of permanent benefit to the customer. If he wants to buy a larger and more costly machine than his needs require, they won't let him. They frequently advise the purchaser to spend less money than he planned to. How many dealers do you know like that?

Consultation precedes sale, and service follows. This rule is invariable. A mere sale, apart from the education of the buyer and the coöperation of the dealer, is never tolerated. Furthermore, should it need adjustment when put in field service, the company sends a competent machinist to do the work free of charge.

Honesty is *not* the best policy—honesty is a principle, not a policy. But if honesty were the best policy, the proof would be right here, in the loyalty and support of the customers, dealers, and employes of the company who recognize the honesty above described, and respond with a moral fealty that money could not buy.

Another example even more unusual. When Government officials conceived an idea that the Harvester Company was violating the Sherman Law and getting to be an ungodly Trust, it brought suit. Then it wished it hadn't

—not a single farmer witness was called to testify against the company! And the court listened to 1,200 farmers and dealers who served as witnesses for the company. Ruling on the evidence, the judges declared that, while the company had the *power* of a monopoly, the conduct of the business had been fair and honorable.

The reason for an original \$120,000,000 capitalization was not to collect huge profits, but to confer huge benefits. All-year production and selling, ample extension of credit to customers and dealers, and the development of international trade, were the objectives; all of which required vast money resources. By manufacturing a large assortment of time-saving, man-saving, money-saving machines that the farmer could use to advantage all the year, the Harvester Company lessened the cost of seasonal production and storage, then reduced prices on machines. In the early days, by offering generous terms of payment and "carrying" the dealer or customer for long periods, they put machines on thousands of farms whose owners could not have paid cash. By risking large sums of capital in opening up new countries for trade in agricultural implements, they not only helped the farmers of the world to adopt American ways of reaping larger, better crops, they also helped the manufacturers and merchants of the United States to increase foreign trade by \$40,000,000 in the first ten years of this century.

The Illinois State Law for Workmen's Compensation and Employers' Liability was modeled chiefly on the practice of the Harvester Company, adopted a year or two prior to enactment of the State law. The aim of the company has always been to anticipate such legal statutes as really conserve the welfare of employes or the character of the product. If other states have better laws, the company takes these for a pattern; if no states have good enough laws, the company makes its own.

Now that we have regarded the moral size of the company, let us observe the material size. Properties include four mines, capacity 1,400,000 tons iron per annum; two coal and coke mines and plants, capacity 1,000,000 tons coal and 550,000 tons coke; blast furnaces and steel mills, capacity 450,000 tons pig iron and 350,000 tons steel bars; timber lands of 80,000 acres and sawmills of 20,000,000 feet capacity per annum; twenty-seven factories and mills in America, Russia, France, Germany, Sweden, total capacity about 1,975,000 farm machines and 160,000 tons of binder twine. There are 93 branch and transfer houses in the United States, and 17 in Canada.

The McCormick Works in Chicago, that we visited, occupies 229 acres of ground and a floor space of about 3,500,000 square feet. The annual out-



put of this one plant includes figures like these: 200,000 mower wheels, 500,000 steel wheels, 800,000 gallons of paint, 60,000,000 castings, 73,000,000 chain links. Every day 100,000 knife sections are made, 200,000 cotter pins, and almost 1,000,000 bolts and nuts. The total annual shipment of machines, repairs and twine fills about 75,000 railroad cars.

Parts of machines twenty-five years old are kept in stock, that any farmer who needs repairs or replacements on early models may be served quickly and effectively. You do not have to buy a new, late model in order to get proper attention and consideration.

Judging by the personnel of other great factories, we expected to find here 15,000 to 20,000 employees. There are only about 6000. The company uses automatic machines to manufacture automatic machines, and thus not only practices what it preaches but also reduces the payroll and the prices.

During the past six years wages have been raised repeatedly in the Harvester factories in order to help employees keep up with increased costs of living. In a space of three years over \$400,000 has been expended on welfare, safety appliances, ventilating systems and the safety educational campaign; the result being that industrial accidents have been reduced over 60 per cent. The McCormick family has donated a hospital to the employees of the McCormick Works.

Pensions for long and faithful service, ranging from \$360 to \$2,500 a year, go to employees at 65 years of age, with twenty years' service; at 60 with twenty-five years' service, and at 55 with thirty years' service. At the end of 1919 more than 24,000 employees in the various plants were subscribers for certificates totalling more than \$8,000,000 under a Savings and Profit Sharing Plan, whose liberal terms and special provisions make the employee shareholders personally interested in the successful operation of every machine they help to manufacture. More than 4,000 employees had become stockholders under this plan.

In order that relations of the employees and the company might be established upon a definite and durable basis of mutual understanding and confidence, the Harvester Industrial Council Plan of employee representation was put into effect on March, 1919, and has been heartily approved by the workers.

The latest step taken by the Harvester people toward their ideal of industrial coöperation is a long one; it is the adoption of an "Extra Compensation and Stock Ownership Plan."

Under this plan the employees will receive each year 60 per cent. of the earnings above 7 per cent. return on the invested capital; 20 per cent to be distributed in the discretion of the directors to those having managerial or executive duties and 40 per cent to be divided among workers in the non-managerial group according to the proportion of the individual employee's



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earnings during the year to the aggregate earnings of his group. As nearly as possible this extra compensation will be paid half in the company's stock and half in cash, non-managerial employees to receive preferred stock and the others common stock.

As a climax and crown to the visit, I had the privilege of talking with the president of the company, Mr. Harold F. McCormick.

The president of the company gave his first rule of life. "Keep your conscience clear as a bell."

"If I do anybody a wrong, or am tempted to, something within me rings out like a bell and warns me of danger. The danger is to me, not to the other fellow.

"The sense of doing right is the greatest power you can have in life. The rule of right is not just moral in application, it is mental, physical, social, financial, industrial, professional. Whatever you do is right, or it is not. The judgment you pronounce on the quality of each act, based on the vision of intelligence and the voice of conscience, will determine the character of your future and the scope of your destiny."

I had a query. "What is right, and how do you make sure of it?"

The president replied: "Whatever is right is for the common good, and whatever is for the common good is right. If what you do helps you and everybody else, it is right; if it harms you or anybody else, it is wrong. Making this matter clear and keeping it straight is one of our largest responsibilities to our customers, our employees and ourselves."

Chicago

## We Need a Newly Consecrated Americanism

(Continued from page 116)

evils of profiteering and exploitation, whether of nature's or of humanity's resources; and it will be found on the human side of every effort at improvement. Its support will be given to every proposal for wise and workable coöperation, whether in the factory, the market-place, or the broad development of the social-economic order. It will stand, as always, for exact justice, for the fullness and fairness of equal opportunity and preparedness to embrace it; but always with the reservation that the measure of realization must somewhat depend on the measure of deserving. Craft and cunning and acquisitiveness may safely be curbed, in order that character and the truly deserving may gain full participation in the widest benefits that the community is able to confer on its members.

In very brief, this is the aim and ideal of the Republican party; this is its program of this year 1920. Conscience of our sincerity, confident in our purpose, we submit our case to the American people.

Marion, Ohio

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## One Saving Grace of War

(Continued from page 117)

War Savings Securities sold since the beginning of the movement in 1917 is about \$1,168,559,000. Of this amount some \$360,356,000 have been redeemed, leaving about \$805,203,000 worth still in the hands of savers. The percentage of redemptions has grown less with each issue, proving that the value of these securities for a permanent investment is dawning upon the American people.

The Savings Division is stressing its activities in the schools and the industrial plants of the country and is doing an intensive rather than an extensive work, going upon the theory that to create one permanent saver and investor in Government Securities is sounder economic practice than to sell a thousand stamps by "drive" methods.

If savings and the creation of capital are to become universal habits in America the public schools must instill sound practical financial thought in the minds of the boys and girls. The biggest lack in our system of education has been a department which teaches the value of the dollar. If more of our youth had been taught that lesson, had learned the value of an hour's time, the dignity of labor, the joy of a workmanlike job, American industry would not now be crying for steady, intelligent and ambitious employees and Ponzis would be operating in barren fields.

Some regular system of saving is a vital part of the child's education. Thru it he is taught the cumulative value of money, simple interest, compound interest, the a b c's of finance. If the saving is accomplished by means of Government securities he learns in addition something of Government finance and loyalty to the Government in which he is a shareholder. The Savings Division is coöperating with the leading educators of the United States in making the theory and practice of sound economic principles a permanent part of the school curriculum. The National Educational Association has appointed a committee of seven State Superintendents to work this plan out in detail with the Savings Division. The principles of saving are being taught and Thrift Stamps and War Savings Stamps are being sold in a large majority of the schools thruout the country today.

Incomplete reports show that at least 130,000 pupils in the schools of New England out of the total registration of 510,000 invested \$1,150,000 in Thrift and War Savings Stamps during the school year 1919-1920. Since the beginning of savings teaching in the schools of Texas, the children of that state have invested enough in Thrift Stamps and War Savings Stamps to pay for the State Capitol at Austin six times over. The school children in Ohio invested during the last school year an average of \$7.00 each in War Savings Stamps and Thrift Stamps. In Leavenworth, Kansas, during the past year children were graded in



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Millions of people employ it. And the glistening teeth seen everywhere show what it means. See what it means to you:

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Most tooth troubles are now traced to film—to that viscous coat you feel. Film clings to teeth, enters crevices and stays.

The ordinary tooth paste does not end film. So the film remains—much of it—and may do a ceaseless damage. Nearly all people suffer from it, more or less.

It is the film-coat that discolors, not the teeth. Film is the basis of

tartar. It holds food substance which ferments and forms acid. It holds the acid in contact with the teeth to cause decay.

Millions of germs breed in it. They, with tartar, are the chief cause of pyorrhea. So, despite the tooth brush, all these troubles have been constantly increasing.

### New methods now

Dental science, after years of searching, has found new ways to fight film. All have been proved by many clinical tests. They are so efficient that leading dentists everywhere advise them.

These methods are combined now in a dentifrice called Pepsodent. It has brought a new era in teeth cleaning. This is the tooth paste we urge you to try.

### Watch the new effects

The use of Pepsodent at once reveals many new effects.

One ingredient is pepsin. One multiplies the starch digestant in the saliva, to digest starch deposits that cling. One multiplies the alkalinity of the saliva, to neutralize mouth acids.

Two factors directly attack the film. One of them keeps the teeth so highly polished that film cannot easily cling.

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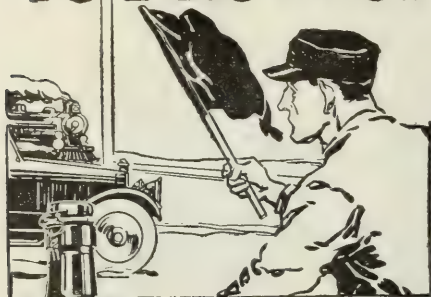
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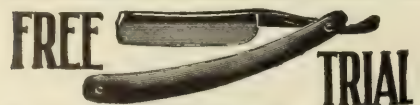
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thrift on the practical basis of economy in paper and other materials, in the care of books and clothing. That those fine habits of saving which are now being instilled have not been instinctive in American youth is demonstrated by the fact that in a middle western city of moderate size the money paid out by pupils during the school year for movies and other amusements and for candies and sweets exceeded the total salaries paid to the teachers of that community by \$4,000. No better instrument could have been devised to stop extravagance and to encourage steady saving than the 25 cent Thrift Stamp.

Several State Departments of Education have included chapters on the question of savings and investment in their state courses of study. Many new editions of school text books now contain material on Government Securities and the practice of sound investment. Side by side are given examples of sound investment and fake schemes.

Next to the schools, the most effective group to inspire with the idea of universal savings is that which turns the wheels of industry. Someone has estimated that at least \$35,000,000,000 of our total annual income is paid in wages. With the wage earner, therefore, lies the possibility for the creation of much needed capital in the United States. If the first dollar out of the pay envelopes of America should go into savings instead of being spent for more or less unnecessary articles, great reservoirs of capital would soon be created, normal prices would be restored, inability to meet financial obligations would be eliminated.

Likewise, a deeper patriotism would be created. The Secretary of a Savings Society in a great shipbuilding company states: "In the plate and angle shop, a department of about 500 men and containing many foreigners, a canvass was made to find out the men desiring citizenship papers. Of all those who wished first papers everyone was saving money by buying War Savings Stamps, while everyone who refused was not buying War Savings Stamps." It is clearly evident that no foreigner will be 100 per cent American as long as he sends his earnings home. With an American bank account, he will have a stake in his community and with the Government Securities, he will feel his partnership in his adopted country.

Each month in the factories thruout the United States, there is placed on the bulletin board a poster bearing a calendar and a bit of sound financial advice. This poster is furnished by the Treasury Department and is one of its means of approach to the American workmen. The February poster said: "WHAT ARE YOU DOING NOW TO MAKE YOUR FUTURE SAFE? It is what you save, not what you earn, that insures your prosperity and happiness in the years to come. Save regularly and make your savings loss-proof by buying War Savings Stamps." In March the poster read: "WHERE DO YOU GET OFF IF YOU RIDE A MERRY-GO-ROUND? The man on the wooden horse is like the man who works week after week without saving

money. He gets nowhere." In April the worker was advised: "SPRING SEEDS FILL FALL NEEDS. To Harvest then, plant now. The man who plants his savings in War Savings Stamps and Treasury Savings Certificates grows a crop of interest that nothing can hurt."

Following up this publicity and the material which is furnished regularly to the labor press, Government Savings Associations are organized thruout a plant. The secretary furnishes the employees stamps as they work, so that they are not put to an inconvenience in investing their savings. By this method, savings are constantly growing in well-organized plants.

One plant in Providence, Rhode Island, which has 200 small savings groups, reported the sale of Stamps in April, 1920, aggregating \$15,545.

Twenty-two plants in the Philadelphia Federal Reserve District, where savings societies have recently been organized, now have 17,742 savers who put aside War Savings Stamps from January 1st to March 31st, 1920, aggregating \$114,783.

At the Rock Island Arsenal in Illinois, the monthly savings rose from \$4,532 in February to \$12,712 in May, 1920.

In a certain industrial plant where during the war 90 per cent of the employees were regular buyers of War Savings Stamps, the influenza epidemic was met with a minimum of suffering, the men had the funds available for doctors, medicine and proper food. They met their bills promptly and did not embarrass the merchants of the community. As a result of the lesson then learned, they are now buying twice the number of Stamps they did during the war, and it would be difficult indeed to get any of them to abandon the thrift habits which the Government taught them.

So obvious are the benefits brought by this small Savings System that numerous labor organizations have recently passed resolutions presenting to their membership the advantages of War Savings Securities.

Not only is the Savings Movement taking a place in schools and industries but its influence is felt in national women's organizations and in fraternal and religious circles.

That this Government activity in industry, in the schools and in various other groups is beneficial to the whole financial system is shown by the added savings banks accounts, purchase of homes, and development of life insurance business in communities where the Savings Organization has worked most effectively. The time is ripe for all legitimate savings organizations to work for the financial emancipation of American citizens.

Financial freedom for all—this is the slogan of the Savings Movement, this the reason why a war activity has been carried on as an enduring peace-time program. Quietly, systematically, surely, the Treasury Savings Movement is working its way into every corner of American activity.

Washington, D. C.



## The Unpuritanic Puritans

(Continued from page 122)

that charge. The only punishment given her was a recommendation to dance no more.

The Pilgrim costume we think of as being plain and somber. It was not always so, for good old Elder Brewster, one of the leaders of the "Mayflower" company, had a wardrobe that included a blue coat, a violet colored coat, and a green waistcoat!

People in Plymouth did not all observe Sunday as we think the Pilgrims always did. The records show that many broke the Sabbath day. Friends and relatives met together to gossip, and others openly ridiculed the preacher.

Nor were all the Pilgrims steadfast. Some, even in Holland before the sailing of the "Mayflower," became discouraged and went back to England to take up the old life. Others on the very eve of departure for the voyage, declined going to a new land. Still others who actually started from Holland, gave up when they learned something of what lay before them.

Like other people, the Pilgrims were obliged to work, and could by no means give all their time to religion. They were not only obliged to clear a wilderness, build houses, and try to make a rather barren soil productive; they were some six thousand pounds in debt to their creditors in England, and were obliged to spend much of their time hunting and trapping beavers, whose skins they sent over to England in place of money.

Nor did the Pilgrims work harder or more faithfully than people of today. They blundered into a communistic plan of ownership, and so, lacking the stimulus of individual profit, no one would work more than his allotted share. All this prolonged their period of debt, and hindered development. It was twenty years before they settled their financial affairs in London.

All these facts—and more—shown by the old records of Plymouth, bring the Pilgrims before us in a very real way. Such facts make the Pilgrims seem human. They no longer appear as saintly beings quite different from ourselves.

Courtship, marriage, birth, death, the vigor of health that finds happiness even in a wilderness, gossip, amusement, envy, faith, great love, laughter, sorrow, and the palsy of old age—all were in old Plymouth just as they are with us today.

We ought to think more of the humanity of the Pilgrims; when we do we shall all the more appreciate the great things they did, for over and beyond all the littlenesses, all the faults and frailties that they had, in common with us, was a spirit that has lived. The things of earth have dropped away and have left only the pure soul—the spirit of liberty, of firm-set faith, of strong endeavor. It is comforting, for in that sense, we too, can be somewhat like the Pilgrim Fathers.

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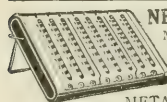
H. F. BARTZ, Treasurer.  
New York, September 18, 1920.

### MEETING NOTICE

#### WESTINGHOUSE ELECTRIC & MANUFACTURING CO.

165 Broadway, New York, October 16, 1920.  
For the purposes of the special meeting of stockholders, to be held on November 18, 1920, the stock transfer books will be closed on October 29, 1920, at 3:00 o'clock P. M., and reopened on November 19, 1920, at 10 o'clock A. M.

JAMES C. BENNETT, Secretary.



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# How to Study This Number

## THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

English, Literature and Composition

History, Civics and Economics

### I. One Saving Grace of War.

1. Make a short speech in which you summarize Mr. Lewis' article and make an appeal suitable to inaugurate a thrift campaign in your school.
2. "In the true Democracy, every worker is a capitalist." Write an editorial for a daily newspaper, using this as the opening sentence.
3. Write a short story that could be used as propaganda material to sell Thrift and War Savings Stamps.

### II. Straws in the Wind.

1. If possible the teacher should hold a forum on the Presidential election, appointing one pupil to present the claims of each party and candidate. (Messages from all except the Farmer-Labor party have already been published in The Independent; and that one will appear in the next issue.) After these speeches there should be an opportunity for questions and open debate. Then each pupil should write a letter similar to these published in The Independent supporting his choice and giving reasons. Urge any pupils who have the necessary ability to draw cartoons illustrating their political preferences.
2. Which seems to you the most convincing argument in these letters? Why? Which letter is best from a literary standpoint? Why?
3. "A large Presidential vote for the Socialist candidate at the present time will be a stinging rebuke to the Democratic and Republican parties and will probably bring them to their senses before the next national conventions." Do you think that this position is a sound one or not? Defend or attack it in a letter written for publication in a daily paper.
4. Define the following words: integrity, lucid, cataclysmic, perforce, predatory, turbulence, paramount, "status quo," negligible, nullify, pernicious, evasive.

### III. We Need a Newly Consecrated Americanism.

1. Which seems to you the most effective sentence in Senator Harding's message? Why?
2. Make a very short political speech urging Senator Harding's election. Choose one of the following audiences to whom to adapt your speech: (a) a crowd of passers-by at a street corner, (b) a theater audience between the acts, (c) an afternoon tea at which women are gathered to glean wisdom in casting their first vote.
3. Write in from 100 to 500 words your definition of "Americanism."

### IV. The Story of the Week.

1. Give a brief talk suitable for a current events club on the news of the week in the United States.
2. Write a letter to a friend in the Middle West defending or criticizing Premier Lloyd George's Irish policy.
3. Write a short story or a poem based on the recent raids of "night riders" in the South.
4. Write an editorial for a Southern newspaper condemning the "night-riders" activities and showing that they must ultimately do the cotton farmers more harm than good.
5. Explain orally the offer that the Soviet government has made to China.

### V. The Unpuritanic Puritans.

1. After reading Mr. Law's article, write a character sketch of any one of the Pilgrims.
2. Write a humorous poem narrating an incident that happened during the Pilgrims' first years in America.
3. Write a story of the Pilgrims' landing—as if you had been one of them.
4. What is Mr. Law's purpose in destroying some of the popular beliefs about the Puritans? Does he offer something more important in their place?

### VI. The Farmer's Right Hand Man.

1. Why is the International Harvester Company, called "The Farmer's Right Hand Man"? Summarize briefly the story of what it has contributed to the progress of farming in the United States.
2. Write a story of one farm implement from the time it left the factory till it was worn out.

### I. Republican Policy—We Need a Newly Consecrated Americanism. Harding's Foreign Policy. Parsons Bolts G. O. P. The Successful League of Nations.

1. Why does Senator Harding so strongly emphasize party responsibility?
2. What criticisms does he make of the Wilson administration?
3. Restate in your own words a part of Senator Harding's article under the heading "Democratic Unpreparedness for War and for Peace."
4. How do you interpret the significance of Senator Harding's speech at Des Moines? What does Mr. Parsons have to say about it? What does Mr. Holt have to say?
5. What accomplishments of the League of Nations are listed by Mr. Holt?
6. What features of the existing League of Nations would, in your opinion, be probably retained in Senator Harding's projected "association" of nations? Which would be "scrapped"?

### II. Eastern Europe—A Ghostly Conference. China and Russia. Poles Seize Vilna. Polish-Russian Truce.

1. On what terms is the Polish-Russian war being settled? What terms would the Russians have exacted if peace had been made a few weeks earlier? What ambitions have the Poles renounced by the Treaty? Explain how the military situation in eastern Europe resulted in a compromise peace.
2. What promises do the Soviet authorities make to the Chinese Republic?

### III. National Thrift—One Saving Grace of War. The Suffering Public Wakes Up.

1. Give as many reasons as you can think of why the American public, as contrasted with some peoples of Europe, values a speculative chance above security in making investments.
2. How does Mr. Lewis use the phrase "capitalist" in saying "In the true Democracy, every worker is a capitalist"?
3. Why are securities of the United States Government generally considered a particularly safe investment? Can you reconcile this with the fact that some issues of Liberty bonds are still selling somewhat below par? What factors determine the sales value of public bonds in the market at any given time?
4. Can you think of any ways in which the schools can combat the prevalent "economic illiteracy" of which Mr. Lewis speaks?

### IV. Public Opinion on the Election—Straws in the Wind.

After reading over these letters, write about 100 words embodying your own opinion on the election. If you belong to a class in school or to a debating society or any other organization that might be interested in the matter take an "opinion straw vote"; that is, not only the votes for President but in each case a brief statement of reasons for the vote (the ballot papers need not, however, be signed by the voter). Then classify the votes according to the issues emphasized and briefly summarize the results. You will find that an "opinion straw vote" which shows why people are supporting a particular ticket is more instructive as to political tendencies than a plain straw vote which only shows how people will vote. If you wish you can carry out a similar plan as to the issues of your state campaign or any other electoral contest in which you and your friends are interested.

### V. American History—Unpuritanic Puritans.

1. Who were the "Puritans" and why were they so called? Did they all leave England for the new world?
2. How, in Mr. Law's opinion, does the slighting epithet "puritanic" misrepresent the historical Puritans?

### VI. The Census—Uncle Sam's Boys and Girls.

1. Why did the population of the United States increase more slowly from 1910 to 1920 than from 1900 to 1910?
2. Why is the city population increasing more rapidly than the country population? What is the significance of this with reference to the cost of living?



# The Independent

FOUNDED 1848

## Bud to Dad

Dear Dad:

If I'm not the most normal and regular person in the world when I grow up, it won't be your fault, Dad. It beats all how you sense the dangers that I am heading for and warn me off. The Independent is going to keep me off a lot of rocks for which I am sure I would have steered if you had not sent it.

I think that the greatest thing that a publication like The Independent does is to make the questions and issues of the day real and personal. I notice that it puts these things up to us readers as judge and jury and it makes even a freshman realize that he has other responsibilities beside maintaining his status as a student.

The Remarkable Remarks feature of The Independent is a dandy. It is amusing to see people's eyes open when I repeat some of them. In fact, my Independent thunder is gaining me the very flattering reputation of being wonderfully well informed.

You have put me on to a lot of good things, Dad, but The Independent is the best yet. I nail at least one new truth each week by reading it. Most publications might be called *table d'hôte* mental meals, because you know about what is going to be set before you; this *à la carte* service of a news item from India and a discussion of why the Jap is advancing so rapidly and the other interesting surprises that are dished up in The Independent make it something to look forward to.

Yours,

BUD.

## Opening Nights

*Parlora* has brought back to America a new repertoire which adds to the luster of her fame as the world's *première danseuse*. And she still dances the incomparable "Swan." (Manhattan Opera House.)

*Mecca* achieves a climax in the realm of light opera. It has all the colorful splendor and finished artistry of its predecessor, "Chu Chin Chow," and surpasses it in melody, magnificence of pageantry, beauty of ballet, and interest of plot. (Century Theater.)

*The Outrageous Mrs. Palmer*, by Harry Wagstaff Gribble. Pseudo-dramatic play to show off Mary Young as impossible and repellant stage heroine whose "mother love" in the last act saves son's life by blood transfusion. Hollow, theatrical and impossible. (Thirty-ninth Street Theater.)

Louise Darclee, who has just finished a tour of Mexico, South America and Cuba, made her triumphal debut in the United States as Maliella in the San Carlo Opera Company's production of *The Jewels of the Madonna*. She is that rare operatic combination, a singer who can act. (Manhattan Opera House.)

*The Mob*, John Galsworthy's dramatized plea for the right of free speech in wartime, is effectively staged and adequately presented. The play is one of Galsworthy's best: brief, swift in movement, and with no relaxation of the almost painful emotional stress from the first word to the last. (The Neighborhood Playhouse.)

## Including Harper's Weekly

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## Remarkable Remarks

SENATOR HARDING—The women won their own victory.

MISS BESSIE E. RICCI—I believe in getting married for money only.

MARY PICKFORD FAIRBANKS—Doug is always bringing people home to dinner.

JOSEPH JUDSON TAYLOR, D.D.—The Bible is against the League of Nations.

G. K. CHESTERTON—My country right or wrong? Yes, my Mother drunk or sober.

SIR F. BANBURY—All of us sometimes commit acts of indiscretion, especially if we are smoking or something of that sort.

SIR E. BRABROOK—As a rule governments do little with prices except to raise them or with production except to hinder it.

HERBERT HOOVER—The whole nation spends at least a million dollars a day in superfluous eating at hotels and restaurants.

DR. CHARLES M. SHELTON—It does not pay to go to church in the morning if we are planning to go to the devil in the evening.

EMILE UTARD—Woman, if she is familiar with the best social usage, uses perfume as a hint not as an overpowering declaration.

VISCOUNTESS ASTOR, M.P.—I believe that the spirit of the League of Nations is in the heart of every right-thinking man and woman.

W. BOURKE COCKRAN—A loftier idealism is embodied in President Wilson's fourteen points than in Abraham Lincoln's emancipation proclamation.

DR. J. B. CRANFILL—The League of Nations plank in the Republican National platform is a shuffling fragment of a colorless and puny political nonentity.

SENATOR HARDING—The Senate has saved to the country the inheritance for which heroes perished and for which the supreme sacrifices of the Republic were made.

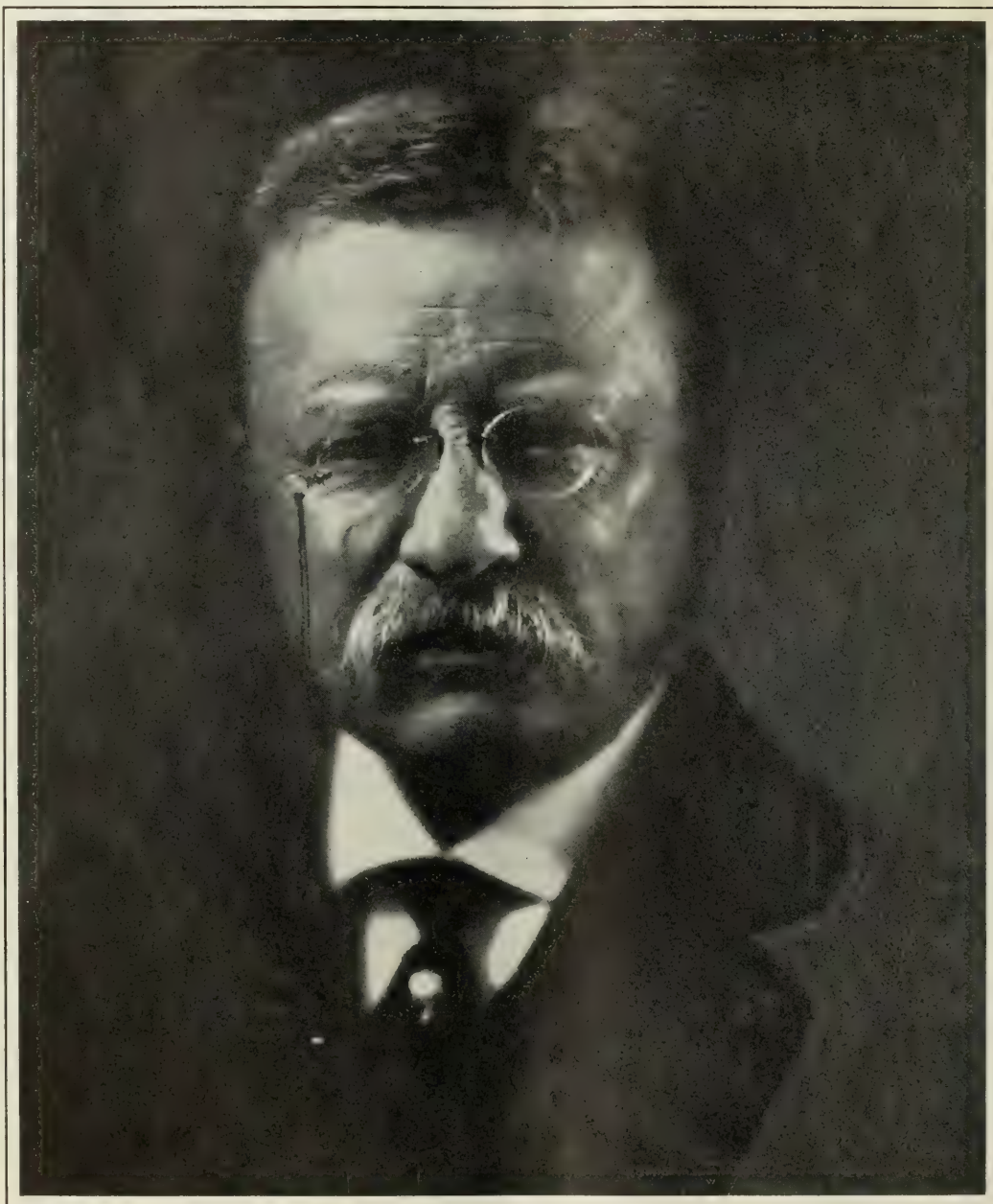
RAYMOND G. FULLER—The primary object of child labor legislation is to help establish the democracy of childhood—fairness of opportunity in terms of health, play and schooling.

CORRA HARRIS—No one knows why, but it is a fact that a man distinguishes instantly and unerringly between a temporary widow and a widow indeed, whatever her age or condition may be.

GOVERNOR COX—I am determined to secure the earliest possible entrance into the League of Nations with the least possible delay and with the least possible reservations needed to accomplish that result.

ED. HOWE—A man in California claims that whale's milk is richer and more palatable than cow's milk. Now let Congress appropriate a sum large enough to catch whales, milk them, and see if there is anything in this new talk.





© Pirie Macdonald

### Theodore Roosevelt

*Whose birthday we celebrated on the 27th of this month, wrote not long before his death the following message which is of especial timeliness in our present day problems:*

We recognize, and are bound to war against, the evils of today. The remedies are partly economic and partly spiritual, partly to be obtained by laws, and in greater part to be obtained by individual and associated effort; for character is the vital matter, and character cannot be created by law. These remedies include a religious and moral teaching which shall increase the spirit of human brotherhood; an educational system which shall train men for every form of useful service—and which shall train us to prize common sense no less than morality; such a division of the profits of industry as shall tend to encourage intelligent and thrifty tool-users to become tool-owners; and a Government so strong, just, wise, and democratic that, neither lagging too far behind nor pushing heedlessly in advance, it may do its full share in promoting these ends.—From *"The Foes of Our Own Household."*



# The Independent

October 30, 1920

## Go Forward from Economic Serfdom

A Message from the Candidate of the Farmer-Labor Party

By Parley Parker Christensen

**T**HE Farmer-Labor Party is not in reality a third party. To call it that would be to imply that the Republican and Democratic groups represent two diverse cleavages of opinions, contrasting attitudes toward the issues confronting the country, which is not true. They are plainly and simply rival factions of the same party—the party of reaction, of Bourbonism and of economic privilege. They recall the well-known couple depicted in the newspaper cartoon—“Mike and Ike—They look alike.” But the resemblance of the Democrats and Republicans is deeper than looks. They are both the protégés of Wall Street; the one may draw a few million less from the group of exploiting barons entrenched in downtown New York than the other, but the two are fed from the same bin and the feeding is not apportioned out of any motive of charity but for value received or to be received if elected.

Opposing this party of Toryism—this party which lifts its eyes to the Hills, Rockefellers and their like, stands the Farmer-Labor party, which lifts its eyes to the hills too, but to hills of different geological formation. The great tide of unrest sweeping over the country called it into being. But whence this unrest? We Americans are not naturally grumblers. Optimism with us closely approaches to a religion. How then is it that the spirit of protest has become epidemic?

Again, what means the sudden stirrings in the world of Labor, the solidifying of their aims and tactics, the rapid rise of the Labor press, the development of the coöperative movement, the activity of farmers' organizations in politics, the Non-Partizan League victories. In North Dakota the state has gone over so completely to the Farmer-



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“The platform of the Farmer-Labor party demands the restoration of civil liberties, including free speech, free press and free assemblage, the right of asylum; return of the Department of Justice to the functions for which it was created; amnesty for all political prisoners; repeal of espionage, sedition laws, protection of the rights of the worker to strike,” says Parley Parker Christensen

face of tremendous obstacles, the enemy fighting every move in the courts. Only recently was the last legal obstacle removed by the Supreme Court decision holding the North Dakota enterprizes constitutional.

Yes, you say, but what has this to do with the National Farmer-Labor party? Everything. In a large measure, the men who battled for the Farmer-Labor program under Non-Partizan League auspices are

back of the new Farmer-Labor party. They are kin in their programs for reconstruction. Many of those who did yeoman work, like Duncan McDonald, in touring the western states for the League program are now [Continued on page 170]

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This article is the sixth of the series in which each candidate for President of the United States has presented in the Independent his message to the American people

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# Sizing Up Senators

Some Significant Facts for Voters About the Men Up for Election This Fall

By Susan Brown Bristol

**T**HE record made by the United States Senate, particularly during the last two years, naturally causes the voters of the country no little anxiety as to the personnel of the Sixty-seventh Congress.

Thirty-four candidates are asking us on November 2 to vote them seats in the Senate of the United States for the next six years. Representing the people of the United States in Congress is, or should be, pretty serious business.

Who are the men who come before us asking our votes, that they, in turn, may "save our country" for, and to, us? Do their records justify us in placing our proxies in their hands? Have they vision on the important issues which today face us? Do they feel the necessity of throwing their strength with those who are trying to make impossible a repetition of the last four unspeakably awful years? Are they men who appreciate that peace is the world's first need? And are they willing to accept as a basis for peace the plans so far proposed, modifying these as may be found necessary to attain the end sought by a world weary of war and war's aftermath? Or are they men satisfied to float into office upon any craft which is warranted surely to land them at the door of the United States Senate? Are they



© Western Newspaper

Miss Anne Martin, suffragist, ran for Senator from Nevada at the last election and is a candidate again this year

more than content to leave, for the present, serious consideration of this supreme issue, as they intimate that later (and how much later one cannot help wondering) this troublesome question might be relegated to Senator Harding's "Association of Nations," even tho, to date, this is, to be sure, of extremely cobwebby structure? Are they men who realize that the present high cost of living is a question which should be dealt with by the Congress of the United States? And, equally important, are they willing to deal with it? Are they men who believe that the issue of prohibition, in its various ramifications, is one of vital importance to the nation? Or, do they oppose prohibition and its enforcement with the slogan, "The liberty of the people must be preserved"? Are they men who have favored "special privilege" to interests as against the

welfare of the people? Are they men who will stand for progressive measures? Or are they men who may be counted upon to spend their energies, and our money, in pointing out to us the glories of the past?

Thirty-three States will elect thirty-four Senators. Alabama will elect two, on account of the regular expiration of the term of Senator Oscar W. Underwood, and the expiration of the term of Senator B. B. Comer, who was appointed to succeed the late Senator Bankhead. Another *ad interim* term which expires is that of Senator Carter Glass of Virginia, appointed to succeed Senator Martin. For this vacancy Senator Glass is himself a candidate.

Aside from Senator Harding, the following four members of the present Senate have voluntarily retired:

Senators Gay of Louisiana, Thomas of Colorado, Johnson of South Dakota, and Sherman of Illinois.

The following four *were* retired, thru defeat in the primaries: Senators Gore of Oklahoma, Gronna of North Dakota, Kirby of Arkansas, and Hoke Smith of Georgia.

Twenty-three Senators have been renominated: Senators Benham of Kentucky, Brandegee of Connecticut, Chamberlain of Oregon, Cummins of Iowa, Curtis of Kansas, Dillingham of Vermont, Fletcher of Florida, Henderson of Nevada, Jones of Washington, Lenroot of Wisconsin, Moses of New Hampshire, Nugent of Idaho, Overman of North Carolina, Penrose of Pennsylvania, Phelan of California, Ellison D. Smith of South Carolina, John Walter Smith of Maryland, Marcus A. Smith of Arizona, Smoot of Utah, Spencer of Missouri, Underwood of Alabama, Wadsworth of New York, and Watson of Indiana.

The table at the end of this article gives by states the entire list of candidates for election to the Senate this fall.

Both parties are making a hard fight for Senate control. In several States the smoke of battle is thick, and for reason. For at last we are beginning to realize that when our representatives have betrayed our trust, just retribution may be meted out—to be sure, by only one means,



Senator Cummins of Iowa is finding that organized labor refuses to support the reelection of the sponsor of the Esch-Cummins railroad bill



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Senator Boies Penrose from Pennsylvania has been reelected regularly for a quarter of a century. Why worry now?



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Tom Watson, anti-League, anti-war, anti-Wilson, is Georgia's new Democratic candidate



but that a most effective one—the polls.

One of the liveliest battles at present being waged by any Senatorial candidate is that of Senator James W. Wadsworth, Jr., of New York, whose record at present is under heavy fire. Even the former Senator Chauncey M. Depew has “known Mr. Wadsworth from boyhood,” has “watched his career with great interest,” and feels that “with his admirable equipment and demonstrated ability New York will honor herself and do a valuable service to the country by again electing,” etc., etc.; even the former President Jacob Gould Schurman of Cornell University pleads, “For what he is and



© Keystone View

The “dry” forces and the suffragists in New York are supporting a woman candidate, Mrs. Ella Boole, for Senator in opposition to Senator Wadsworth

stands for, for what he has done in his first term in the Senate and will do if returned in the second, let us give Senator Wadsworth the indorsement of an overwhelming majority”; even the Ex-Senator Elihu Root cabled from Europe greetings congratulating both Senator Wadsworth and the United States upon the Senator’s success in the primaries, in the minds of many citizens of the State of New York there still remain grave doubts as to the desirability of aiding Senator Wadsworth in his plans to return to the Senate. And the reason for doubt on the part of these persons is Senator Wadsworth’s previous record, both in the New York State Legislature and in the United States Senate. When a man in this day and age votes against enfranchising half of the citizens of the country; when on all phases of the question of prohibition his recorded votes are “wet”; when on the Senate floor he explains that he voted against the prohibition amendment because he “believed that such a proposal had no place in the Constitution, and . . . because . . . the people in great communities of this country were competent to decide that matter for themselves”; when upon twenty-seven measures of interest to labor, he is recorded as having voted favorably five times, unfavorably fifteen times, and as failing to vote seven times; when the records, both in Albany and in Washington, show him to have cast his vote for “special privileges” in the interest of the few at the expense of the many—these counts, even leaving out of consideration his attitude on the question of world peace, and his championship of compulsory military training, have caused others than the Non-Partisan Senatorial Committee, from whom the slogan is quoted, to feel that “Mr. Wadsworth’s place is in the home.”

In connection with the New York situation, it is of interest to note that the “dry” forces are supporting a woman, Mrs. Ella A. Boole, for the Senate.



Paul Thompson

Senator Brandegee from Connecticut asks for reelection on a record of opposition to the League, to prohibition and to woman suffrage



© Unrecorded

The Republicans of Utah are expected to reelect Senator Smoot for his fourth term, and keep the G. O. P. triumvirate unbroken

A statement such as this causes the eyes of the uninitiated to roll wide open with astonishment. The innocent asks: “What can the record of Senator Penrose have been that a majority of such proportions is foreseen for him?”

Upon consulting the *Congressional Record* one finds that Senator Penrose has always been an opponent of suffrage; that once he voted favorably upon ratification of the treaty with the Lodge reservations, while at the second vote he was paired unfavorably with Senator Harding; that he favored the Esch-Cummins railroad bill, by many regarded as “the most pronounced special interest legislation that ever came out of Congress”; that he voted unfavorably upon the Federal Child Labor bill; that upon fifty-nine labor measures he voted, or was paired, favorably, fourteen times; unfavorably, nineteen times; and upon twenty-six measures he is recorded as not voting.

But these facts do not answer the innocent’s question with entire satisfaction, and the innocent is left in bewilderment.

In Connecticut, Senator Frank B. Brandegee, a “regular,” renominated by the Republi- [Continued on page 169]



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The Assistant Secretary of State, Breckinridge Long, is the Democratic candidate for Senator from Missouri



Two vigorous anti-suffragists who are forced this fall to ask the women to help reelect them: Senator Wadsworth of New York (left) and Senator Moses of New Hampshire



# The Battle of Blanc Mont

## The First Complete Story of Our Combat Operations

By Captain Joseph Mills Hanson

IN tracing the martial career of America's forces in Europe we have now seen those forces fight their earliest battles in the spring of 1918 by scattered divisions flung into the line to avert a crisis in Allied affairs and have followed them as a united army from their first swift victory at St. Mihiel thru the long and exhausting phases of the battle of the Meuse-Argonne. There remains only to recount the work of the divisions which, removed from the main body of the American army, fought under French or British command in distant sectors of the battle front during the last stages of the war. Because they were, in a sense, out of the focus of public attention, which was focussed upon the main armies under the direction of General Pershing, the soldierly achievements of the men of these divisions sometimes seem to have been overlooked, tho they were, in fact, deserving of as much commendation from their countrymen as were those of our troops on any field.

While the struggle of America's main armies was at its high in the Meuse Argonne sector, the roar of battle was thundering crescendo along the whole length of the line from the Argonne to the Channel. One after another the French and British and Belgian armies, responding to the will of the Allied supreme commander, attacked and drove the enemy back thru line after line of his elaborately prepared defenses. To maintain without relaxation the final supreme effort, so that the enemy might have no moment's opportunity of recovery, no chance to avert his approaching complete overthrow, the crying need of every Allied army and army group commander was for men; men to replace the wastage of the terrific battle and to maintain the decisive superiority of numbers.

The great reservoir of Allied man power in the last summer and autumn of the war was America; indeed, as has already been pointed out, it was only the incoming divisions of United States troops, arriving in the last months of the war at the rate of approximately 300,000 men per month, which had first produced and later was able to maintain the superiority of numbers essential to a continuous offensive. Moreover, the quality attained by the American troops after they had experienced sufficient front line service to be familiar with the exactions of battle, was so high that French and British commanders were importunate for American divisions to serve in their armies, not merely for the sake of added numbers, but for the heartening effect of the unwearied American spirit upon their own troops. Altho General Pershing was always opposed to a general policy of employing American troops except in American armies, he was never deaf to requests for aid when it was evident that American strength could be spared from his own army and effectively used for advancing the Allied armies on other fronts. This was particularly easy on the British front, behind which, in accordance with the policy of the spring

of 1918 when the British were sorely in need of reinforcements, a number of American divisions had taken up their training. On the French front the problem was not quite so simple since to be used here American troops had to be taken from the zone of the American armies themselves.

It will be remembered that on the morning of September 26, when the First American Army attacked between the Meuse and the Argonne with nine divisions in line, the Fourth French Army, under General Gouraud, with twelve divisions in line, also attacked on the portion of the Champagne front extending from the Argonne to the Suippe River, a distance of about thirty-five kilometers. The mission of General Gouraud's army was twofold: to assist the First American Army in "pinching out" the enemy from the Argonne Forest and, on the opposite end of the line, to outflank the strong German positions in front of Rheims and force the enemy to fall back from the vicinity of that long beleaguered and piteously devastated city. In the latter task General Gouraud was ably seconded by General Guillaumat's Fifth French Army on the Chemin des Dames, northwest of Rheims.

The Fourth Army began its hard task with distinguished success, driving the Germans back thru their successive trench systems in the naked Champagne plains to depths of from six to twelve kilometers during the first week of the continuous attack and capturing such formidable positions, famous in the fighting of previous years, as Navarin Farm, Souain, the Buttes of Tahure, Mesnil and Somme-Py. But the French reserves at the disposal of the Fourth Army were limited and as the divisions in line, at the beginning of October, approached that state of exhaustion described as "expended," there still remained ahead of them some unconquered positions of great strength. Among the most powerful of these were the heights of Blanc Mont and the strongholds on its flanks at Medeah Farm and St. Etienne-a-Arnes. The importance of Blanc Mont resided in the fact that it was the dominating crest of the ridge of high ground lying between the Py River on the south and the Arnes on the north. So long as the enemy retained it he could maintain his position before Rheims; when it should be lost, he would be compelled to fall back to the Aisne River on this entire section of his front.

In these circumstances the French high command called upon General Pershing for reinforcements and he responded by loaning to General Gouraud, especially for the conquest of Blanc Mont, the 2nd Division of

regulars, which since the St. Mihiel operation had been in rest south of Chalons-sur-Marne, and the 36th Division, of Texas and Oklahoma National Guard troops, which came directly from the Bar-sur-Aube training area, having never been in action before. The troops of the 2nd Division advanced thru the ruined village of Somme-Py on the night of October 1-2

This is the eighth of a series of articles in which Captain Hanson tells the complete story of what the American troops did on the battle line in France—a series written from a thoro study of the official records and with the background of actual experience overseas. "Up the Line from Cantigny" was published in *The Independent* of March 27, "Those Desperate Days at Chateau-Thierry" in the April 24 number, "Zero Hour Along the Marne" May 29, "One Day's Work at St. Mihiel" June 19-26, "Covered with Mud and Glory" July 24-31, "Getting on to Berlin" August 28, and "Our Greatest Victory" September 25



and relieved the French 61st Division in a line of captured German trenches less than a kilometer north of the village. General Lejeune established his headquarters in Somme-Py and the rear elements of his division, supported still further back by General William R. Smith's troops of the 36th Division, took up positions in the vicinity of that place in such shelter as already existed or could be created against the searching German artillery fire in the open and thoroughly devastated country.

Anyone who has not actually seen it would find it difficult to visualize the forbidding aspect in wartime of the Champagne battle zone. Always the most sterile and thinly populated portion of France, the country then, under the continual lashing of shells and the burrowing shovels and picks of contending armies, assumed the aspect of an inferno. The barren hills, rolling in gradual slopes up to low but vastly spreading summits, were seamed everywhere with the zigzag gashes of trench lines, each one marked by the yellowish white chalk thrown up from beneath the thin coating of surface soil. Interspersed with broad mats of rusty wire entanglements, the trench lines stretched away in every direction as far as the eye could see, scarcely concealed anywhere by the sparse growth of pine trees which, set in long, narrow "plantations" on the slopes to check the soil erosion, seem almost the only useful vegetation that the land will support. Dug-outs and abris and dumps dotted every slightly sheltered spot back from the front lines; every shell hole of the countless thousands was a gaping, chalk-encircled wound in the earth, often littered with the bones of some man or horse upheaved by the explosion. And over the whole vast panorama of desolation the ghastly ruins of the widely scattered villages were visible for miles across the unbroken waste. In such a land as this it was that the 2nd and 36th American Divisions were called upon in October, 1918, to exert all the strength that was in them for the conquest of one of those huge, bare hilltops which dominated the country about it; Blanc Mont.

The Essen Trench, in which the advance elements of the 2nd Division relieved the French, was a part of the intermediate German defensive line in this sector. It had just been taken by the French in hard fighting and reorganized to face north instead of south. Immediately to the left of the 2nd Division, which had now become the left element of the French 24th Corps, a powerful segment of the intermediate position, known as the hook of the Essen Trench, had not yet been taken by the French 21st Division, which was attacking it and this fact produced infinite difficulties for the Americans when they commenced their advance against the German lines on Blanc Mont. The crest of Blanc



The Blanc Mont sector in the fall of 1918 was among the strongest enemy positions still to be conquered. Its importance lay in the fact that it was the dominating crest of a ridge of high ground lying between the Py River on the south and the Arnes on the north and so long as the enemy retained it, he could maintain his position before Rheims

Mont, covered with the trenches of the enemy constituting his last completed defensive zone, lay nearly three kilometers northwest of the 2nd Division's front up gradually swelling slopes broken at frequent intervals by narrow plantations of small pines. Between the hill crest and the American front were many lines of wire guarding the slopes and lacing the plantations of pines, while innumerable machine gun nests were cunningly hidden among the thickets, over which the distant German artillery was able to throw its protecting curtains of shells.

The consolidation of its positions and local fighting to drive out detachments of Germans who still clung stubbornly to parts of the Essen Trench, particularly near "the hook," occupied General Lejeune's men during their first day in the sector. Early on the morning

of the 3rd, however, everything was in readiness to attack. The 9th Infantry was in front line on the right, supported by the 23rd Infantry and the 6th Marines were on the left. In the center the 5th Marines were to await the advance of the flank regiments past a small but strongly organized bit of woods called the Bois de la Vipere and then to follow in support after the inner companies of the attack regiments should have mopped up the wood and united their front beyond it. All the divisions on that part of the line were to attack simultaneously, the 21st, to the left of the Americans, clearing the hook of the Essen Trench and then attacking St. Etienne, while on the right the 67th Division was to conquer the strong positions on the ridge at Medeah Farm. The general direction of attack of all divisions was northwestward.

Following a violent artillery preparation of five minutes duration delivered by the guns of the 2nd Field Artillery Brigade, the American infantry and marines moved forward at about daybreak, the artillery preparation changing to a barrage as they started. Two battalions of French tanks, the 2nd and 3rd, which accompanied the attacking troops, behaved very gallantly and rendered most valuable assistance. The Germans met the advance with intense fire, their infantry and machine gunners holding to their positions with determination. But the attack, nevertheless, forged ahead and before noon the Americans had cleared the open slopes and the group of plantations called the Grand Bois de Somme-Py, piercing the enemy's double line of trenches and gaining the crest of Blanc Mont. On the right the 67th similarly gained its first objective at Medeah Farm. But on the left the 21st Division was unable, despite gallant efforts, to capture the hook of Essen Trench and from its deep hill-slope excavations the marines, who had now advanced far beyond it, were exposed to decimating fire in flank and rear. In the afternoon a [Continued on page 173



# Rheumatism? There's No Such Disease!

By William Brady, M. D.

PROFESSOR Chittenden, the eminent authority on nutrition, had suffered for a long time with persistent "rheumatism" of the knee joint. In the course of his studies in nutrition he personally adopted a regimen in which

not only the protein content but the fuel value of all elements was reduced considerably below the amounts usually deemed essential. In the first eight months on this meager diet Professor Chittenden lost nearly twenty pounds in body weight. He was taking less than forty grams (about one and one-third ounces) of protein daily, whereas the average adult consumes over one hundred grams of protein daily. Two months of this time he spent at a fishing resort and often rowed his boat eight or ten miles a day, without any breakfast, and "with much greater freedom from fatigue and muscular soreness than in previous years on a fuller dietary." The "rheumatism" disappeared, as did "bilious attacks" and sick headaches to which he had long been subject.

It requires considerable courage to fast or to reduce the ration far below the customary allowance, if you do not understand nutrition. Knowledge, however, tends to dispel this fear, as knowledge dispels most fears.

It would be childish to imagine that the cure for rheumatism is a restriction of the daily allowance of protein to one-third of the customary amount. This assumption would be perfectly sound if there were such a disease as rheumatism. But there is no such disease.

One source of the much advertised uric acid is the protein of the food. How simple, therefore, to do away with all the manifold evils of uric acid by just eschewing all protein. But, alas, another source of uric acid is muscular activity. Still, it is conceivable that one might abolish muscular activity and thus be freed of rheumatism. Alas once more, there is no reason to suppose that uric acid ever causes rheumatism, supposing for a moment there is such a disease as rheumatism. There is no evidence that uric acid is a cause of any disease of man. This is a mean thing to say in the face of positive patent medicine assurance to the contrary, but it is no meaner than what has already been said about rheumatism. Protein, alas for the third and last time, is moreover an indispensable element in nutrition. If we delete it entirely from the ration we cannot live, at least not happily; conceivably one might vegetate on a protein-free diet for many months.

A good many years ago we doctors started out to prove to the world that there is no remedy or combination of remedies in the mineral, vegetable or animal kingdoms which may be considered good for rheumatism. It looked feasible enough at first. We really thought that in time we would arrive at a satisfactory conclusion, but little did we dream of the interminable changes which were to be rung on the title of rheumatism, and less did we imagine the incalculable number of drug combinations, baths, diets,

## "I TAKE MY OWN MEDICINE!"

*Says Dr. Brady, and he might have added that thousands of other people all over the United States and Canada are taking it, too. For Dr. Brady has lectured widely thruout the United States and Canada, he has written numerous instruction pamphlets issued by the state health departments; he is the author of several books—including "Unromantic Etiology" and "The High Cost of Sickness," and he conducts the "health departments" of two hundred or so daily newspapers.*

mechanical procedures, thought waves, tidal waves of plausibility and essences of rattle-snake and polecat to be coped with. So we gave up trying to prove that there is no cure for rheumatism and compromised on the verdict that there is actually no such

condition or disease as rheumatism.

Since arriving at this judgment we have been just as popular with victims of the disease as ever we were when we had certain formulas which we "let on" were good for the rheumatism.

Nowadays a good share of a doctor's income is earned by undoing things which the medical fathers were paid a good share of their income for doing. It will at once occur to the more or less dull-witted reader that this is merely a clumsy way of saying that the popular health delusions of the day are the exploded medical fallacies of a generation ago. Every time a medical myth explodes the eager laity gathers up the fragments and preserves them as souvenirs. Thus some people are still taking medicines and mineral waters to clear uric acid from the system; and others are still eating white meat only; and yet others are still partial to flannel of a scarlet hue.

Science, not I, says there is no such disease as rheumatism; medical science, not Christian. If you happen to have rheumatism please don't be annoyed with medical science, for she is doing the best she can with a vexed subject. Vexed subjects are hard to deal with. They are prone to be pessimistic. Now one of the essentials in clearing up what masquerades as rheumatism is optimism. The optimists have a fair chance to get well; the pessimists are practically wedded for life to their infirmities.

An optimist is a patient who, having sacrificed some of his proudest teeth, two tonsils and his gall-sac without apparent benefit to his lameness, submits to an exploration of his maxillary sinus in the hope that there, at last, the doctors may find that elusive *septic focus* which is at the bottom of the whole trouble. A pessimist is a one-best-bet kind of valetudinarian. He hangs on to his rheumatism, and calls it rheumatism, and takes or tries everything Tom, Dick or Harry recommends for the rheumatism for ten years or so, then grudgingly gives up those four old infected tooth roots which have troubled him off and on right along, and, not experiencing the expected rejuvenation, devotes the remainder of his years to knocking the medical profession, pills, potions, dentists, the x-ray, and all that sort of thing.

Chronic rheumatism is a vulgar way of saying confirmed pessimism. The victim of chronic rheumatism is a one-test rheumatic. He gives the focal infection theory a single test—provided it doesn't cost more than four old teeth or a pair of thoroly disreputable tonsils—and if the rheumatism fails to react positively the short-sighted fellow concludes that the focal infection theory is all bosh, without [Continued on page 172]



# Republicans Who Will Vote for Cox

*This manifesto is signed by 150 men and women who have in the past been associated with the Republican or the National Progressive parties. Among them are fifteen of the twenty Republican officers of the League to Enforce Peace, who have put themselves on record during the present campaign. The Presidents of Vassar, Smith, Mount Holyoke and Bryn Mawr, the leading colleges for women, are included. Clergymen of every leading denomination have added their names to the list. A number of veterans of the Great War have left their party to work for the League of Peace. Several of the signers, including Theodore Marburg, ex-Minister to Belgium; Herbert Parsons, former member of Congress; George C. Holt, United States Judge (retired); and W. H. Nichols, former Progressive National Committeeman from Vermont, have held office within the Republican or Progressive organizations or have represented their party in public positions. Four of the signers are Republicans of The Independent staff: Hamilton Holt, Edwin E. Slosson, Preston Slosson and J. Stuart Hamilton.*

**W**E, the undersigned, who have usually supported the Republican or National Progressive tickets, have been trained in political traditions emphasizing the international responsibilities of America. From Lincoln to Roosevelt and Taft, each successive Republican administration has labored for a closer understanding among the nations of the world.

The present Republican leadership, which has nominated Senator Warren G. Harding for the Presidency, has repudiated these traditions. This leadership has permitted the Republican party to become a "little America" party, drifting toward national isolation and the relinquishment of any real responsibility for the general peace of the nations.

We hold no brief for the present Administration or the details of its foreign or domestic policies. We do not insist on any particular wording of reservations to any articles of the Treaty. We have been tolerant of much hostility on the part of Republican Senators to some features of the Treaty, hoping that in the end they would agree to a reasonable compromise and that the Treaty could be ratified with the patriotic agreement of a majority of both great American parties. We did not desire that a cause which should have served to unite all parties in the same spirit of common service which won the Great War should be made a basis of party difference in the present campaign.

We regret the issue. But we cannot avoid it. "National isolation" has never been a Republican watchword. It shall not be ours.

Such Republican statesmen as Andrew D. White, Joseph H. Choate and Elihu Root labored for the development of international law and for the organization of the world thru the two Hague conferences. We would continue in the path they indicated.

We cannot forget the interest of President McKinley and Secretary Hay in establishing peace with justice in the distant realm of China.

Theodore Roosevelt as President intervened to halt the Russo-Japanese war. In his latter days he labored unto death to bring home to the American people the meaning of the great conflict in Europe.

President Taft honored his party by his magnificent work for international arbitration and afterwards for the League of Nations.

Justice Hughes left the Supreme Court bench to enter a campaign of protest against what he thought at that time was the indifference of the Administration to our international responsibilities.

We hailed as a triumph of Republican principle President Wilson's abandonment of his party's historic policy

of narrow nationalism to advocate a League of Nations. True Republican statesmanship would have welcomed and supported the Covenant. It would have sought to strengthen, rather than to weaken, its effective guarantees against aggression. It would have insisted on our need of the League as the one possible means of reducing armaments and the crushing burden of taxation they cause. It would have seen in the League the one practicable means of restoring and increasing the authority of international law and its agencies designed ultimately to supplant war.

War is the worst evil that exists on earth. The last war was the worst that has ever happened. The next, if permitted, will be far more horrible. During the late war everyone agreed that it was imperative to adopt some measures to prevent its recurrence. The question confronting America is whether we shall accept the existing League or insist upon a new international agreement having the same object.

It is now too late to talk of a new "Association of Nations," to be created under Republican auspices. The proposal to ask forty-three member nations to "scrap" the existing League, enter another Peace Conference, and agree on some undefined experiment, can no longer be taken seriously.

Already the Council of the League has held nine important sessions.

The full Assembly of forty-three member nations meets this November.

The plan of the International Court has been formulated, with the active participation of the Republican statesman and jurist, Elihu Root.

Commissions on disarmament, financial and economic matters of the highest importance to America are at work.

The Labor Conference has met

and the International Labor Office is organized and active.

Such important regions as Danzig and the Saar Valley are under the responsible authority of the League.

Two serious international conflicts—Poland versus Lithuania; Sweden versus Finland—have been averted by the mediation of the Council of the League.

All this and much more has been done. It should not and cannot be undone. To say that the League of Nations must be abandoned because it is already a failure, is to assert what is not true. With American participation the League will become even more effective.

We want our country to stand first in the councils of nations. We want our country to share fully in the great decisions which are shaping the future of the world. We cannot endorse Senator Harding's policy of "America last."

In the absence of definite assurances that the Republi-



Marcus in New York Times.

Taft: The little darling! He doesn't mean it



can candidates will use their full influence to bring the United States into the League with such reservations as may be acceptable to the American people, we urge all Republicans and Progressives who put patriotism above

party, to join with us in working and voting for James M. Cox and Franklin D. Roosevelt, and for those Senatorial candidates who stand honestly and frankly for ratification of the Treaty and adherence to the League.

# Why Vote for Harding

By Talcott Williams

**N**OT in ten Presidential elections have so many men on both sides been in doubt as to their vote. A distinguished member of a great but not old University flatly refused to vote for either candidates because neither is fit to be President. But the two men now running match many men who have had a chance to be President.

Forty men have "run for President" before this year, either in the first or second place. Three are indisputably great: Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln. Six are known to all the American public, but with three exceptions, not much abroad: Jackson, Grant, Cleveland, McKinley, Roosevelt, Wilson. Nine in all, thirty-one left: Adams, Adams, Blaine, Bryan, Buchanan, Burr, Cass, Clay, Clinton, Douglas, Frémont, Garfield, Greeley, Hancock, Harrison, Harrison, Hayes, Hughes, King, McClellan, Madison, Monroe, Parker, Pierce, Pinckney, Polk, Scott, Seymour, Taft, Taylor, Van Buren.

Among these how many do you know the first name of or what year he ran for President and had just the chance which Harding and Cox have today?

Any American citizen can vote with a good heart for either candidate. A vote for Harding or a vote for Cox does not rest exclusively on either man's merit, but also on the parties and current issues. Neither organization is free from men in its leadership who ought not to be its leaders.

The great mass will vote as they always have voted. I know counties and places which have gone on for sixty years in New England and Pennsylvania, voting substantially the same. Estimating election night, you can unhesitatingly put down the majority on one side or the other feeling certain that when counted, the official count would not differ 10 per cent. Our elections are decided, not by the great party mass, but by voters who shift from one side to the other in Connecticut, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, and in lesser degree, Illinois and other western states. In the last ten elections, five went against official predictions. Hayes looked beaten and was seated by just one electoral vote and the Electoral Commission. Blaine looked certain in 1884 and was beaten in the last week in New York by 1,149 in a total vote of 1,167,169. Harrison and the Republican organization and newspapers thought him sure in 1892, but he was beaten by the labor vote, as Harding may be. The Roosevelt Republican split elected Wilson in 1912, when a Republican majority was certain in May. Hughes was believed to have won in 1916 even on the morning after election by every New York paper and Wilson secured the presidency by 3,773 votes in California in a total vote in the state of 999,762.

Senator Harding's friends tried in September to get the College Presidents and the intellectuals to come out for him. They refused. Senator Harding's Des Moines speech nearly started a land slide of independent brain tissue. Mr. Root, Mr. Wickersham, Mr. Cravath, with others, drew a statement, but before that could gather signatures, Senator Harding had to come out with the definite pledge published October 11th. The Senator knows as well as anyone else—he said so early, that Johnson and Borah have nowhere to go. The Independents have Cox to go to and enough may go to make Senator Harding most anxious in regard to New York, New Jersey, Ohio and Illinois, perhaps Connecticut and Wisconsin, Oregon and California.

Both parties are pledged to some League; but if you want to make sure it is a good League, *Defeat Anti-League Republican or Democratic Senators.*

Vote against Moses in New Hampshire, Brandegee in Connecticut and above all, Wadsworth in New York. The defeat of these three men will give a League Senate. If any woman voter in many of these states votes for any of these three, men who have scoffed at her vote, her rights and her reform, she has the kindest, the most forgiving, the most turn-the-other-cheek-to-the-smiter heart that ever beat in a human bosom.

Now that both parties are ready to compromise on a "League, agreement or association," the best result may be secured, if the President and Senate belong to different parties.

**T**HESE are the issues over which the two parties face each other:—

*League.* Some international League is certain. The only issue is which party and which plan is the better able to do the work. No one, in either party, looks on the Covenant of a year ago as men did in July, 1919, in the enthusiasm of victory. On lesser issues, the League at Geneva is doing extremely well. The Aland Islands dispute between Sweden and Finland, colonies, organizing different bureaux and conferences on labor, finance, etc., have been admirably done. Unanimity was easy to secure over these. Without unanimity, the Council cannot act. On Poland, Russia, Latvia and Esthonia, Albania, Constantinople, the division of Turkey, unanimity could not be regained. The Council is deadlocked. Its powers are great; it cannot, under the unanimous vote required, exercise them. The agreement war brought, peace cannot secure. Many feel that negotiation leading to a court, whose decision is to be enforced by general action, is better than an executive Council since no great power will accept a majority or two-thirds and unanimity proves ineffective.

Which will do this work best—a *Republican or Democratic administration*? It is 52 years since Grant was elected, 1868. For 16 years the Democratic Secretaries of State have been Bayard, Gresham, Olney, Bryan, Lansing, Colby. For 38 years the Republican Secretaries of State have been Fish, Evarts, Blaine, Frelinghuysen, Foster, Sherman, Hay, Root, Bacon, Knox. Which party has had the better list to do this big world reorganization? Which has it now?

*Labor.* "The nation proposes to be master in its own house," said Lloyd George when a general railroad strike tried to dictate to England. This is the spirit of the Republican platform and Senator Harding's policy. The "open shop," order preserved, law supreme over all, this is the Republican platform. Governor Cox refused to send the National Guard to keep order at strikes, and pledges himself to use no Federal troops to keep order in strikes. He opposes injunctions. This is a clear-cut issue. Law and order are better than men, however good.

*Legislation on Social Issues.* Governor Cox proposes "progressive" legislation to form new institutions, give labor larger organic power and State functions more power and more powers. Senator Harding proposes sanitation, hygiene, training and aid for coming mothers, wide ex-



tension of education. Their two plans overlap, but on the whole, I believe in fewer deaths, more births and babies, more and better schools for the people, than new plans, institutions, powers and organization for labor.

The same broad line runs thru all the other issues. The Democratic party has issued bonds wholesale to build ships; but objects to giving American tonnage 5 per cent advantage on imports. Credits have been multiplied (\$300,000,000 for farm loans, \$1,500,000,000 advanced to railroad and other companies by the Finance corporation); while the Republican party urges the development of farm education, new methods, pedigree seeds and, as in the Esch-Cummins Railroad law, responsibility placed on railroad owners. Republicans criticize currency inflation by banks, and ask the repeal of excess profits taxes; the Democrats defend the taxes and a Republican Comptroller of the Currency, J. S. Williams, attacks the steps by which the Federal Reserve Banks brought deflation by higher interest rate.

## Why Vote for Cox

### By Norman Hapgood

IT has been to me an interesting experience to address the American voter this season thru the columns of *The Independent*. The circumstances, to be sure, have been severe. Mental fatigue, impatience with ideas, desire to be rid of everything except "business," do not compose a stimulating atmosphere, and I fear it is the atmosphere at present prevailing in this country. As a text let me quote from a letter to me from one of the soundest political observers in the country:

The appeal to reason and the higher nature of Americans presupposes a moral state of mind which is non-existent at this time in this country. It is a terrible thing to admit; but I believe it to be true. We are going down into deep water. No kind of political action is going to save us, and none of the social machinery we have been so long tinkering with; but only a revolt of the soul.

President Eliot issued a splendid call to a higher standpoint; a few other writers in the campaign have been worthy of the things at stake. Some distinguished Republicans, like Mr. Parsons, have shown independence in a great emergency; but dishearteningly large has been the number of able and outstanding citizens who have lent their countenance to "back to normalcy"; to the running away from principles that require energy and elevation and purpose; to the slump back toward the most materialistic and least interesting period in American history.

Three years ago who in the United States would have ventured the opinion that by 1920 the country would be in such a state as seriously to consider electing to the Presidency the man who in those days, along from 1915 to 1917, was more often than any other selected by observers as the perfect example of an obedient, dull, and unimportant reactionary?

The standpatter can do us nothing but harm in this present world, and above all the foolish, pliant tool of a standpatter. "With such creatures as the codfish," says John Fiske, "the turtle, or the fly-catcher . . . the sphere of education is extremely limited. They get their education before they are born." In savages the same stand-patism is found. "During the past three thousand years," Fiske says, "much has been done to weaken this conservatism."

Yes, much. But the end is not yet. Nobody knows what will happen on November 2. It may be that we shall keep ahead like rational beings. It may be, on the other hand, that we shall go "back to normalcy." Let us take together one last look at the issues involved.

What are the outstanding reasons for voting for Cox? For purposes of final summary and simplicity they can be

A broad principle ran thru their differences, the Republicans trusting to an international court, and the Democrats to an international council which adds to the powers of the President; Republican policy looking to law and order, Democratic to labor, privilege for labor organization, the one turning to health, sanitation and education, the other to new government machinery, one to bond issues and more currency, the other to a greater product, internal developments, to a preference for American tonnage, and self controlled railroads, less taxation on capital and more capital for investment.

It is this return to sober development, solid credits, a reliance on producing more rather than issuing more bonds, more health and strength rather than more grants and aids to "labor," which leads Governor Cox and my dear friend and most effective protagonist, Mr. Norman Hapgood, to call Senator Harding and the Republican party "Reactionary."

reduced to three. The order in which I would name those three is not the usual order. They would be: (1) Mexico. (2) The League of Nations. (3) Harding's stand-patism, or rather more than stand-patism: his desire not to stand pat but to go as far back as he can get. The codfish at least stays where he is.

Why do I put Mexico first? Far too little attention has been given to this issue. It ought in itself to be enough to decide. What is the explanation of the extraordinary interest that certain politicians have taken in Article X? They know too much to believe that Article X makes us appreciably more likely to get into war than we should be if we joined the League of Nations without that section. They know that Section X (as any reader of the *Independent* can see for himself by reading it) comes into effect at the end of a war. Other sections provide for the methods of prevention. This Section provides that if one country pounces on another country and defeats it, this "external aggression" shall not benefit the aggressor. There shall be no alienation of territory. There shall be no loss of political independence. Here it is:

The members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

Now read that Section with Mexico in your mind. There is another Section that specifically makes a favorite of us by endorsing the Monroe doctrine. The Monroe doctrine, as we now interpret it, makes us advocate, judge, and jury in all disputes in the Western Hemisphere. In this modern interpretation we could pick a fight with Mexico on any pretext and give her a good drubbing, and the League of Nations would be powerless under the Covenant. When we got thru with our glorious victory, however, it must be admitted Article X would apply. We should be bound not to draw a new boundary for Mexico that would mean the annexation of her richest resources to the United States. Senator Fall knows that. He has not been the unpaid representative of the oil interests for nothing. His friend Lodge, who has been doing so much anti-Mexican fire-eating, knows it also. The group of Senators whose hearts beat warm and strong for the special interests know it well. Penrose knows it, and Smoot, and Brandegee, and Reed, and that Senator who took under his special protection armor-plate and the profiteering cause in general, Warren G. Harding of Ohio—he knows it also. Is his heart



less tender for oil than for armor-plate? Away with the thought. If he is elected, American enterprise in Mexico will be protected. If the Mexicans do not give us all the money-making privileges we demand we shall, if Harding and Fall and Lodge come into power, know how to handle them. There will be no Wilsonesque molly-coddling. First the ground will be prepared. The newspapers will be filled with outrages. The State Department will feed out crimes and other essays to the assembled correspondents. An expedition will be sent in to rescue or protect some American citizens. There will be fighting. Full accounts will come out of treachery by Mexicans, murder, mutilation, starvation, dictatorship, nationalization of women, nationalization of children, rape, arson, and the desire of all Mexicans except seven or thereabouts to have the United States straighten out their affairs. More and more soldiers will be sent down. A good many will die of disease, and some will be killed. When the time comes for a settlement the question will come up: Shall our boys have died in vain? Shall all our sacrifices be for nothing? You can give the answer as well as I can. If you know the geography of Northern Mexico, and the location of the resources, you can come very close to drawing the new boundary line.

That is my reason number one for preferring Cox to Harding. Cox believes that the Republican leaders have made up their minds to this program and he has spoken his own mind with satisfactory emphasis against the supposed obligation of this noble country to go to war to back up the money adventures of a handful of men who would like to get rich and have the ordinary taxpayer and the average mother stand the cost. As Senator Lodge puts it, "the time has come to put an end to this Mexican situation." I think we may fairly say of Lodge and Harding what the League of Free Nations Association says of Fall: "No American oil company could have expected its paid attorney to ask for more." As Mr. Taft once said: "The law of the League . . . forbids the violation of the international commandment, 'Thou shalt not steal by force.'"

So much for the plot to get us into a war with Mexico and get away with the loot without interference from Article X. There remains the question of the rest of the Covenant. The attacks on other clauses have almost entirely ceased. It is either rejected altogether, as by Johnson and Borah (and by Harding on Wednesdays and alternate Fridays after eleven), or the assault is concentrated on Article X, which I have sufficiently discussed. It is possible that the treaty will be resubmitted to the present Senate, and I hope President Wilson will take that step, leaving full responsibility on the Senate for its action. It will then have had the advantage of the "solemn referendum." Of course I most deeply hope the answer will be made firm and unmistakable by the election of Cox. Even if, however, the answer is made uncertain and halting by the election of Harding, it will be better to give the present Senate an opportunity to get the subject out of the way. By accepting membership in the League, with or without silly and timid amendments, the Senate would incidentally save Harding the embarrassment of deciding whether he meant to betray Johnson and Borah or Lodge and Root. President Wilson, if Harding were elected, could scarcely refuse to sign the treaty with Senate reservations, since he would have had his referendum.

There remains the general question of reaction: of "back to normalcy"; or as it is put in the language of the street, back to Hanna. I don't blame reactionaries, who wish to hand the tariff back to the trusts, and give back to Wall Street full control of our credit, for voting for Harding.

Such are the leading considerations. What helps Harding most is that after trying years the unthinking majority always tends to vote against the party in power. What ought to help Cox most is that on all the issues he is right.

## Knocking the 'Bottom Out of British Business

By Edwin E. Slosson

IF the coal miners of England succeed in carrying on their strike they will accomplish what the German submarines could never do, the suppression of British shipping. It is quite as effective to cut off the motive power of a steamer as to sink her. England is an island and must feed her people from oversea. England is a manufacturing center and must keep up her commerce or perish. England's unprecedented prosperity for the past hundred years has been built upon her black diamonds. By these she has become the mistress of all the seas and of one-quarter of the land. Her ships went out laden with coal and manufactured goods. They came back carrying food and raw materials. In this way all the world contributed to England's greatness and no other nation could compete with her in commerce. But this fortunate cycle of trade is now broken. England is exporting less than half as much coal as she did before the war and coal that cost \$1.54 a ton to raise in 1913 costs \$5.52 in 1920. A hundred thousand more men are employed in coal mining than before the war, but they turn out 47,000,000 tons a year less than in 1913. Before the war men in the collieries were getting on the average \$1.72 for eight hours' work. During the past year they have been getting \$4.44 for seven hours' work and now they are demanding \$150,000,000 more. The fundamental question is not whether they deserve higher wages or not, but whether they are not charging more than the traffic will bear. Whether they can get more depends ultimately upon whether they produce more and their present policy is to produce less so as to increase the number employed. British industries and homes are provided with coal at less than cost, the loss being borne by the export trade. But the export of coal is being cut down and British ships often have to go out empty. This cuts off the profit of half the voyage and doubles the freight on food and raw materials. This in turn reduces production and increases the cost of living, forcing the workmen to demand still higher wages. Thus the vicious circle continues to run and England becomes increasingly incapable of meeting her competitors and of recovering her enormous loans to other nations. The British sovereign—once "sterling" the world over—has dropped in value from \$4.84 to \$3.46. So long as the strike lasts British ships will coal abroad and France and Italy will look to America for their fuel.

Realizing that England's commercial and financial power depends upon her coal supply, Government commissions have been at work calculating how long the coal can last and what can be done to make it last longer. It is estimated that considerable economies can be effected by consuming the coal in large central plants near the pits and conveying the power to the separate establishments by electricity. It is even suggested that British shipping resort to the free power of the air and use sails instead of steam so far as possible for carrying freight.

British statesmen, realizing that the future of the country depends upon its fuel supply, are already looking elsewhere for coal. The old saying about the futility of "carrying coal to Newcastle" has ceased to be a joke. In fact it is figured out that coal can be shipped from China to Great Britain and sold there below the present market price. The miners' union suspects the Government of a scheme to import 3,000,000 tons of Chinese coal to Newcastle, but they look to the seamen's union to prevent this.

Whether coal mining would be more economically and efficiently carried on under national or soviet management than it is at present under private ownership and govern-



# Cold Comfort for a Million Miners



Chicago Tribune.

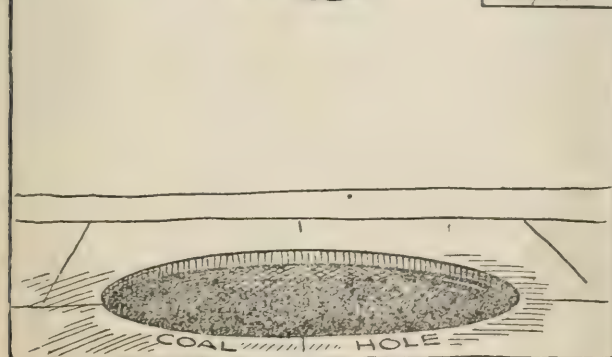
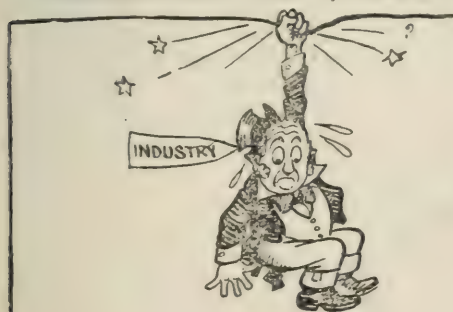
## THE BLACK HAND

Which eventually will destroy its creator

Thomas in London Opinion

Right: WHY NOT COOPERATE?

John Bull, "How can I get on with the job if you keep shaking the ladder, Smillie?" (Robert Smillie heads the British Miners' Federation which is now on strike)



London Daily Express

INDUSTRY SUSPENDED!  
And the suspense was awful!



John Bull, London.

BUT IN THE END HE  
JUMPED

This was the question that puzzled the dog, As he sat with the bone in his teeth on the log: "Now would it be wiser to let well alone, Or drop this and dive for that Bolshevik bone?"



London Evening News.

Young King Coal is a jolly young soul,  
And a jolly young soul is he!

London Daily Express.

Below: OUR SEAT AT THE CONFERENCE

The British public has felt itself rather the battlefield in the negotiations between the Government and the miners who finally voted for a general strike in spite of the inducements held out to them to continue work





mental control is an open question—which if the miners win may be put to the test of experiment. But a more serious question is behind this. At present coal is being sold at less than cost for domestic use and if the price is reduced as the miners demand many of the coal fields will be worked at a loss. The loss on the internal consumption is borne by the profit on the export trade, but every ton of coal shipped abroad hastens the day when the beds will be exhausted and England lose her commercial advantage. That is the difficult dilemma of the British Government.

### A Danger Signal

TWO recent incidents show how little respect is paid by either radicals or conservatives to the right of free speech in this country. In consecutive issues of the New York press the casual reader could learn, first, that a distinguished American publisher was howled down by a mob on the ground that he was alleged to have been too friendly in his remarks on another occasion towards a nation associated with us in the Great War, and, second, that two clergymen were arrested at Mount Vernon, after being roughly handled by the crowd, because the town authorities had refused to issue any permits to speakers representing the Socialist Party. The first mob was composed of Sinn Fein sympathizers who no doubt speak much of the "freedom" of Ireland but whose own ideas of freedom of speech seem rather inadequate. The second mob was composed of anti-Socialists who would "defend the American constitution" by violating one of its provisions. The police stood neutral in the first case and sided with the mob in the second. In neither case had the victims said a word to offend the audience. Major Putnam was not permitted even to finish his first sentence. The Reverend John H. Holmes was reading from the American Constitution when arrested. That is a bad record for a free country, especially during a national campaign when particular indulgence is usually accorded to the expression of unpopular opinions, even if they are favorable towards collectivism—or towards England!

### The Wildest Libel Yet

THE unscrupulousness and ignorance of some opponents of the League of Nations discloses depth below depth. Just as one thinks the very nadir of absurdity has been reached a new abyss opens. But we do not think that anyone will be able to surpass the amazing discovery that the Covenant "not only recognizes and ratifies but legalizes traffic in women and children." This strange charge is based on Paragraph C of Article 23 of the Covenant, designed to secure international coöperation for the *suppression* of the very evils which it is alleged to sanction.

Article 23, perhaps the noblest article in the entire Treaty of Peace, provides that the League of Nations shall work for the destruction of certain evils which the nations, acting singly and often not in harmony, have proved unable to control. Thus Paragraph A pledges the nations to "maintain the necessary international organizations" necessary to secure "humane conditions of labor for men, women and children." The whole Labor Charter, forming Part XIII of the Treaty with Germany, is summarized in that sentence. Paragraph B makes the League the champion of the rights of native peoples in colonies of the League nations. Paragraph C gives the League supervision over international agreements designed to prohibit "the traffic in women and children, and the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs." The later paragraphs in Article 23 are in a similar spirit directed against other evils of international scope; Paragraph D against the sale of weapons to native peoples; Paragraph E against inequitable discriminations against the trade of League mem-

bers; Paragraph F against contagious disease. The whole of Article 23 was conceived in the loftiest spirit of humanitarianism and we should thank the opponents of the Treaty for calling the public attention to it even from hostile motives.

If there is any lingering doubt remaining as to the actual meaning of Paragraph C of Article 23 we suggest that the doubter turn to Article 295 of the Treaty with Germany, which pledges all the Powers signing the Treaty to agree to and to bring into force the Opium Convention signed at The Hague in 1912. This article means the death warrant of the international opium traffic. It directly carries out the intention of Article 23 of the Covenant.

### The Sword of Brennus

THE habit of throwing the sword into the scales of justice is quickly acquired and slow to eradicate. In the effort to apply President Wilson's principle of self-determination the Peace Conference arranged for plebiscites in certain districts of mixed population. But where the hopes of the expansionists have been disappointed there has been a resort to force. Istria and a large part of Dalmatia was awarded to Italy without asking the consent of the inhabitants but when Fiume was left outside the Italian boundary it was seized by Italian forces under the command of Captain D'Annunzio and is still held by them with the tacit approval or at least assent of the Italian Government. Vilna, the capital of Lithuania, is a hundred miles beyond the line drawn by the Supreme Council as the ethnic limit of Poland. But General Zellgouski, in command of a division of the Polish army, telephoned his resignation to headquarters and then occupied the city which he still holds in defiance of the League of Nations. A third case of the same sort occurred in Klagenfurt, where Serbian troops were sent in to occupy the district after it had voted to unite with Austria instead of Yugoslavia. The Treaty of Versailles left it to the people of the Eupen and Malmedy districts whether they would adopt Belgian or German citizenship, but the administration of the territory was placed in the hands of the Belgians and the League of Nations has received a big bundle of affidavits from the Germans in the disputed territory testifying that the Belgian officials had brow-beaten, threatened, discriminated against, discharged from employment or otherwise prevented or hindered them from registering their free choice.

These plebiscites do not always turn out as anticipated. It was generally expected by the Allies that every people who had the chance would gladly shake off their connection with Germany and Austria. It would be greatly to their interest, for thereby they would escape not only the tyranny under which they were supposed to have suffered but also the overwhelming financial burdens imposed upon the defeated nations. We had heard all our lives that Schleswig-Holstein had been longing to rejoin Denmark, from which they had been severed in 1866. But when the question was put to vote only one of the three proposed zones went to Denmark, most of the rest of the disputed territory preferred to remain German. In Klagenfurt even the Slavic districts voted for the Austrian connection. And Austria is about to vote to unite with Germany against the direct orders of the Peace Conference.

Possibly some of the Silesian and Prussian districts where plebiscites are still to be taken may not find themselves so anxious to leave Germany and join Poland as the Poles have led the world to believe. The Italians and the French were wise in refusing to allow a vote to be taken in the regions they have annexed. Undoubtedly parts of Dalmatia and Trentino would have declined to unite with Italy and probably parts of Alsace-Lorraine would have preferred to remain German if the people had had a chance to express their desires.



# The Story of the Week

## The Paramount Issue

EVERY day the campaign turns more and more on the League of Nations issue to the subordination of other questions which were more prominent in the early days of the campaign. Governor Cox has forced the fighting on this point, realizing that his principal strength lay with the pro-League Independents and Republicans who could only be won to the Democratic cause on this issue. President Wilson and members of his cabinet have been actively backing the Democratic candidate ever since he made the League the "talking point" of his campaign. Secretary Colby accuses the Republicans in their anti-League campaign of appealing to nationalist prejudices among the "hyphenated" sections of the electorate:

It is a horrible thing to contemplate a future in which Italian nationalism, combining with Bulgarian jealousy of Greece, and, in turn, linking up with the German smart under deserved defeat, and backed by the Irish distrust of England, should constitute a voting bloc in our electorate, by means of which the streams of our American life can be deflected from their normal courses . . . yet that is precisely the point to which we are tending, and rapidly tending, when a great party like the Republican party seeks to annex and appropriate for its own political purposes all the racial frictions, disappointments, grievances and instincts that it can locate and identify amid our great population.

Senator Harding in a speech at Indianapolis somewhat modified the drastic anti-League speech which he made at Des Moines, or at least strove to modify the impression which that speech had created that he had gone over altogether to the "irreconcilable" wing of his party. He declared that "There is no issue drawn between the President's League and no league or association" and asserted that Europe would be perfectly willing for us to propose "a plan for proper association." At St. Louis he amplified this statement by intimating that France was already "informally" sounding him as to the basis of a new associa-



Westminster Gazette

A BRITISH COMMENT ON OUR REPUBLICAN DECISION  
TO "CUT LOOSE FROM THE LEAGUE"

U. S. A. Republican Party: Guess I ain't "mortgaged" to that old European party on the other side!

[Senator Harding is reported to have said recently that America is not mortgaged to Europe.]



© 1920 New York Tribune

Somebody's got to stay and see that the fox doesn't swallow the goose

tion of nations to be constructed under American leadership.

Mr. Root, in an address at New York, expressed the opinion that the United States would enter the existing League of Nations if Article X were eliminated from the Covenant. He said:

If Mr. Harding is elected, he will be bound to say to the foreign governments who are already in the League: "Here are certain objections to certain provisions of the League Covenant which stand in the way of America's entering the League. I would be glad to have the provisions of the agreement changed so as to obviate these objections."

Senator Borah, on the other hand, declares that the policy of the Republican party "is against

any political alliance, copartnership or league with Europe or the Old World." He asserted that all Senator Harding intended by his references to a new association of nations was "the amplification and codification of international law and the creation of a great judicial tribunal to try international questions of a justiciable nature." This view of Senator Harding's position was "based wholly upon his public speeches." Ex-President Taft, at the opposite pole of Republican opinion from Senator Borah, admits to having "given up all hopes of having the League adopted in its present form," but he believed that "Mr. Root's recent visit to Europe will lay the foundation for a new agreement among nations for the prevention of war." It is evident that Senator Harding's position is still diversely interpreted within the ranks of the Republican party.

## The G. O. P. and the League

THIRTY-ONE prominent Republican advocates of the League of Nations have issued a manifesto giving their reasons for supporting Senator Harding. Among them are President Butler of Columbia University, President Lowell of Harvard, President Schurman of Cornell, President Hibben of Princeton, Herbert Hoover, Ex-Justice Hughes, Elihu Root, Oscar Straus, George Wickersham and William Allen White. Ex-President Taft was not among the signers, though his personal position seems to be identical with that of the thirty-one. The manifesto declares in part:

The question between the candidates is not whether our country shall join in such an association. It is whether we shall join under an agreement containing the exact provisions negotiated by President Wilson at Paris, or under an agreement which omits or modifies some of those provisions that are very objectionable to great numbers of the American people.

We have reached the conclusion that the true course to bring America into an effective league to preserve peace is not by insisting with Mr. Cox upon the acceptance of such a provision as Article X, thus prolonging the unfortunate situation created by Mr. Wilson's insistence upon that article, but by frankly calling upon the other nations to agree to changes in the proposed agreement which will obviate this vital objection and other objections less the subject of dispute.

For this course we can look only to the Republican party and



its candidate; the Democratic party and Mr. Cox are bound not to follow it. The Republican party is bound by every consideration of good faith to pursue such a course until the declared object is attained.

Mr. Frederick Coudert, a former Democrat, has come out for Harding and issued a statement very similar to that of the thirty-one Republicans, saying in part:

A Democratic or Republican League would be futile. As the situation stands today, no national action could, or should, be taken which does not command the assent of the American people by a very dominant and irresistible majority. This, it is quite evident, the present form of Covenant does not do.

On the other hand 150 prominent Republicans in all parts of the United States have joined in a manifesto declaring that so long as Senator Harding and the dominant leadership of the Republican party remains hostile to the League of Nations they must give their support to the Democratic ticket. The text of this manifesto is printed in our editorial pages. It represents the most formidable open "bolt" which has appeared during the entire campaign.



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#### WHO SAID WOMEN WOULDN'T SERVE ON JURY?

New Jersey has tried the experiment of having a jury composed altogether of women sit on a case which called specifically for women's judgment. In this instance the question involved was that of a pattern company's suit against a woman proprietor of a dry goods store

## Wilson Asks a Question

WHEN President Wilson learned that Senator Harding claimed to have assurances from France that the French were willing for the United States to construct a new association of nations he promptly inquired whether the Senator implied that these assurances came in the name of the French Government:

I need not point out to you the grave and extraordinary inferences to be drawn from such a statement, namely, that the Government of France, which is a member of the League of Nations, approached a private citizen of a nation which is not a member of the League with a request "that the United States lead the way to a world fraternity."

The Department of State has always found the Government of France most honorably mindful of its international obligations and punctiliously careful to observe all the proprieties of international intercourse. I hesitate, therefore, to draw the inferences to which I have referred unless I am assured by you that you actually made the statement.

To this Senator Harding replied that the assurances of which he had spoken did not come from the French Government but from private citizens of France:

I am sure that my words could not be construed to say that the French Government has sent anybody to me. The thought I was trying to convey was that there had come to me those who spoke a sentiment which they represented to be very manifest among the French people, but nothing could suggest the French Government having violated the proprieties of international relations. Official France would never seek to go over your high office as our Chief Executive to appeal to the American people or any portion thereof

I can see no impropriety in private citizens of France, or in Americans deeply friendly to France, expressing to me their understanding of sentiment in that friendly republic.

It is not important enough to discuss, perhaps, but I very respectfully urge that an informal expression to me is rather more than that to a private citizen. I hold a place as a member of the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate, which is charged with certain constitutional authority in dealing with foreign relations, and I am necessarily conscious that I

am the nominee of the Republican party for President of our Republic.

## Free Speech at Mount Vernon

AN important test case on the interpretation of the constitutional guarantees of free speech and the right of peaceable assembly was decided when Justice Keogh of the New York State Supreme Court declared illegal a municipal ordinance of the city of Mount Vernon. This ordinance gave the mayor absolute power to refuse to issue permits for street meetings, whether they interfered with traffic or did not. The intention was to bar Socialist mass meetings from the streets and public places of the town. Three Socialist speakers were arrested for holding a street meeting without a license. The American Civil Liberties Union took up the case and applied for a permit to hold another street meeting. This was refused, but two radical ministers, the Reverend John Haynes Holmes and the Reverend Norman Thomas, and the Farmer-Labor party nominee for Senator, Miss Schneiderman, went to Mount Vernon and held a meeting in despite of the ordinance. They were promptly arrested. After Justice Keogh's decision the prisoners were released. Similar ordinances, enacted during the war or during the "red" panic of last year, exist in many places and the Mount Vernon case is chiefly important as a precedent. The issue involved was stated by the Civil Liberties Union in the following terms:

Our revolutionary forefathers did not fight for the right to hire a hall, which often, in the case of minority parties, is no right at all. That is to say, assemblage and free speech involves the right to speak in the open.

## Have We Misgoverned Haiti?

THE relationship between the United States and the Republic of Haiti is somewhat peculiar; similar in many respects to that between Great Britain and Persia. In the eyes of international law Haiti is a "sovereign and independent" nation on entire diplomatic equality with ourselves; it was our associate during the Great War and is a Member State of the League of Nations. But the long continued disorders in the turbulent little negro republic of the Caribbean, amounting at times to anarchy, forced the United States to intervene as it has done in the neighboring republics of Cuba and Santo Domingo. By special treaty agreements, which in form carefully preserved the political independence of Haiti but in substance established what might almost be termed an American protectorate, the United States undertook to straighten out the finances of the country and to maintain order in the meantime by American forces and by establishing a native constabulary. Ever since 1915 a considerable force of American marines has upheld law and order in Haiti.

Had the United States not undertaken its virtual protectorate in Haiti there is little doubt that the European Powers would have intervened, at least as soon as the end of the Great War made it possible to devote attention to the safety of their nationals in that anarchic country. The general results of American intervention have been good. Banditry has been wiped out; the finances of the country have been placed on a sounder basis; roads, telegraphs and harbor works have been constructed. But much criticism has been made of the details of our administration. It is alleged that American officials virtually set aside the native administration, refusing to pay the salaries of the Haitian officials from the treasury funds in their charge; that a bank monopoly was established for the benefit of a New York bank; that the natives were forced to labor by military coercion; that the marines had indulged in reckless slaughter of the natives under the pretext of suppressing bandits, and that a rigid censorship kept the world in general and the American public in par-



ticular in ignorance of what was going on under cover of our ostensibly benevolent and disinterested intervention.

The report and correspondence of General Barnett bears out some of these charges. The system of forced labor on the roads existed under Haitian law and was continued during American occupation into 1919, since when it has been abolished. Some natives were shot after being made prisoners of war or on mere suspicion of being rebels. In one of his letters, denouncing this practice, General Barnett said that court martial evidence "showed me that practically indiscriminate killing of natives has gone on for some time." The total number of Haitians known to have been killed by either the American marines or the native constabulary is placed at 3,250. But more than half of this number, 1,763 to be exact, were killed in repulsing a single rebel raid on the city of Port au Prince and most of the other killings were also in the course of ordinary military operations. Only in isolated instances were any natives killed except in the repression of armed rebellion and banditry, but that these instances should have occurred at all has profoundly disquieted military circles where the good name of the American marines has always been held beyond question. It is an interesting point that in more than five years of military occupation the American marines lost only one officer and twelve men killed in action; certainly a very sharp contrast to the estimated Haitian losses.

Secretary Daniels of the Navy Department has ordered a thoro investigation of the alleged maladministration in Hayti. The Board of Inquiry to conduct the investigation will consist of Rear Admirals Henry T. Mayo and J. H. Oliver and Brigadier General Pendleton. General Barnett will be asked to coöperate with the Board. Secretary Daniels announces in advance that he will show "no toleration or mercy to men who disgrace the uniform."

## The Cuban Sugar Crisis

THE recent drop in the price of sugar, bringing so much relief to the American housewife, has not been viewed with equal pleasure by the citizen of Cuba. The fall in raw sugar prices from July 1 to September 15 resulted, it is estimated, in a loss of \$250,000,000 to the Cuban sugar growers and the subsequent decline may have increased this loss by \$100,000,000 more. The International Bank of Cuba, with its head office at Havana and many branches in the interior of the island, was forced to suspend payments temporarily because of a shortage of funds. The bank had loaned heavily to sugar growers when prices were at a higher level.

Some time before this failure, President Merchant of the Cuban National Bank had warned the Cuban public that prices could not be expected to rise in the near future. He said that there was on hand in Cuba about 330,000 tons of raw sugar, of which 60,000 or 70,000 tons had been sold but not shipped. The largest refiners in the United States "have large stocks of refined sugar on hand, which, altho sold under contract, are not being taken by buyers owing to the big drop in prices." He estimated that the sugar surplus in the United States would reach 200,000 tons by the end of December; an amount approximately equal to the excess of this year's American beet sugar crop over that of last year. The European beet sugar crop has also greatly increased over that of 1919. He predicted that Cuba's next crop would be sold at an average price of nine or ten cents a pound. He recommended that holders of sugar gradually dispose of their stocks on hand "without forcing the market" and that planters "practice every possible economy from now until the beginning of the new crop."

## A Million British Miners Strike

THE great strike that for the last three months has threatened the suspension of England's fundamental industry took effect at noon on October 16 when a million coal miners left their work. The pump men will be allowed to keep on for two weeks to prevent the mines from filling with water. The railroad and transport unions, which form with the Miners' Federation the formidable "Triple Alliance" of British labor, have approved of the strike and will also go out if necessary. Other industries will soon be shut down for lack of fuel for most of them have no more coal than is necessary to run them for more than a week or two.

Already London begins to look as it did in the midst of war. The streets as dark as tho an air raid were expected. All electric signs are turned off. The race trains have been taken off. The sugar ration has been cut down by half. Bread went up one-third the first day.

The strike necessarily assumes a revolutionary character since the fight is not with the mine owners but with the Government, which ever since the war began has controlled wages and prices. Besides this the radical wing of the miners is aiming to gain possession of the mines and they regard the strike as the first step in that direction.

A year ago the miners gained by threat of a strike an advance of 30 per cent of the pre-war wage and now they demand that this be raised to 40 per cent on the ground that their increased compensation does not



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Major General Barnett, former commander of the United States Marine Corps, has made some startling accusations concerning the American military occu-



pation of Haiti. "Practically indiscriminate killing of natives" is one of the serious charges in his report, which also says that the Americans used undue influence in the Haitian elections, set aside the native administration, forced the natives to labor by military coercion. The photographs above show United States Marines on a sight-seeing party and on duty in Port au Prince, the chief city of Haiti



keep pace with the higher cost of living. They claim that the cost of living has increased more than 165 per cent over 1913, while their wages have only increased 155 per cent. According to the statement of the miners' case the coal mining industry as a whole was showing a monthly surplus of 6,000,000 pounds, of which, under the law, the Government would get nine-tenths, while the other tenth would go to the owners, who have already a guaranteed profit of 26,000,000 pounds. The miners demanded instead that this surplus be devoted in part to raising their wages and in part to reducing the price of domestic coal. Their proposal was that the Government should remit the increase of 14s. 2d. per ton that was added to the price of coal last May by the Government and the wages of the miners be increased by 2s. for men, 1s. for youths and 9d. for boys. This would add 2,250,000 pounds a month to the wage fund and reduce the cost of domestic coal by 3,070,000 pounds, so disposing of most of the surplus. This would, according to the miners' estimate, reduce the expenses of poor families by four pounds and a half per annum and so cut down the high cost of living in general.

But Keynes and other economists argued that neither of the proposed measures would have that effect because, as they said:

Prices have risen so enormously because purchasing power has been vastly increased by the expansion of currency and credit, while there is on the other side a comparative scarcity of the things the public can purchase. The cost of living in general, therefore, can only be reduced either by a reduction in the public's purchasing power, i. e., a contraction in currency and credit, or by an increase in the supply of the commodities the public want. But the miners do not propose to do either of these things.

To concede their two claims would not increase the supply either of coal or of other things, whereas it would, by reducing the price of coal, actually increase the power of the public to purchase those other things. All that would happen, therefore, would be that, owing to the increased demand for them, those other things would rise in price proportionately to the fall in the price of coal. The community as a whole would be no better off than before.

The Government held that the Exchequer needed the money and that domestic coal was already being sold at less than cost at the expense of the export trade. It was further pointed

out that while the coal business as a whole showed a surplus, many districts were not paying at present prices and that the output was continually decreasing. The Government, which is seriously alarmed over the curtailment in production, proposed to leave the question of wages and prices to arbitration on the principle that an increase in wages should be dependent upon a minimum output. This proposition was put to



International

Typical of the younger, more radical element of the million British miners on strike are these boys; some of them take the strike as rather a lark, others see in it the opening wedge to ownership of the mines and a soviet management

referendum and was rejected by the miners with a vote of 635,098 against 181,428 for. Consequently the leaders had to call the strike, altho it was contrary to their judgment.

A demonstration of the unemployed in London ended with rioting, in which fifty people were injured. As the procession of unemployed led by the mayors of fifteen London boroughs tried to force its way into Downing Street, the narrow *cul-de-sac* containing the residence of the Premier, they were stopped by the police, but the mob took revenge by smashing 150 windows in the War Office and neighboring buildings in Whitehall.

## The Premier's Message

PREMIER Lloyd George, who began his political career as a champion of labor and has done more for the improvement of labor than any other British states-



Kadel & Herbert

LEADER OF THE MINERS' STRIKE "Bob" Smillie has been called "the most powerful man in England." As chairman of the executive committee of the Miners' Federation he heads the union of a million workers whose recent decision to strike not only shut down a large per cent of British industries but threatens revolutionary resistance to the Government's control

man, now finds himself fighting the most formidable of labor's forces in the most vital of England's industries. Lloyd George has been distinguished by his willingness to confer and compromise with his opponents, but whenever he thinks he has given way as far as he ought he has always been ready to challenge his adversaries to a show-down. He evidently considers that he has reached that point in regard to both the Irish and the coal miners and the two conflicts have come to a crisis simultaneously. He met the transportation strike a year ago by an appeal to the people to stand by the Government against labor dictation and revolutionary threats, and he is meeting the miners' strike by the same means. We quote entire his manifesto to the nation:

The nation is confronted with a coal strike. The Government has made every effort consistent with its duty as trustee for the people to avert this calamity. The proposals of the Government have been supported by many of the most responsible leaders of the Miners' Federation. They have been regarded by all sections of

the people as fair and reasonable.

The Government offered to submit the miners' claim for an increase in wages to an impartial tribunal and to abide by the result. This offer the miners refused. The Government offered to give the increase asked for if the miners would restore the present low production of coal to the figures of the early part of the present year.

This, too, the miners refused against the advice of their most experienced leaders. They are attempting now to gain their ends by force. The nation must and will resist such an attack with all its strength, and there can be no doubt as to the issue.

The citizens must help each other to lessen the inconvenience and suffering which the miners' strike will cause. The supplies of coal for the public services are sufficient. The Government will insure fair distribution of the available supplies of coal. Every householder can help by saving coal. Every manufacturer can help his workmen by making his supplies of coal last as



long as possible. There should be no cessation of employment until that misfortune cannot longer be avoided, and, above all, the people should remain calm and deal with emergencies as they arise.

No one need underrate the damage which this strike will do, but no one will be dismayed. We have been thru much more difficult times. With steady purpose and determination to do justice, the nation will overcome all its difficulties.

## Irish Disorders

**T**HE west end of the City Hall of Cork was demolished by bombs early Saturday morning; the resulting fire destroyed departmental records running back fifty years.

A body of over 200 Sinn Feiners stormed the police barracks at Schull in West Cork. The garrison of fifteen constables held out for four hours but finally surrendered. The assailants then burned the building and carried off several machine guns and large store of ammunition. A similar raid was carried out with similar success against the police barracks at Skibbereen.

A military lorry driving into Barrack street, Cork, was stopped by a wagon drawn across the road and four bombs were thrown at it by men concealed in the demolished houses on the street. One of the bombs exploded in the midst of the vehicle, killing one soldier and wounding three. In the consequent fusillade five civilians were wounded.

Two lorries carrying a military patrol of twenty-three were ambushed near Newcestown in the night. The captain was killed and several of the party wounded.

A party of 150 armed with machine guns attacked a military lorry in the Mallow district of Cork, killing the driver and wounding three soldiers.

Warder Griffin of Cork Prison has been kidnapped. Two magistrates of West Meath have also been carried off by Sinn Feiners.

Father Flanagan, Vice-President of the Sinn Fein, was arrested at Ballinasloe by a military patrol, but subsequently released.

Major George Smyth, who had earned the Military Cross and Distinguished Service Order in the Great War, was killed in a night raid at Drumcondra. His brother, a commissioner of constabulary, was shot in a club house last summer.

In Tipperary two Sinn Feiners, sons of a farmer named O'Dwyer, were taken from their home at midnight by the Black and Tan police and shot in the presence of their mother and sisters.

Terence McSwiney, the Lord Mayor of Cork, in Brixton Prison, London, is still alive on the sixty-ninth day of his fast. But Michael Fitzgerald, who with ten other Sinn Feiners was on a hunger strike in Cork prison, died from



International

### DIRECTORS' MEETING, SOVIET STYLE

These workmen made themselves the directors of the Fiat automobile factory at Turin, Italy, in their strike for Soviet control. The man seated at the left with a pen in his hand is Lugio Parodi, the new head of the works

starvation on the sixty-eighth day. He was arrested on charge of having murdered Private Jones at Fermoy, September 7, 1919, but had never been tried.

## Italian Turmoil

**T**HE great strike of the Italian metal workers was settled by a compromise and the main question, whether the factories should be managed by the owners or the employees, was referred to a joint commission to work out a plan of control. The labor members of the commission have prepared their demands, which are that the shop soviet or workmen's council must control the purchase of raw materials; supervise the sale and fix the price of finished products; superintend the grading of wages; decide what task each workman is better able to accomplish; control the general expenses; limit the compensation of proprietors and directors; decide when new machinery is necessary; and supervise sanitary conditions. This plan if agreed to would leave little for the "employers" to do or to receive.

The success of the metal workers has encouraged others to take what they want. Nearly all the uncultivated estates in Sicily have been seized by the peasants. The miners of Elba have organized to manage the state mines.

The Anarchists, infuriated at this tame ending of the strike which they hoped would lead to a complete social revolution, are resorting to riots and bombs. A bomb was thrown into the vestibule of the Hotel Cavour at Milan, where were lodging the British delegates to the League of Nations conference. A large infernal machine set off by a time fuse forty feet long exploded in the street ten minutes later. The Prefect of Milan has apologized to the British delegates for the outrage.

The Anarchists and Socialists declared a two-hour strike on October 14 as a demonstration in favor of Soviet Russia, but an association of ex-service men undertook to break up their public meetings. The result was rioting in various cities, causing the killing of fifty persons and the wounding of two hundred more.

In Trieste, the city that was transferred from Austria to Italy by the Paris Peace Conference, an organized mob of young Italians, known as the Fascisti, nearly killed American Consul Haven and an American correspondent, Lincoln Eyre, who happened to be in the office of the labor paper, *Il Lavoratore*, when it was raided by the Fascisti. The building was bombed and then burned and the two Americans who were escaping over the rear wall were fired upon.

The Fascisti are endeavoring to suppress by violence not only the Italian Socialists but also the Slavic in-



Cardiff Western Mail

### MISPLACED SYMPATHY?

Oh, just Heaven! How monstrous of the Government to allow a poor fellow-creature to commit suicide!

Dear me! Another policeman shot dead for doing his duty. Well, it's no business of mine



habitants of the territory annexed by Italy on the eastern side of the Adriatic. Mr. Eyre writes to the *New York World*:

Wherever I went in the Trieste region and elsewhere in Istria I found incoherent inefficiency, seconded by dictatorial arrogance, which was vainly seeking to "Italianize" an embittered population of which only a small fraction is of Italian origin.

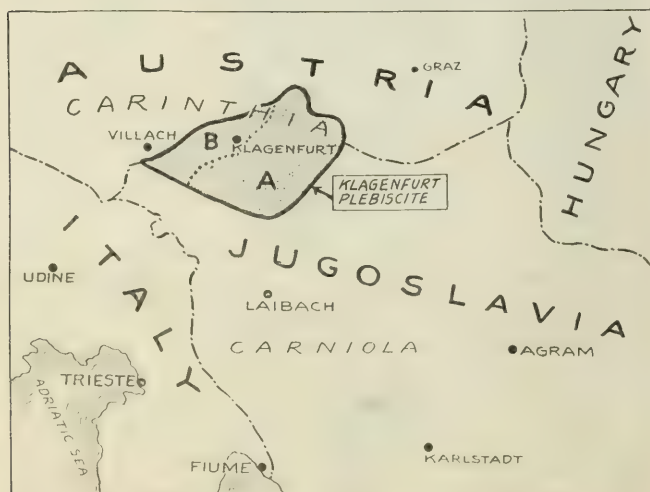
I have seen armies of occupation in operation on the Rhine, on the eastern frontier of Germany and in the Baltic states. Never have I beheld anything approaching the oppressive stupidity with which the Italian militarists are stifling individual liberty, popular aspirations and economic restoration along the Adriatic littoral.

By the treaty of St. Germain, which gives this territory to Italy, the rights of racial minorities are fully guaranteed, but the Italian military watch without interference the attacks on the person and property of the subjected Slavs.

## German Socialists Split

THE Independent Socialist party of Germany has divided on the question of joining the Bolsheviks. The Independent Socialists are those who under Liebknecht seceded when the majority of the Social Democrat party supported the Imperial Government in the war. They represent the extreme Left of German Socialism and have several times participated in revolts against the present republican Government which is controlled by the majority Socialists, but which has done little towards carrying out the Socialist program since it has been in power.

The old organization of the labor and socialist parties of the world known as the Second International was broken to pieces in the war and efforts among the Allies to re-establish it in Switzerland have not been successful. A counter movement was started in Moscow, where the Bolsheviks with the coöperation of a few radical representatives from other countries have set up what they call the "Third International" which claims the allegiance of Socialists the world over. But the conditions prescribed by the Bolshevik leaders for admission to the Third International are so stringent that the majority of the Socialists in all countries have refused to accede to them, tho this has in many cases caused the radical faction to secede. Thus in the United States a Communist party has been formed by bolters from the Socialist party. In Italy the Communists control the executive committee of the Socialist party and under orders from Moscow are expelling the moderates.



THE KLAGENFURT REFERENDUM

The disputed district about the city of Klagenfurt was left by the Austrian treaty to be settled by a referendum of the inhabitants. Zone A, where the farming population is mostly Slavic, has voted for annexation with Austria instead of Yugoslavia, so it will not be necessary to take a vote in Zone B, which is predominantly Austrian. The Yugoslav Government is unwilling to accept the decision of the people and has sent troops into the Klagenfurt district

In Germany the contest came in the recent convention of the Independent Socialists at Halle. This party polled nearly 6,000,000 votes in the last election and secured eighty-one seats in the Reichstag. The Third International was represented at the Halle convention by G. S. Zinoviev, chairman of its executive committee, who in a speech of four hours denounced the moderates and urged the German Socialists to join with the Russian Communists in carrying the proletarian revolution thruout the world. He was opposed by Crispian and Dittmann, who, having visited Russia, could speak with authority of the ruin wrought by the Soviet régime and the murderous methods employed by the Bolsheviks to sustain it. Herr Crispian asserted that the German militarists and imperialists were using the German Reds to overthrow the Treaty of Versailles and take revenge on France. He concluded by declaring that

The German proletariat will beat back the madness of Moscow; it will not let itself be insulted by Moscow, or duped by Moscow trickery. Moscow wants of Germany only tools to carry out Russian tactics here.

But at the end of the debate the convention voted to join the Third International of Moscow by 237 to 156. The minority led by Crispian and Ledebour thereupon left the hall and organized as a separate party. The German Government has deported Linoviev to Russia.

The Swiss Socialists have refused to join the Third International by a vote of 47 to 12 in the executive committee.

## The Decision of Klagenfurt

WHEN the Treaty of St. Germain was drawn up it was found very difficult to draw a definite boundary line between the new kingdom of the Croats, Serbs and Slovenes and what was left of the old Austria. All along the border the Teutonic and Slavic population was intermingled. A peculiarly delicate problem was presented by Klagenfurt, the capital of the ancient duchy of Carinthia, where the Austrians were in the majority in the city, but the adjacent country on the southeast was mostly Slovene. The peace conference accordingly decided to leave the question of Klagenfurt to a referendum of its inhabitants. According to the Treaty of St. Germain the plebiscite was to be taken in two sections. Zone A, comprizing the larger part of the disputed area, the farming land populated by a Slavic peasantry, was to vote first and if that voted for union with Yugoslavia then a vote was to be taken three weeks later in Zone B, which was the northwestern corner of the district, including the city of Klagenfurt. But if Zone A, the Slavic countryside, voted for union with Austria then no vote was required in Zone B, the Teutonic metropolis.

The plebiscite of Zone A was held on Sunday, October 10, and resulted in a majority for the Austrian connection. Motives are more or less a matter of surmise, but it is said that the fact that Austria was by the treaty deprived of her army while Yugoslavia has compulsory military service had a great deal of influence, especially among the women voters. There was, too, an economic motive since the farm lands depend for their market upon the city of Klagenfurt and this would be largely lost if a boundary intervened.

The Yugoslavs were disappointed and incensed at the result of the balloting. Mr. Janovic, the Yugoslav member of the International Plebiscite Commission, resigned rather than sign the certificate of election, claiming that it was carried by force and fraud. Serbian troops were sent in to occupy the southern part of the Klagenfurt district, ostensibly "for the protection of Serbian nationals against possible violence, excesses and provocations," altho the region is policed under authority of the Supreme Council by Italian and other Allied forces. The Supreme Council of Ambassadors has called the Yugoslav Government to account for this forcible infraction of its rules.



# A Little of Everything



nath four samples of colored cotton, brown and green in tint.

\*\*\*

The postage stamps issued by the Government last year if laid end to end would stretch 18,000 miles, or from New York to the Philippines. Only one thirty cent stamp was issued, as compared with 5,130,249,018 two cent stamps.

\*\*\*

An inquiry from China asking for 20,000 spinning wheels with which the native population might spin wool, ramie and cotton, brought forth the fact that no spinning wheels had been manufactured in the United States for a hundred years.

\*\*\*

When the equal suffrage amendment was before the country it was voted on by 6461 legislators, of whom 4921 voted to ratify. Of the legislators who voted favorably 3195 were Republicans and 1677 Democrats.

## Making Seaports in the Middle West

By Katherine Louise Smith

The West nowadays is intensely interested in the Great Lakes to the Sea project outlined on the accompanying map. At the last meeting of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress in Washington it was a subject of much debate, and a joint commission is to consider a plan in which Canada and the United States can unite in bringing sea-going vessels to the head of the Great Lakes, and so solve one important transportation problem.

The proposition is to devise some way of avoiding the St. Lawrence rapids, so that ocean vessels can go from Montreal to all Great Lakes ports, and United States products can be shipped via the lakes directly to the Atlantic. We already have deep channels thru the "Soo," the connecting river and the Detroit river and St. Clair flats. Canada is constructing a new Welland Canal which will admit vessels of deep draft and overcome the Niagara barrier. This canal will cost about seventy-five million dollars, will have a twenty-five foot channel and permanent construction for thirty feet at the locks. There remains only the work of preparing the St. Lawrence to carry boats to Montreal and the sea.

The chain of Great Lakes now extends about one thousand miles. Ontario and the Upper St. Lawrence add 250 miles, and the Lower St. Lawrence is ready. The main obstacle to the sea—the rapids—may be done away with, engineers say, by dams extending from Galop Rapids to Montreal to make the river a series of pools, or by canals to side-pass the rapids, or a combination

of both. Aside from the great possibilities as regards shipping, engineers who helped draft a form of reference for Canada and the United States say that four million horsepower is awaiting development and this would more than pay the entire cost of the project.

Canada has for some time desired to get her grain from Fort William and Port Arthur direct to the seaboard. Our western and northwestern states—our surplus food producing area—are hampered by remoteness from market and transportation facilities. To make ocean ports of Buffalo, Ogdensburg, Rochester, Erie, Cleveland, Detroit, Toledo, Milwaukee, Chicago, Duluth, Superior and other Great Lakes ports seems a splendid vision which if carried out will give our vast inland sections access to all American and European ports.

## By the Way

If all the molecules of dyestuff in a pound were strung in a line like beads they would stretch to the sun and back again 710,000 times.

\*\*\*

A mail-carrying airplane flew from Reno, Nevada, to San Francisco, in one hour and fifty-eight minutes; which is better than 125 miles an hour.

\*\*\*

In the last six years the cost of living in Constantinople increased by 1420 per cent, or more than a dozen times as rapidly as in the United States.

\*\*\*

An American botanist, Mr. Brabham, claims to have learned how to grow cotton in other shades than white. He has submitted to the Cotton Exchange of Savan-



Thomas in Detroit News

The old gentleman is just waking up

## Girls "Stick"; Boys Don't

Within a year after they were legally permitted to go to work, one child out of every four in Connecticut left school for that purpose, according to the report on Industrial Instability of Child Workers made public by the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor. This does not include the large number of newsboys and those engaged in agriculture and domestic service. Three-fourths of the children went to factories, the largest number of boys going to the metal industries and girls to textile and clothing factories.

Following the work histories of nearly 2500 boys and girls whose records covered twenty-one to twenty-four months, the report brings out the fact that girls showed the greater tendency to remain in the first positions they took, one-third of them remaining with



their first employer twenty-one months or longer. Of the boys, 18 per cent left the first job within a month, and more than one-half shifted work before six months. The greatest amount of shifting for both girls and boys occurred in the clothing industry and the least in the textile industry.

The greater restlessness of boys is attributed to several causes. Frequently their occupations are different from the occupations of men and their work does not lead definitely to better paid positions. In some cases the work involved is too heavy, also boys have a greater variety of work open to them than girls. As a rule, the occupations of girls do not differ so widely from those of the women, and for this reason the girls are less likely to become restless and dissatisfied.

Most of the work in which children are employed is temporary or seasonal. In the first month after starting to work 10 per cent of the boys and 8 per cent of the girls were out of jobs for at least one week. The proportion of unemployment became less as the children became used to industry. Thruout their work the boys showed a greater tendency to unemployment than the girls.

## Have You Ears to Fly?

What promises to revolutionize present methods of selecting aviators for Government work is a test advocated by Dr. Charles M. Robertson, a Chicago ear specialist. Dr. Robertson has long been of the opinion that a great many falls from airplanes are the result of inability of the operators to withstand the different atmospheric pressures encountered in actual flying. He points to the effects of mountain climbing on a great many people as proof of his contention. While some show little change from the normal, others suffer from nausea, dizziness and even partial paralysis. And it must be remembered that, in the case of persons who ascend to



By means of this cabinet a would-be aviator finds out exactly how he would react to altitude flying

aminer to subject the would-be aviator to different pressures and to watch him closely for any unfavorable symptoms.

The cabinet used by Dr. Robertson is about five feet high and three feet square, with a heavy plate glass window in the front through which the subject being tested may be seen. Attached to the cabinet is a powerful vacuum pump for removing air, and a mercury scale, or altograph, which shows the degree of rarefaction created within, and therefore the altitude attained.

The man to be tested enters the cabinet, the door is locked, making the compartment air-tight, and the pump set to work. The air is removed in determined quantities, so that the man's "ascent" is made at the same rate usually employed by aviators. By letting air into the cabinet he may be made to "descend" at any rate desired. Usually



This altograph registers the height at which the man in the cabinet is "flying." By letting air in or out he meets exactly the atmospheric conditions undergone in piloting a plane to an altitude of 6000 feet

the subject remains in the cabinet for five or six minutes, during which period he is sent up and down a number of times, closing his flight with a drop from an altitude of 6000 feet to the earth's surface in thirty seconds. He is then removed from the cabinet and tested as to his blood pressure, muscle tone and the labyrinth tests of the ear.

The changes in the physical condition of many of the men tested by Dr. Robertson has been very great. Some showed evidences of great shock and in a few instances lost consciousness. Out of a series of 100 men tested about 35 per cent showed symptoms which, in Dr. Robertson's opinion, would disqualify them for air work, notwithstanding that they passed all the physical tests employed by medical examiners in selecting aviators for the War Department. It was determined from experienced aviators who were tried in the cabinet that the sensations they felt were exactly the same as those they had when actually flying.

Dr. Robertson has now examined men in sufficient numbers to enable him to formulate laws which he believes to be constant and which give the true guide to the character of the man to be taught to fly. While of course, he says, a novice attains a certain amount of skill from experience in the subjugation of fright, a man can never be edu-



Central News

If you would evade the profiteering landlord, why not follow the example of this housewife who has taken an old railroad car, had it pulled off into a vacant lot and set up housekeeping there. Her little community is largely self-contained—notice that she raises her own chickens and does her own washing



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edge of the world by the explorations of Stefansson, Stuck, and McMillan in the Arctic, of Smuts in Africa, of Rondo in Brazil?

Do you know how commerce has opened new routes of communication, built great new railroads in Alaska, Australia, Africa, Asia, South America?

Do you know how many new industrial cities have sprung up in the United States?

Do you know the new Europe that has come out of the war—with all the changes in boundaries, the new nations that have been born, the internationalized cities, the territories that are under plebiscites?

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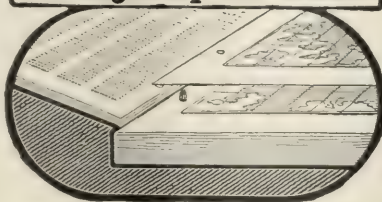
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Wide World

#### FISHING FROM A BALLOON

They won't bite? Go up in a blimp and fish as did these pilots hovering over San Pedro Harbor, near San Diego, California. One ran the engine and the other brought in the fish, which was sighted with a school of barracuda in 15 feet of water while the fishermen were 40 feet in the air. This is probably the first time men actually were "up in the air" when they landed a finny fellow

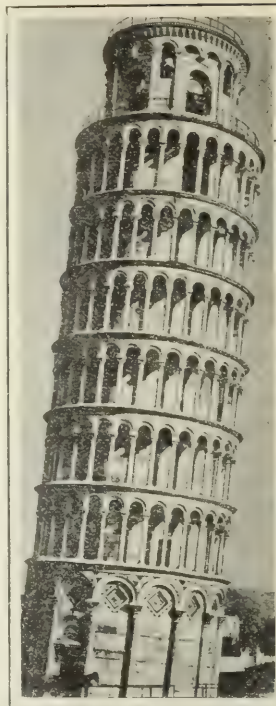
### Do Animals Have Cemeteries?

It is related by a well-known South American writer and traveler that the small camels, the llamas and guanacos, so important in the life of the Peruvian Indians, in their old age or when they are sick and feel death ap-

proaching seek out a place in which to breathe their last; a place used by the animals for this purpose. Here one may find countless skeletons of the creatures who during many decades have sought out, in their weakness, the "dying-place," which they had hitherto avoided. Similar customs are related of other animals, and it is thought that we may account in this way for the occurrence of extinct animals in peculiar situations.

A noted Austrian paleontologist has suggested that the old cave-bears, so closely associated in our minds with our rancestors, the cave-men, did not use the caves for a place of residence but sought out these isolated spots to pass their last hours. In this manner Schlosser accounts for the great numbers of skeletons of cave-bears, often found by the thousands in the old caves of Europe. Great numbers of young bears are also found in the cave deposits, representing the weaker ones of the litters brought forth in the caves. The caverns then which have told us so much of ancient man, became veritable charnel houses for the ancient bears, and they recall the isolated spots, sheltered by trees, bushes and rocks, sought out by the South American camels.

The manner in which the numerous skeletons of a small fossil camel occur in the base of a hill in Sioux County, western Nebraska, suggests that the camels at the beginning of their race



International

During the recent earthquake which rocked the northern part of Italy, completely destroying five towns in Tuscany, the Leaning Tower of Pisa swayed so violently that the clock in its tower stopped

had a similar custom. Here in this ancient camel cemetery have been preserved since early Miocene times the remains of many small, delicate-limbed camels which tell an interesting story. From this hill, located in the bleak, desolate bad-lands of the west, museum parties have secured entire or almost entire skeletons of this graceful camel in such numbers and beauty of preservation that we are impressed with the idea that the base of this hill, millions of years ago, was a sandy spot on the Miocene plain, a "dying-place" for the camels.

The attitude of the body is such that the animals could not have been moved after death, and we realize that while the animal lay on the plain the wind drifted sand to cover the creatures, and thus preserve them in their soft sandstone bed for our edification. Their leg bones are as delicate as rods of glass, and are usually entire, except

where broken by the frost. Particularly impressive is the attitude of the head and neck, which often assume the position of a backward-bent-neck, a position often seen today in certain diseases affecting the brain or spinal cord, in man and animals. At times two camels are found close together, with the legs outstretched, the head thrown slightly back, in an attitude suggesting a last sleep. We witness them, ages later, where they sought out their "dying-place" which has become a true fossil cemetery.



© Associated Press

Joy riders and speed maniacs near Los Angeles, beware! Keeping one eye out for the cop while you scorch the highway won't do you any good, for the cop has a new trick worth any two of yours: a periscope at the end of a long tunnel and a stop watch at the near end of the periscope. He knows the exact length of the tunnel and the minimum time, to the fraction of a second, in which the distance can be traveled legally. As a machine approaches, the cop starts his watch the second the car enters the tunnel and by the time the motorist is abreast of him he knows whether or not he is speeding. If the verdict is guilty, two policemen with motorcycles stand ready to follow and make the arrest



## Sizing Up Senators

(Continued from page 149)

can State Convention, is having a lively skirmish to reseat himself. His recent appeal to the Connecticut Legislature to ratify the Federal suffrage amendment apparently has not caused many of the Connecticut voters to forget that he has always staunchly opposed woman suffrage.

Some, also, are not unmindful of Senator Brandegee's attitude on the League of Nations. They remember that on November 19, 1919, with other "irreconcilables," he voted against ratification with the Lodge reservations, and that on March 19, 1920, when the second attempt at ratification with "mild" reservations was made, his vote was again recorded as "nay." They even remember his recorded speech on the Senate floor on September 26, 1919:

"My chief criticism of the whole covenant and the treaty is," he said, "that the United States does not seem to get anything out of it at all except an obligation. . . .

"I should like to have us get out of Europe and have our army taken out of Europe for the purpose of keeping out of the infinity of obligations and embroilments and entanglements that are now going on in Europe. Why, the map of Europe looks like a kaleidoscope today. . . . We did not enter this war to form any league of nations."

Others of his constituents have consulted the records and find that upon fifty-nine labor measures Senator Brandegee voted favorably fourteen times, unfavorably thirty times, paired favorably once and unfavorably once, while upon the thirteen remaining measures he is recorded as not voting. Still others of the Connecticut electorate by studying the records on prohibition have learned that Senator Brandegee voted against the national prohibition amendment, the Volstead prohibition enforcement bill, and the measure providing for prohibition for the District of Columbia.

In New Hampshire, Senator Moses, another "bitter-ender" on the League, is waging a hard battle to retain his Senatorial seat. His record as an opponent of woman suffrage he is finding it difficult to justify.

In Illinois Governor Lowden's candidate, Representative William B. McKinley, is having a "neck and neck" race with the Democratic candidate, Mr. Peter A. Waller.

In Indiana the prohibition issue has enlivened the campaigns of the present incumbent, Senator James E. Watson, and his Democratic opponent, Mr. Thomas Taggart. The latter has recently openly declared himself in favor of the Volstead Act.

Maryland is another State in which the contest is close. Here again prohibition is an important issue between the present Democratic Senator, John Walter Smith, who is backed by the "dry" forces, and his Republican opponent, Mr. Ovington E. Weller.

In Georgia, Senator Hoke Smith, the

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present Democratic incumbent, and Governor Hugh M. Dorsey, the League of Nations candidate, were defeated by Mr. Thomas E. Watson, at one time Populist nominee for the presidency, known to be anti-Wilson, anti-war, and anti-treaty. Mr. Watson's success is regarded as a victory over the advocates of the League.

Organized labor, in Iowa, is causing Senator Cummins to realize that politically, at least, there may be drawbacks to sponsoring legislation such as that covered by the Esch-Cummins railroad reorganization act.

In Missouri, Assistant Secretary of State Breckinridge Long is giving Senator Spencer, the present Republican incumbent, a hard fight.

In North Dakota, Senator Gronna was defeated in the Republican primaries by Mr. E. F. Ladd of the Non-Partisan League, who is said to have pledged his support to defeat the League of Nations.

In Wisconsin, largely on account of the breach between Senator La Follette and Senator Lenroot, Dr. Paul S. Reinsch, the Democratic candidate, is said to have a fairly good chance of success. The situation is somewhat complicated by the entrance into the arena of Mr. James Thompson as a "La Follette Progressive." Senator Lenroot, a League reservationist, is said not to be finding it easy to live down the reputation earned by his record "as a conservative, a militarist, and an accomplice in the Esch-Cummins railroad act."

In Utah, Senator Smoot is leaving no stone unturned to convince the voters of the State that he is the man best qualified to represent them for the next six years in the United States Senate. Even tho he voted favorably upon woman suffrage, the records show him twice voting in favor of ratification of the Treaty with the Lodge reservations, and as favoring the Esch-Cummins railroad bill as well as the Shields water power bill, another

"special privilege" measure. Upon fifty-nine measures of interest to labor he voted favorably twenty times, and unfavorably thirty-four, while upon five measures he cast no vote.

Nevada is also regarded as a doubtful State, with Senator Charles B. Henderson, the present Democratic incumbent, opposing Mr. T. L. Oddie. Miss Anne Martin is running as an Independent Republican.

In California, Mr. Samuel M. Shortridge, a "regular," said to be backed by Senator Hiram Johnson, is giving Senator Phelan, the Democratic incumbent, a lively race, altho the latter enjoys a certain popularity in the State. While both candidates are anti-Japanese, the question of the Japanese in California looms particularly large in Senator Phelan's candidacy.

As to the results of the campaign on various battlegrounds, to be sure, at present we can only take the advice of the fortune-teller who said:

"The glass says, 'Only time can tell.'"

Some optimistic souls there are who really believe that the day will come when neither a Tammany nor a Lodge-Penrose-Smoot "Big Three" can say who the people's candidates shall be. Whether or not there is ground for such hope in the results to be known on November 2 remains to be seen. One thing, however, is possible. There is yet time for us, as voters, to acquaint ourselves with the records of our candidates that we may intelligently cast our votes for the more desirable. Or, in some cases, because of our lack of insistence that the best type of men be placed in nomination, is one forced to say "the less objectionable"?

### The Candidates for the Senate

The following is a list of Senatorial candidates as given out by the National Republican Headquarters in New York City:

Republican	Democratic
L. H. Reynolds	Alabama Sen. O. W. Underwood J. Thomas Heflin

Ralph H. Cameron	Arizona Sen. Marcus A. Smith
Charles F. Cole	Arkansas T. H. Caraway
Samuel M. Shortridge	California Sen. Jas. D. Phelan
Samuel D. Nicholson	Colorado W. D. Collicotte
Sen. F. B. Brandegee	Connecticut Augustine Lonergan
	Florida Sen. D. U. Fletcher
G. H. Williams	Georgia Thomas L. Watson
Frank R. Gooding	Idaho Sen. John F. Nugent
William B. McKinley	Illinois Peter A. Waller
Sen. Jas. E. Watson	Indiana Thomas Taggart
Sen. A. B. Cummins	Iowa Claude R. Porter
Sen. Charles Curtis	Kansas George H. Hodge
Richard P. Ernst	Kentucky Sen. J. C. W. Beckham
	Louisiana Jared Y. Sanders
Ovington E. Weller	Maryland Sen. John W. Smith
Sen. S. P. Spencer	Missouri Breckinridge Long
T. L. Oddie (Miss Anne Martin, Ind. Republican)	Nevada Sen. C. B. Henderson
Sen. Geo. H. Moses	New Hampshire Raymond B. Stevens
Sen. J. W. Wadsworth	New York Harry C. Walker
A. E. Holton	North Carolina Sen. Lee S. Overman
E. F. Ladd	North Dakota H. H. Perry
Frank B. Willis	Ohio W. A. Julian
James W. Harrell	Oklahoma Scott Ferris
Robert V. Stansfield	Oregon Sen. G. E. Chamberlain
Sen. Boies Penrose	Pennsylvania Johnson A. Farrell
	South Carolina Sen. Ellison D. Smith
Peter Norbeck	South Dakota U. S. G. Cherry
Senator Reed Smoot	Utah A. J. Manning
Sen. W. P. Dillingham	Vermont Howard E. Shaw
Sen. Wesley L. Jones	Washington George L. Cotterill
Sen. Irvine L. Lenroot	Wisconsin Paul S. Reinsch
	New York City

## Go Forward from Economic Serfdom

(Continued from page 147)

identified with the new Farmer-Labor party. I might mention as other significant happenings the recent tremendous victory of the Farmer-Labor ticket in Montana, the capture of the state legislature by the same group in Minnesota, the triumph in Colorado and elsewhere. The farmers are once more embattled and joining hands with them are the forces of labor.

The causes that gave birth to these state and local movements are the same that are responsible for the coming into being of the Farmer-Labor party. They may be summed up by saying that the Democrats and Republicans are sold out lock, stock and barrel to the interests of plutocracy and this truth is beginning to dawn on the consciousness of the masses.

The preamble of the Farmer-Labor party platform declares in part "that

the power of government has been stolen from the people . . . has been seized by a few men who control the wealth of the nation . . . and the people as a result of this usurpation have been reduced to economic and industrial servitude. Having thus robbed the people first of their power and then of their wealth, the wielders of financial power, seeking new fields of exploitation, have committed the government of the United States against the will of the people to imperialistic policies . . . to such a length that our nation today stands in danger of becoming an empire instead of a republic."

The Farmer-Labor platform unequivocally opposes any war with Mexico to make that country safe for American oil monopolists and land grabbers. It comes out straightfor-

wardly for the recognition of the Irish republic and the government established by the Russian people. It declares for the right of labor to an increasing share in the management of industry, for the government ownership of natural resources and public utilities, for easy credit facilities to farmers, for a tax system that would force idle land into use and exempt improvements from taxation. These are some of the planks representative of the new political creed.

It will be seen that here is presented a platform that is not a mere string of words. There is no straddling of issues, no dodging, no evasion, no pointing with pride to conditions at which we should point with chagrin and sorrow, but a definite constructive scheme of social engineering is presented, the putting into force of which would



evoke an Americanism so sturdy and so loyal that it would be unnecessary to travel to and fro over the land, telling the people what Americanism should mean. The conditions prevailing would do all the talking necessary.

The Democratic party, true to the apothegm, in the last seven years having had a sufficiency of rope has proceeded to hang itself, succeeding admirably at the job. The hopes of the Republicans for victory is based on the belief that the people en masse are so tired of Democratic misrule that they will flock to their standard now, to escape from the present national mess. But in the alternative presented by Mr. Harding and his platform, there is the proverbial alternative of the fire to the frying pan. The progressive who votes for the G. O. P. ticket, averring as an excuse that he believes in working thru the old parties, is merely deceiving himself. If the men of '56 and '61 had said that, no Lincoln and no loosening of the shackles of human bondage would have taken place.

It will be up to the next president to appoint four Supreme Court justices. He or she who votes for the G. O. P. nominee is thus not only voting for president but must admit partial responsibility for the four reactionary Supreme Court justices whom Mr. Harding would doubtless select. Thus a vote for the Republican nominee is not only a vote to commit the country to the mercies of standpatism for the next four years, but for the life of the members of the supreme bench who would be appointed by him. Packing the Supreme Court with Bourbons, capable of crippling any progressive legislation that may hereafter be enacted, is the one condition in which a progressive can have no hand. Such a court would spell nothing short of despair to those who hope for peaceful reconstruction of society politically.

The Farmer-Labor party is here to stay. Eventually it must win. It is certain that it would win now if all of those who are sympathetic with its aims would vote its ticket. You recall the story of how the Fiji islanders determined on a test to find out whether there is a man in the moon. They decided that at a specified hour on a certain day, all would emit a yell. The tumult, they conjectured, would arouse the man in the moon to some action if there were indeed a man in the moon. But at the appointed time, only a single man, who happened to be deaf, voiced a shout—all of the rest remaining silent to see what the noise would sound like. The same difficulty confronts the forces of progressivism.

"Why criest thou to me. Lift up thy rod . . . and go forward," Scripture tells us were the instructions to Moses when the children of Israel were in distress from the pursuing Egyptians.

The economic serfs of our present day can profit too from these words of admonition to the great Hebrew labor leader and emancipator. Possessing larger numbers, they can win, if they but go forward—if they but vote as they believe.

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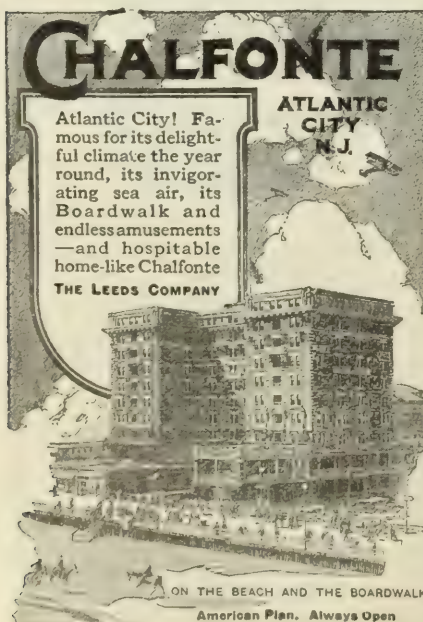
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## Journalism As An Aid To History Teaching

By EDWIN E. SLOSSON, Ph.D.

Literary Editor of The  
Independent

Associate in the School of Journalism,  
Columbia University

This address, which was given before the History Section of the New York State Teachers' Association at Rochester, November 23, 1915, has been published in pamphlet form and will be furnished free to teachers.—Write to The Independent, 311 Sixth Avenue, New York.

## Rheumatism? There's No Such Disease!

(Continued from page 152)

even having his appendix out or his antrum opened to see if perchance the focus be hidden there.

Like the deplorably elastic term "colds" the popular conception of "rheumatism" is extraordinarily broad, so broad that it covers any ache or pain in the limbs or in the vicinity of a joint. I once cured a case of chronic rheumatism. I make the bald assertion unqualifiedly. I accomplished the cure in a few seconds. It was a very obstinate case—the man had consulted many doctors, visited many health resorts and mineral springs, taken all the patent medicines of the day, had adjustments, massage, electricity. The arm was always lame, often acutely painful. In grasping the arm I felt some abnormal hardness in the muscle, worked it between my fingers, and out popped a whole sewing needle. The rheumatism passed away *instantly* and never recurred.

The various painful and disabling diseases which escape specific diagnosis by masquerading as rheumatism are less prevalent today than ever before and will be much less prevalent tomorrow than they are today, for the best of reasons. Most of these diseases are specific bacterial infections, and the bacteria reach the joints or the tissues about the joints thru the blood stream, to which they gain entrance from some distant focus of infection, perhaps a trifling recognized condition, perhaps an unrecognized infection, sometimes a severe infection. And the prevention and treatment of these primary septic foci is more thoro than it was in the past, and will be even more carefully attended to in the future because health intelligence is rapidly increasing among the people.

Dental surgery in America has made tremendous strides toward scientific perfection in the past ten years. The dentist of the better type is curing rheumatism every day and preventing untold suffering and disability from joint infections in the future.

The regular general practitioner of medicine, not to mention the specialist, knows something today of the frequency and dangers of sinus infections, infections in the several bony air-spaces which communicate with the nasal chambers; and by attending to these common troubles—formerly mistaken for "neuralgia," "hay fever," "chronic catarrh," "headache," "eye trouble," "toothache," and ineffectively treated as such—the family doctor is contributing his mite toward the cure and prevention of joint diseases.

In his seemingly unseemly eagerness to "explore" the abdomen and remove chronically diseased gall-sacs, appendixes, and other more or less damaged appendages, the modern surgeon prevents and cures a great deal of joint disease.

We do not know all there is to know about this class of disease conditions



as yet. But we are bold enough to believe that we have solved the riddle of rheumatism and that the answer is, as I have already said, that there is no such disease as rheumatism. And we are optimistic enough to predict that if

the present rate of scientific progress and popular enlightenment in health matters is maintained there will be no diseases to masquerade as rheumatism a century hence.

Elmira, N. Y.

## The Battle of Blanc Mont

(Continued from page 151)

detachment of the supporting regiment on the left, the 5th Marines, assisted the French in a second attack which was successful in taking the hook. Soon after, however, the Germans recaptured it in a counter-attack and fighting continued at this point until far into the night before the French finally succeeded in holding it.

Without heeding the exposure of their flank to the fire from the hook, the American attack was resumed at 4 o'clock p. m. The morning advance had already cost casualties amounting to 15 per cent of the troops in the front line regiments, but 1,600 prisoners and many machine guns had been taken and General Lejeune's men were still full of fire and energy. The renewed advance pushed forward toward the road extending from Orfeuill westward to St. Etienne and it gained a kilometer and a half before it was brought to a stop, mainly because the Americans were driving a salient into the German lines owing to the failure of the flank divisions to progress beyond Medeah Farm and the Essen Trench. The progress of the afternoon, furthermore, developed a new and terribly effective German machine gun center lying in the western edge of the Blanc Mont woods, within the unconquered sector of the 21st Division. The heavy fire opened from this center of resistance upon the flank of the 6th Marines made it exceedingly difficult for them to hold and consolidate the ground they had gained. But they and the 9th Infantry on their right did hold it thru a long night of firing.

The 2nd Division continued to fight thru the darkness, not only with foes in front but with German machine gunners, who infiltrated into the American lines at many points. These, however, were invariably disposed of and at daylight of the 4th the American position was firmly established. At 1 o'clock in the afternoon they attempted to resume the advance but gained only about 500 meters under the flank fire from the Blanc Mont woods. The 21st Division on the left had now been relieved by the 22nd, but neither they nor General Lejeune's men could get forward until the strong point should have been overcome. Accordingly an attack was coordinated between the 3rd Battalion of the 6th Marines and the 17th Regiment of French infantry. It went off at 6:15 o'clock on the morning of the 5th, after an hour's artillery preparation and was so swift and irresistible that no casualties were suffered, while 209 prisoners and 75 machine guns were taken out of hand.

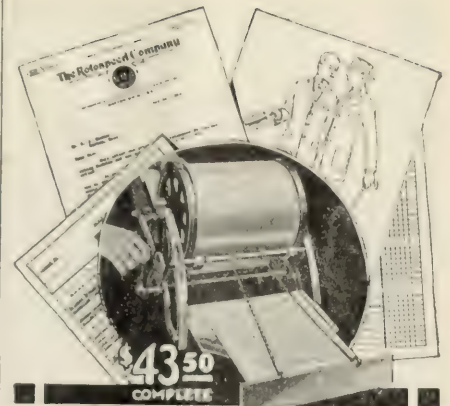
This important success immediately enabled the 22nd Division to advance

several kilometers to St. Pierre-a-Arnes and to the southern edge of St. Etienne, the Marines, likewise, in their own sector pushing up to within 500 meters of the latter village, where they encountered another trench line, unfinished but defended by many machine guns. It was too late in the evening to organize a new assault but at 4:30 o'clock next morning the Allied artillery began another preparation fire and an hour later the 6th Marines and the 23rd Infantry, which had relieved the 9th Infantry on the right, attacked and carried the German trenches and reached the edge of St. Etienne.

The defenders of St. Etienne fought so fiercely that it was nearly noon before the patrols of the Marines succeeded in infiltrating into the streets, where they at once came under sweeping machine gun fire from the walled cemetery in the northeastern edge of the village. The enemy, backed by the strong point of the cemetery, then counter-attacked and drove the Americans out. Thruout the afternoon desperate street fighting continued, first one side and then the other penetrating into the village under cover of a barrage only to be hurled from it again by a counter-barrage covering the return of the opposing infantry.

The 2nd Division, by the night of October 6-7, was so nearly expended that it was deemed unwise to keep it in action another day. But, in view of the total lack of experience of the 36th Division, which was to take its place, its relief was effected in an unusual way. Instead of throwing General Smith's Texans and Oklahomans immediately and alone into this intensely savage battle, the advance regiments of the 71st Infantry Brigade, under General Pegram Whitworth, were placed by battalions alternately between the battalions of the 2nd Division's advance regiments, Colonel W. E. Jackson's 141st Infantry thus coming on line with the 23rd Infantry, on the right, while Colonel A. W. Bloor's 142nd Infantry, on the left, alternated similarly by battalions with the 6th Marines. The support regiments of both divisions were in rear, battalions of the 2nd Division continuing to maintain combat liaison with the flank divisions, while the artillery brigade and all the machine gun and trench artillery units of the Marines and regulars continued in action, the 36th Division having none of these weapons of its own.

The entire next day was passed in organizing the front and accustoming General Smith's men to their novel situation. At 5:15 o'clock on the morning of the 8th, General Whitworth's bri-



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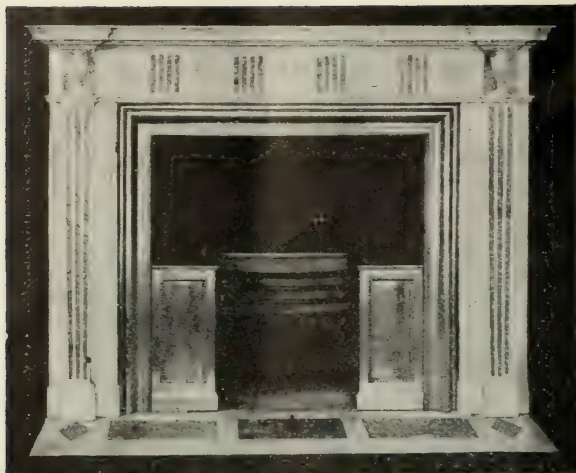
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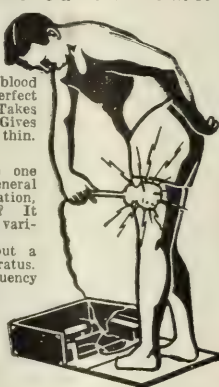
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gade, leaving their comrades of the 2nd Division on the line of departure to act as supports, jumped forward in their first attack, accompanied by the 2nd and 3rd Battalions of French tanks. If fear was entertained in any quarter that the Southwesterners might lose their nerve, it was speedily dissipated. Like veterans Colonel Bloor's men swept forward thru the shattered village of St. Etienne, engulfed the cemetery, taking 208 prisoners, and drove onward to the edge of the Arnes River, here a mere brook, beyond which a line of trenches finally brought them to a halt, at about 10:30 o'clock in the morning. The Marines, following them and the French, to their left, mopped up St. Etienne and organized it for resistance. Further to the right Colonel Jackson's troops made a good advance but were halted short of the line attained by the 142nd. The latter was thus left in an advanced salient, of which fact the enemy took advantage late in the afternoon. Launching a counter-attack upon its front and at the same instant opening a violent fire on its exposed flank, the Germans succeeded in driving Colonel Bloor's men back upon their supports of the 2nd Division. In the confusion it seemed for a short time that St. Etienne might again be lost, but order was restored in the ranks of the 142nd before they had fallen back as far as the village. The enemy was repulsed and during the night Colonel Bloor's troops relieved the holding detachments of Marines in the village in spite of the fact that in learning its first hard lesson of warfare the 142nd had lost already 125 officers and enlisted men killed and 566 wounded out of an effective total of 58 officers and 1,715 enlisted men.

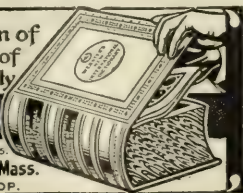
The heights upon which the Germans had depended for maintaining the flank of their lines before Rheims were now definitely lost to them. Evidence of their actual retirement, however, did not develop until the 10th, and meantime the 36th Division completed the relief of General Lejeune's men, the regiments of General John A. Halen's 72nd Infantry Brigade taking over the support positions. When, on the 10th, it retired to a rest area near Somme-Suippe to reorganize preparatory to reëntering the line in the Meuse-Argonne for the break-thru of November 1st, the 2nd Division could point proudly to the record of another whirlwind battle added to the list of its achievements: a battle in which it had gained seven kilometers of ground in four days of actual attack and broken the back of the German Champagne front by the capture of Blanc Mont, thus rendering the relief of Rheims inevitable. In accomplishing this result the division had made prisoners 48 German officers and 1,915 men besides taking scores of machine guns and much artillery. As was inevitable, its own losses had been severe; 4,771 officers and enlisted men were casualties.

Altho the 36th Division vigorously sounded the enemy's front, which was thought to be retiring, on the morning of the 10th, severe resistance was still

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found. That afternoon, however, the French 73rd Division, now on the right, pushed forward thru Orfeuil directed upon Bemont Chateau. General Smith's men therefore took up the advance toward Machault. The regiments of the 72nd Brigade, Colonel John S. Hoover's 143rd Infantry on the right and Colonel William K. Wright's 144th Infantry on the left, relieved the 71st Brigade during the following night, while advancing. The difficult maneuver, performed under constant enemy fire, again caused confusion and mixing of units but in spite of difficulties there was no halt in the forward movement and by the evening of the next day, against steady resistance the division front had progressed about five kilometers, to a point beyond Machault. Information had been received that the enemy had abandoned his Rheims front.

The Americans, deflecting the direction of their advance slightly to the northeast, pushed forward steadily during the 12th toward the Aisne River between Givry and Attigny, distant about 15 kilometers from Machault. A certain amount of German artillery fire was in progress along the whole wide front as Americans and French moved across the open, level country but the enemy's batteries retired steadily and at dusk the front of the 36th Division was north of Vaux-Champagne with the Aisne River and the Ardennes Canal, paralleling it, in plain view ahead. American patrols reached the river bank during the night and a line of resistance was established about five kilometers to the south. Thus the front lay without offensive movement until October 27, when General Gouraud commenced active operations for forcing the passage of the Aisne. To the Texans and Oklahomans of General Smith's division was assigned the task of clearing the bend of the river and canal surrounding Forest Farm and the hamlet of Rilly-aux-Oies.

The 3rd Battalion of Colonel Bloor's regiment and the 1st Battalion of Colonel Jackson's, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon made an attack in headlong style upon Forest Farm and carried the place and the trenches in front of it in less than half an hour. Promptly organizing the position, the American battalions then pushed out strong patrols which, by evening, had cleared the intervening ground up to the hamlet of Rilly.

When this brilliant piece of work was performed, General Halen's brigade had already been relieved on the left of the sector by the adjoining French division, the 61st. During the succeeding night General Whitworth's brigade was similarly relieved on the right by the French 22nd Division, and the 36th Division retired to a rest area near Bar-le-Duc, in the sector of the 1st American Army. In achieving its fine record in its one and only battle the division had suffered 2,651 casualties but it had worthily completed the work begun by the 2nd Division by making an advance of 21 kilometers against resistance and capturing 813 prisoners, 26 cannon and 277 machine guns.

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# How to Study This Number

## THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

### English, Literature and Composition

#### I. Why Vote for Harding, Why Vote for Cox. Republicans Who Will Vote for Cox. The Paramount Issue. The G. O. P. and the League. Wilson Asks a Question.

1. Write a brief for debate on whichever side you favor of the question: Resolved, that the Republican candidate for President of the United States should be elected.
2. What seems to you the most important issue of the Presidential campaign? Explain in a five minute speech the reasons for your choice.
3. Attend a political meeting for voters in your town or city and write either (a) a newspaper account of it about one thousand words long, or (b) a descriptive essay on American political campaign methods.
4. Write a poem inspired by some incident of the Presidential campaign, perhaps a torchlight parade, or a street meeting, or an effective poster, or a woman wearing a "Vote for the League and prevent war" button.
5. Write an enthusiastic letter from an American woman casting her first vote to her sister who lives in one of the states where women have always been enfranchised. And write a reply from the sister who has always taken her vote for granted.
6. Define the following words and phrases: stand-patism, back to normalcy, mollycoddling, have done with wiggle and wobble, a "little America" party.
7. Explain as if in conversation or in a long letter to a Republican friend of yours the stand taken by the 150 Republicans who have come out in favor of Cox. Note in connection with their manifesto the two cartoons of Mr. Taft on pages 153 and 159.
8. Write an article called "If I Were President," in which you point out what seem to you the most important things to be done in the next administration.

#### II. Go Forward from Economic Serfdom.

1. Summarize Mr. Christensen's article in outline form.
2. Show half a dozen instances of its effective use of literary "tricks of the trade."
3. State the chief planks in the Farmer-Labor party's platform.
4. Plan a campaign poster for the Farmer-Labor party from the material in Mr. Christensen's article.

#### III. Sizing Up Senators.

1. Write a newspaper editorial describing the qualifications and record that a Senator should present if he deserves reelection.
2. If your state is electing a U. S. Senator this fall make a short "stump" speech in favor of the candidate who you think should be elected.

#### IV. A Little of Everything.

1. Give a short talk on any one of the articles in this department.
2. Write an imaginative description of an aviator's first flight test in the cabient invented by Dr. Robertson.
3. Let the teacher read aloud Ernest Thompson Seton's story of "Wahb" from "Wild Animals I Have Known," and then ask each pupil to write a similar story based on the article, "Do Animals Have Cemetaries?"
4. Give several instances of the mention of the Leaning Tower of Pisa in famous literature.

#### V. A Million British Miners' Strike. The Premier's Message. Knocking the Bottom Out of British Business. Cold Comfort for a Million Miners.

1. Make a short speech of argument in support of either (a) the British miners' decision to strike, or (b) the Government's refusal to concede their claims.
2. Write a vivid description, as if for a newspaper "feature story" of the changes brought about in London by the coal shortage due to the miners' strike.

#### VI. Theodore Roosevelt.

1. Memorize a suitable poem or paragraph to give as part of the school exercises in honor of Roosevelt Day.
2. Write an essay on "Theodore Roosevelt's Americanism."
3. Rewrite the message from Theodore Roosevelt published under his portrait on page 146 in as simple form as possible.

### History, Civics and Economics

#### I. The Farmer-Labor Party—Go Forward from Economic Serfdom.

1. What is the relation between the Farmer-Labor Party and the Farmers' Non-Partisan League? Is a member of either one necessarily a member of the other?
2. What points of likeness and of difference do you note between the Farmer-Labor Party and the other radical third parties of recent times, Populist, Socialist and Progressive?
3. What seem to be the chief "planks" of the platform on which Mr. Christensen stands?

#### II. The Campaign—Sizing Up Senators. Republicans Who Will Vote for Cox. Why Vote for Harding. Why Vote for Cox. The Paramount Issue. The G. O. P. and the League. Wilson Asks a Question.

1. Why is the control of the Senate of unusual interest and importance at present?
2. Which Republican and Democratic candidates for the Senate this year would you rank as irreconcilably hostile to the League of Nations?
3. Do you think direct election of Senators has changed the Senate for the better or for the worse?
4. Summarize the issues emphasized by Mr. Williams as planks for a Republican platform.
5. Look over the list given by Mr. Williams of the forty men who have run for President (excluding third parties) in American history. What can you tell about each? For your own amusement and instruction divide these names into two classes, "real statesmen" and "mere politicians," and give reasons for your choice in each case.
6. What relation does Mr. Hagood discover between Mexico and Article X. Do you think that there is danger of war with Mexico if Mr. Harding is elected? Why or why not?
7. Mr. Hagood regards the issue as largely one between liberalism and progressivism on the one hand and conservatism and reaction on the other. In what sense does he use these terms? In most European countries the two chief parties (apart from Socialist and Labor groups) bear the names "Conservative" and "Liberal," or some equivalent terms. Why has this fundamental political division not been so clearly evident in our party names and platforms? In which elections since 1860 would you say that the Republican party was the more radical? In which the Democratic?
8. Compare the manifesto of the pro-League Republicans who are supporting Harding (The G. O. P. and the League) with the manifesto of the pro-League Republicans who are supporting Cox. What is the line of argument in each case? Which seems to you the more logical position?

#### III. The British Coal Strike—A Million Miners Strike in Great Britain. The Premier's Message. Knocking the Bottom Out of British Business.

1. Compare the causes and probable effects of the British coal strike with recent coal strikes in the United States.
2. What are the chief coal mining regions of the world? Why is British coal so important a factor in British foreign trade and general prosperity?
3. What reasons does Premier Lloyd George give for not yielding to the demands of the miners?

#### IV. The Klagenfurt Plebiscite—The Decision of Klagenfurt. The Sword of Brennus.

1. What is a "plebiscite"? What plebiscites are provided for in the treaties with Germany and Austria? Which have already been taken?
2. Do you think the plebiscite a satisfactory way of determining the national allegiance of a disputed territory? What drawbacks has it? Can you think of any other way of determining popular sentiment on a question of nationality?

#### V. Latin America—Have We Misgoverned Haiti?

1. Locate Haiti on the map. Of what race are its inhabitants? What language do they speak? What is their form of government?
2. Do you think that we are justified, under the Monroe Doctrine, in policing misgoverned or turbulent Latin American nations?



# The Independent

FOUNDED 1848

## Just a Word

During the school year we sacrifice the last page of our limited space to our Lesson Plans, based on the contents of the current number of *The Independent*. Of course our primary reason for so doing is to increase the value of the magazine to the thousands of classes in school and college which use it as a textbook. A good teacher may prefer to formulate his own questions but may none the less profit by such hints as we are able to supply. It has never been our intention to make of the Lesson Plans a stereotyped examination sheet but rather to make them a fertile field of suggestion in which teachers of every grade from the elementary school to the graduate department of the university should find something which could be adapted to their needs.

The college instructor and the school-ma'am are not the only readers, however, who should study the Lesson Plans. There are many who read *The Independent* for instruction, to keep abreast of what is doing in the world and what is being thought about it all. They will find that the lessons are designed to bring together different departments of the magazine so that contributed articles, current events items and editorial comment relating to a common theme may be considered together. They will find that many questions, tho always based on the material in *The Independent*, are a guide to outside reading and wider study. Anyone who reads *The Independent* carefully according to the method of the Lesson Plans is virtually giving himself a home Chautauqua or university extension course which is not inferior to the formal college courses in many a famous institution of learning.

Others, again, will read *The Independent* for interest and pleasure rather than for information or for training in literary expression. These readers, too, will be repaid for occasional attention to the Lesson Plans. They will find in the questions asked on that page a compact summary of what *The Independent* is giving in return for their subscription and a vivid proof of the variety of human interests with which *The Independent* is in constant touch. They will also find that the questions are not so much a cross-examination on the articles and editorials as a stimulus for independent thought about them. Our pages introduce the discussion on the subjects which seem to us of greatest interest and importance. But then on our last page we make our bow and throw the discussion open to you.

## Opening Nights

*The First Year*. Frank Craven is both author and star of this "comic-tragedy of married life"—one of the funniest and humanest plays that ever kept an audience chuckling thru three acts. (Little Theater.)

One, by Edward Knoblock, gives Frances Starr the interesting and difficult dual rôle of two sisters whose spiritual affinity is so great that they know each other's thoughts. There are some tense situations, well played, and a startling *denouement*. (Belasco Theater.)

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## Remarkable Remarks

EX-KING CONSTANTINE—Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.

CALVIN COOLIDGE—Men do not make laws, they do but discover them.

ENRICO CARUSO—I don't believe I ever heard Babe Ruth sing. What is her voice?

MARY PICKFORD FAIRBANKS—You know there are both masculine and feminine perfumes.

MRS. VINCENT ASTOR—I do not go to dressmakers that require more than one fitting.

MRS. WARREN G. HARDING—Why even I do not agree with everything Warren believes.

W. L. GEORGE—Obviously you can't talk four hours after dinner without a mild stimulus.

REV. CORTLAND MEYERS—The Peace Treaty and League of Nations document were atheistic.

WINSTON CHURCHILL—It is no longer the strength but the weakness of Germany which we fear.

"UNCLE JOE" CANNON—Four years more of Democratic Administration and we would be in hell.

SENATOR HARDING—The Senate has never failed the country in an hour of great importance.

SAMUEL GOMPERS—No matter what my enemies may say about me they have never written me down as a d— fool.

MARGUERITE M. MARSHALL—A woman's heart is a bureau drawer filled with perfumed sachets of sentimental memories.

J. H. OLMSTEAD—If Uncle Sam is going to use my letters for a bulletin board he ought at least to pay the postage on them.

REV. JESSE HOLMES—The function of the church has shrunk to that of the social club of middle class people of comfortable incomes.

ED. HOWE—It would be much better if the Sons of Gideon would use their hotel Bible fund to construct and maintain a piece of good road.

SENATOR PENROSE—It would be cheap for the country if \$100,000,000 were expended to get rid of Wilson and the Democratic Administration.

ANATOLE FRANCE—At this moment the working class holds in its hands the well-being of France, the well-being of Europe, the well-being of the world.

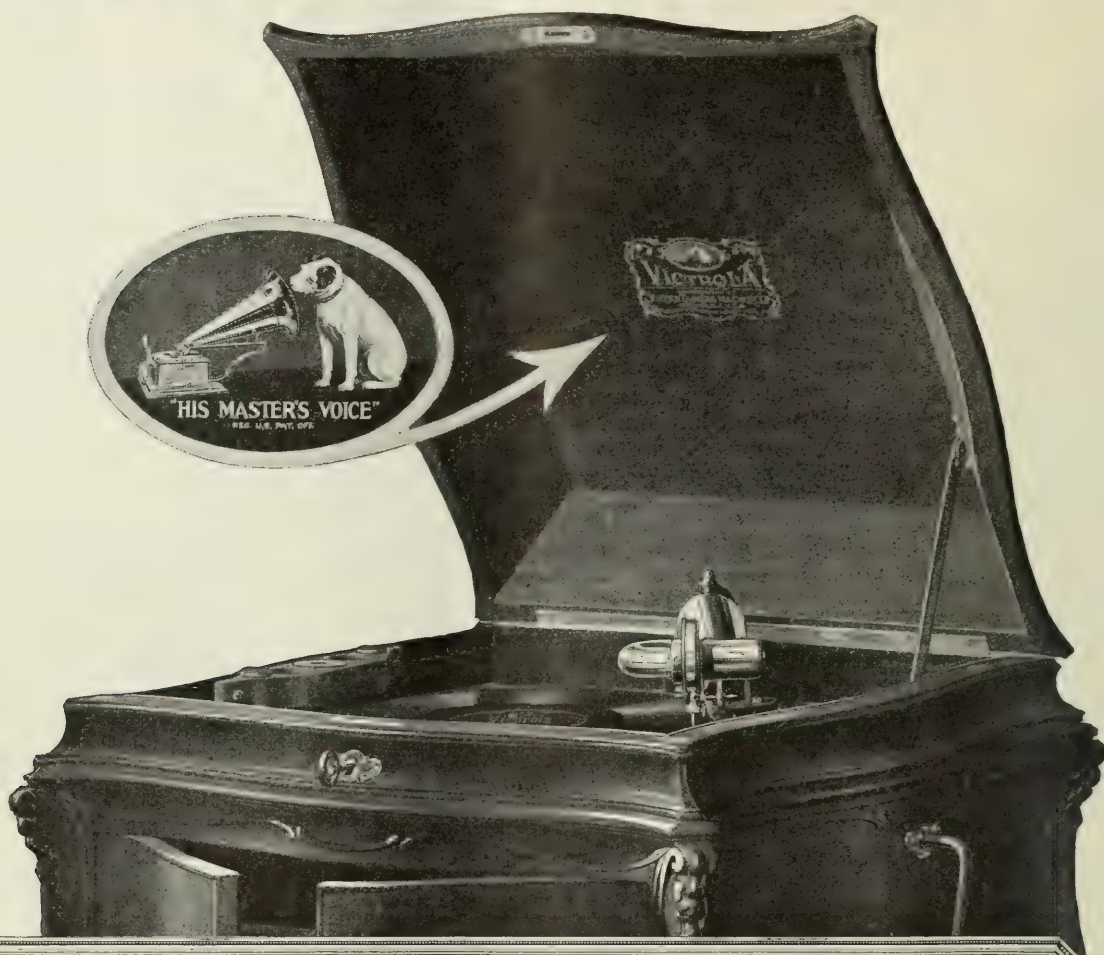
HERBERT HOOVER—The certainty is that the next war will be a war not against soldiers so much as against civilian populations, more terrible than anything we have witnessed.

CORRA HARRIS—Brokerage houses undoubtedly read death notices, because your husband's funeral will scarcely be over before you will begin to receive lists of bonds and stocks from these companies.

DR. HENRIK SHIPSTEAD—We expect to make this fight so hot that the iron heel of the Steel Trust, now on the necks of the people, will be melted and made into steel pens with which the people of Minnesota can write a new declaration of independence.



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Victor Talking Machine Co., Camden, N. J.

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# The Independent

November 6, 1920

## Why We Want the League of Nations

A Message from the British Nation to the American People

By the Rt. Hon. C. A. McCurdy, K. C., M. P.

Food Controller of Great Britain

**T**WO years before the end of the war the German Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg, prophesied and said:

When on and after the conclusion of the war the world for the first time becomes fully conscious of the terrible devastation of property and loss of blood, an outcry will go up from the whole human race for peaceful settlements and agreements, which shall, so far as it lies in human power, prevent the recurrence of so monstrous a catastrophe. This outcry will be so urgent and so authoritative that it must lead to a result.

In making that prediction he was voicing the views of the whole civilized world, or at any rate of that vast proportion of civilized humanity who know nothing of international law, nothing of the history of past schemes for the promotion of Holy Alliances or Leagues of Peace, but who felt instinctively that for the evils and horrors of the war in which Europe was then engaged some remedy must be found. Plain men and women felt in their hearts that war was hell. The inarticulate mass of humanity was dumbly resolved that somehow or other means must be found to save their children from the evils of those days, and the proposal which President Wilson then made for some attempt to guarantee peace after the war found a ready echo in the hearts of mankind.

If at any time during the last two years of the war a general election had been held in any European country in which men and women had been asked to vote upon the issue of a League of Nations, expressed, as all issues must necessarily be expressed in an appeal to a democratic electorate, in plain and simple terms, whether they desired that henceforth the statesmen of the world should, in President Wilson's words, plan for peace, as in the past they have planned for war—if the peoples had been asked to pass judgment upon a proposal that all the nations of the world should league together in an organization having for its sole purpose the prevention of future wars, the friendly and dispassionate discussion of the causes of friction arising between peoples the world over, and the substitution of methods of peaceful settlement for the arbitrament of war, Europe would have pronounced with one voice for the policy of the League.

"When the devil was sick the devil a monk would be." The German Chancellor's prophecy of November, 1916, was most completely falsified by events. The mood of spiritual exaltation which grew out of the sufferings and sacrifices of the war did not long survive in an atmosphere of peace. The British people today are not so

much concerned about the prevention of future and, it is to be hoped, far distant wars of the kind thru which we have just passed, as they are anxious to forget war altogether, to stamp out the still smoldering embers of the late war in Eastern Europe, and get back to peacetime conditions. That paramount desire of British statesmanship is clearly demonstrated by the completeness and rapidity with which seven million men and millions of war workers have been demobilized and the British army once more reduced to a scale comparable with that of Belgium.

This is a very natural attitude on the part of a people who are sick of the very name of war, but it does not alter the fact that war has been a scourge of humanity thruout all recorded history, and that unless some change is instituted in the relations of mankind for making war more difficult the future history of mankind will probably be just as full of bloody and disastrous wars as the past. And we must not forget the great development in the science of destruction which took place during the last years of the war. No one knows what terrible developments would have taken place in the science of human slaughter if the war had lasted only another six months. Only a very few know what terrible discoveries were already on the point of completion by the scientists at the time of the armistice. Perhaps if the war had lasted a little longer the prophecy of Bethmann Hollweg would have been fulfilled to the letter and means would already have been found to give effect in some simple manner understandable by all people "for peaceful settlements and agreements which should, so far as it lies in human power, prevent the recurrence of so monstrous a catastrophe." What happened was something very different. The problem of providing machinery for preventing future wars was passed over to the diplomats and the lawyers at Versailles, who did their utmost, and not without some measure of success, to frame a scheme for regular concert and conference between the powers for the future settlement of disputes likely to lead to war. In the meantime the peoples of Europe were turning their attention to other and more urgent matters, to an endeavor to find some means of bearing the intolerable economic burdens which lay upon them.

I see that the Socialist party in the United States takes a somewhat unfavorable view of the labors of the Versailles diplomatists in establishing a framework for a League of Nations. In their platform for the presidential elections they demand that the Government of the United States should initiate a movement



"to dissolve the mischievous organization called a League of Nations and create an International Parliament composed of democratically elected representatives of all nations of the world." I do not know in what respect the existing League of Nations is supposed to be mischievous. It is, of course, imperfect and must remain imperfect until it is completed, whether in the near or in the distant future by the adhesion of all civilized states, but if it is difficult to complete the comparatively modest framework commenced at Versailles it would, as everyone knows, be an infinitely more difficult task to create an International Parliament such as is suggested.

There is a French saying that "the better is the enemy of the good." It is extremely apt as applied to the League of Nations ideal. In its simple form as understood by the common people of all countries—an agreement between all governments to create a permanent machinery for conference and discussion, with a view to joint action for the prevention of future wars—it is certainly capable of being brought into existence without any threat to the sovereignty, integrity or independence of any of the associated powers. The proposal for an International Parliament raises difficulties of every kind.

I observe that in the platform of the Republican party the belief is expressed that an agreement among nations to preserve the peace of the world can be effected without the compromise of national independence. I believe so too. The words "A League of Nations" in my judgment mean nothing more than that. A League of Nations must be a treaty or agreement in which every sovereign state limits its independence by undertaking to perform any treaty to which it becomes a party, exactly as a free man limits his independence when he makes a contract. No one has yet suggested that the Roman slave was more independent than the Roman free man because the free man could bind himself by contracts while the slave could not be so bound.

The essential idea of the League of Nations is perhaps most easily understood if we recall the circumstances of July, 1914, and consider what sort of an agreement or treaty between the great civilized powers of the world would in all human probability have been sufficient to prevent the world tragedy of the last few years. A dispute arose between Austria and Serbia which for reasons which are now ancient history was obviously likely to involve a great part of Europe in war. We know now, and indeed everyone realized at the time, that such a war if it came must involve injury to the interests of peoples far distant from Europe, and indeed to the economic interests of the whole world. For one frenzied fortnight the cables and telegraph wires of Europe were filled with the hasty attempts of the diplomatists to secure at least a breathing space for consideration and discussion—to see if some means could not be found to avert the impending catastrophe. Looking back with all the knowledge which we now possess it seems at least probable that if delay had been secured, if the German people could have had time to realize how vast were the dangers into which they were being led, that

the war of 1914 might have been prevented. The prime purpose of the League of Nations is to provide just that machinery, just that measure of agreement, to make it improbable if not impossible that the peoples of the world will ever again find themselves rushed into a war of such magnitude without opportunity for counsel and reflection.

Looked at from this point of view the League of Nations may be regarded as merely an improvement in diplomatic machinery. It ought clearly to be possible for all governments to come to some agreement of this kind. But the League of Nations stands for something more than that. It symbolizes to the world what we hope may be the dawn of a new era in the relations of peoples. The deep and underlying cause of war in the history of mankind is the fact that we have not yet traveled sufficiently far up the slope of civilization to reach the stage at which peoples are prepared to apply to these periodic battues of humanity the same canons which they apply to individual homicides. In municipal law the deliberate taking of human life except as a matter of pure self defense is universally recognized by all civilized peoples as contrary to the most elementary principles of morality. The wholesale homicide of war is judged by wholly different standards. The canons of international law regard the right to make war in the last resort, not merely in self defense but for the protection of any material interest or for the expansion of territory, as a matter with which moral-

ity is not concerned, as an attribute of every sovereign state, as the criterion indeed by which the international lawyer must determine whether a body politic is a sovereign state or not. When the Hohenzollerns invaded Belgium they committed, it is true, a crime against the conscience of humanity, but few international lawyers would, I think, venture to maintain that they were not exercising a function of a sovereign state which, from the point of view of international law, they were entitled in the sole discretion of the German rulers to exercise if in their view the material interests of the German empire rendered war necessary or desirable.

The League of Nations should be an agreement on the part of sovereign states to create a machinery which may be of the simplest possible character for mutual counsel and, when necessary,

for mutual action for the prevention of future wars. Such a League might be formed, and ought to be formed, if only upon the ground of convenience and expediency. The material interests of every people demand it. The economic life of the world is too closely inter-dependent to make it possible for any people to view without concern an eruption of war in any part of the world. If for no other reason than this, we ought, as Viscount Grey has said, to rush to stamp out the first outbreak of war in any country, however distant, as men would rush to put out a forest fire.

But the agreement should be something more than this; it could stand as a simple symbol of the advance of humanity to a new stage in morality in which war-like operations not conducted in pure self-defense shall be definitely reprobated by the common conscience of humanity, as crimes com-



London Passing Show

Muzzled

[Continued on page 209]





I had stood to watch the long, straight ranks swing out for the great adventure

# Remembering

By William E. Brooks

**N**OW that the summer had come, I was free to do what I had long wanted to do, visit again the old camp where I had lived in those days of war, those Homeric days, now seemingly so far away. I thought that there, at least, things would be different from what they were everywhere else in America, that those fields and skies which had witnessed the eager living of the land's young manhood as it shaped itself for the struggle, would somehow have about them the spirit of those vital days, its ideals, its enthusiasms, and that I could go back again to my job believing that there was one place in the land where the gods of the market-place were not supreme. But as I passed thru the big gates, where so often at midnight I had stood to watch the brown lines swing out for the great adventure, it seemed as tho my dreams were not to be realized, that my hopes were to issue forth in fresh disappointments.

Ours was a little camp. Before the great days came it had been a fair grounds devoted for a week of the year to horse races and prize pigs, and the rest of the year to silence. Then in the summer of '17 the buildings had been cleared of booths and the cattle sheds painted and fumigated, and boys from all over the land had filled them, lured by the certain assurance of the wise ones in Washington that in six weeks they would be driving ambulances in France. They did not get there in six weeks, but they did get there finally and mighty tales of great adventure are told of them and hundreds of decorations prove the worth of the tales. Thru that long, hot summer they had drilled here until every blade of grass was worn away by their feet, and the thousands of other feet that followed them in '18. But as I passed in thru the gates I saw that every brown worn space was green again, that every sign of their tenantry had vanished. Over on the track a horse was speeding behind a sulky, and the sheds were once more ready for the prize pigs. The camp was the fair grounds again and its men and the things they stood for were forgotten, as everywhere else in America, where pork and its products were for the while mightier than ideals.

Thru the long afternoon I prowled around the place, remembering. Here under these trees stood the tents of the medical staff where they shot us full of vaccines and viruses and made us sore physically and mentally—particularly mentally. There were the horse-stalls and the tale came back that they told about the rookie that wandered in late one night still in "cits," with his new issue of blankets and folding cot under his arm. "Where am I?" he asked of a group about a candle. And when they paused in their game long enough to answer, they got the startling reply, "Then I'm in the

wrong place, I was ordered to the pig-pens." Here was the big mess hall under the grandstand, where we first formed that acquaintance which ripened into intimate fellowship, with "tinned Willy" and beans. And over yonder the big recreation hall, crowded o' nights, when the boxing bouts were held. I don't think I shall ever forget that last big night before the Italian contingent sailed and two thousand howled themselves hoarse about the padded ring in the center. The ground within the track had been the parade, and as I leaned over the fence I could see again the clouds of dust and the lines swinging by as the old C. O. reviewed them for the last time. He was a bully old C. O., with a lot of plain American common sense, and he knew the value of using it as he turned these American boys into fighting men.

It was just about the time when they used to sound retreat when I got back to the big flagstaff beside headquarters. To me retreat had always been the most solemn hour in the camp day, that hour when the slow bugle blew, and the colors began to fall. There was a song the band used to play as the bunting fluttered down (how was it I had not heard that song for months?), while everywhere over the camp men stopped as they were, faced toward headquarters and stood at attention. The K. P.'s peeling potatoes at the doors of the mess hall, the prisoners digging ditches or working on the coal pile, the guards walking their posts, the officers with their ladies over under the trees, every man of the camp, buck private, shave-tail and the big chaps with the eagles on their shoulders, stood stiff and steady during those proud imperious moments. Even the Q. M.'s forgot their lordly grandeur, and ceased scorning the humble crew on whom they had just thrust blouses that did not fit, as they listened to that call. It was a moment when one remembered why he was there, why men were dying on the other side of the world, and ideas like liberty and freedom and right possessed our souls. And as the band crashed out the final chords, their echoes rang thru our hearts with a high resolve that

The Star Spangled Banner in triumph shall wave,  
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.

I think that scene night after night repeated helped to keep the men steady thru those long slow days of training, thru the weary monotony of drills, thru the horrors of the hours when we learned to use the gas-masks, thru the cold and the heat, the snow and the dust, and sent every man, with a strong heart, ready for action over the seas. It came to me as a great relief that among the thousands I had helped send off I did not remember but one who did not want to go, however he may have felt when he came [Continued on page 209



# Have Our Cities Grown Too Fast?

A Message from the United States Government to the American People

By Asbury F. Lever

Member of the Federal Farm Loan Board.

In the headlines of a prominent daily paper published in the city of Washington there recently appeared this statement:

## POPULATION TIDE SWINGS TO CITIES

Census indicates majority of Nation's people are urban dwellers.

In 1910, the rural population was greater by 7,000,000 people than that of the cities. The figures of 1920 indicate that the city population has not only reduced this lead of rural population in 1910, but has overcome and passed it to the extent of more than 4,000,000 people. It is estimated that urban population, including towns of 2500 population and over, has increased during the past ten years at the rate of 25  $\frac{2}{10}$  per cent, while in strictly farm territory the increase is only 3  $\frac{2}{10}$  per cent. The largest increase is shown to be in the largest cities and the smallest increase in strictly agricultural territory and small villages.

For the first time in the history of our country urban population is larger than rural population. This tendency has been going on for several decades, but shows its greatest increase during the present decade.

When in a country like ours with its broad expanse of territory, its millions of acres of untouched agricultural lands and its other millions of acres producing far below their maximum capacity of yields, a tendency arises and moves forward with increasing force which carries population from country to town in such numbers as to create a situation where there are more mouths to be fed and more bodies to be clothed than there are hands to produce food and clothing. It must be evident to the thinking man and woman that the line of danger has not only been reached but actually crossed and that the time has come when every agency of government and thought must be put to work to find the reason and apply the remedy for such a condition.

Just one hundred years ago more than 87 per cent of the population of the country was classed as rural. A century is only a short span in the life of a nation. What happens during that time makes only a fairly safe basis from which to project our thinking into the future and to reach conclusions thereto that may be regarded as reasonably sound. To put the matter in another way, just one hundred years ago the energies of more than four families were engaged in producing a sufficient surplus above their own needs to adequately satisfy the needs of one family in city or town. With the comparatively virgin soil of great productiveness and with this ratio of people engaged in production as against those engaged in consumption, the question of the production of things to eat and wear was not such a pressingly vital problem to those who must eat and be clothed. Production in those days outran consumption. Surpluses were common. The situation has now changed, for instead of four families being engaged in the work of producing for themselves and one other family in town or city, we find that less than one family is being called upon not only to provide necessities for itself but for an additional family in town or city.

Of course, the change in the old ratio of rural to city

population may be more or less the outgrowth of our economic development, but that fact does not minimize the danger of the ever increasing tendency of population to move in the direction of the cities and towns, nor is it any compliment to our national managerial ability to permit tens of thousands of immigrants, many of them the highest types of intensive farmers, to squat in our great cities, to compete with native born labor, while the broad acres of the West and South are itching for hands to scratch them.

The problem arising out of these circumstances, it is true, is important to the producer of food and clothing, but it is vastly more vital to the consumer thereof. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the matter of food and clothing production is more and more becoming the problem of the city dweller rather than of the rural inhabitant, for the city dweller gets from the table, as it were, only what is left over after the farm family has had its own helping.

The late incomparable Joe Jefferson said that he was twenty-one years old before he knew a chicken had anything in its anatomy except drum-sticks and necks. If the tendency of our people to quit the farm for town and city life is not checked by the application of common sense and broad justice in the solution of farm difficulties, our city friends will find themselves, in fact they are now almost, in the same predicament as the maker of "Rip Van Winkle."

AND yet what an inconceivably few of our city population seem to have the least conception of what is taking place or of what consequence this may be to them in their everyday living. The millions of hurrying, scurrying people who jam the streets of our great cities on business or pleasure bent seem to give not the slightest thought to the fact that they have a vital concern in the struggle of the Kansas wheat grower or the Texas cotton farmer in his gamble against diseases and pests, fluctuating markets, disorganized transportation facilities, weather, high interest rates and commissions, inadequate credits, and under capitalization, and yet it is the triumphs of this self-same Kansas wheat producer and Texas cotton raiser over all of these adverse elements that furnish the biscuit on the breakfast table and the mercerized cotton from which is made the beautiful imitation silk shirt of the young fellow who pushes his way thru the crowds upon Broadway.

It is a common thing for metropolitan newspapers to boast of the increase in the populations of their respective cities without giving heed for one moment as to the source from which the gain is made and whether from a national point of view the apparent gain has not been, in fact, a national loss; for when city population increases at the expense of rural population in a country like ours, there cannot be much doubt but that there has been a genuine economic loss to the country.

It is equally strange that those who buy at market place or over counter rarely take thought of the factors which contribute to the prices demanded. If prices are high the buyer contents himself with complaining without ever making inquiry as to whether economic adjustments are of such a nature as to result in the high-

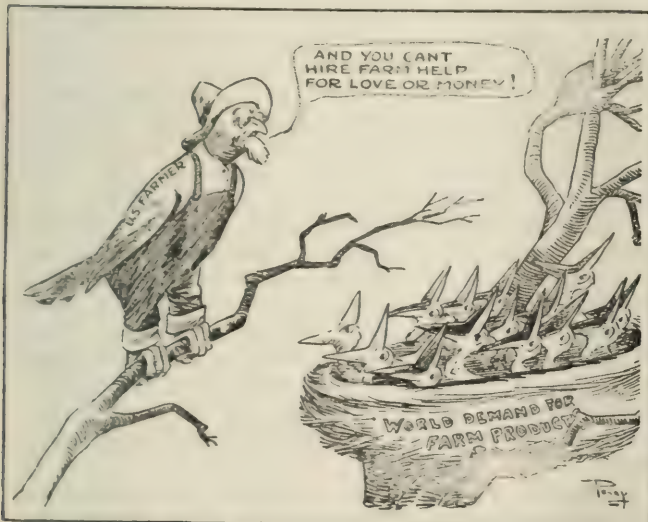


est yields of raw material at the least expense and with greatest profit to the producers thereof.

If young men and young women of the farm, if farm families are moving into cities and towns, it must be due to some social or economic condition, for it is safe to assume that with few exceptions changes are not made unless in an effort to better conditions and to satisfy natural wants. If our city populations are increasing at the expense of rural populations, it must be due to some fundamental reason.

Those who have undertaken to study the problem, to analyze the factors, are in agreement that the drift of population cityward is traceable directly to the fact that the same investment of brain and brawn in the city brings a larger return in money, attractions, conveniences and pleasures, as well as in opportunities for development than a like investment will bring in rural communities, and in this suggestion is found the reason for the necessity of newspapers having to print the headlines with which this story begins.

Is there any reason why the same amount of energy and intelligence should not produce as much in profits and conveniences in the country as they will in the city? Agriculture should be the most profitable of all occupations for it not only engages more people but it



Perry in the Portland Oregonian

It begins to look as tho somebody would have to go hungry before very long!

is the prime fundamental industry without which the human family could not exist except in the most primitive state. Those who think that \$2.50 wheat and 40 cent per pound cotton are excessive are thinking beside themselves and without any knowledge of the costs which enter into the production of wheat and cotton or the profits which the producers may reasonably expect from their investments.

The examination of the reasons for the low profits of agriculture and the high prices of agricultural products to consumers discloses that the high cost of production must be figured as one of the chief elements in the equation. One of the most striking advances in modern agricultural methods is found in the larger use of labor saving methods for farm purposes. A writer in *The Breeder's Gazette* of September 2 points out that "With hand methods of production it required thirty-nine hours of man labor to produce one acre of corn, 168 man-hours for one acre of cotton, and sixty-four man-hours for one acre of small grain. Today one acre of corn can be produced with eighteen man-hours, one acre of cotton with seventy-nine man-hours, and one acre of small grain with ten man-hours. Similar reductions have been effected for other crops." The comparison made by the writer relates the present time with a period of several years ago. In a study by the Office of Farm Management of the Department of Agriculture of the man labor requirement in growing cotton in Ellis County, Texas, for the year 1918, shows a requirement of sixty-three hours, whereas in Greene County, Georgia, the man labor requirement is 150 man-hours per acre. The difference in requirement for the two counties is accounted for in the fact that in Ellis County the extensive method of production is used as against the more intensive method in Greene. The studies thus far made of the comparative output of the hand method versus the labor saving machine method of production indicate that the time requirement for producing an acre of cotton, corn or small grain is cut more than in half, thus to a large extent reducing the cost of production.

Notwithstanding this fact, except in the purely wheat belt, the fact remains that the use of labor saving machinery upon the farm is in its infancy. The farm tractor which will do successfully the work of many men is just beginning its introduction to the American farmer, while a rough guess would show that 90 per cent of the cotton of the country [Continued on page 207]



International

A LINE OF TRACTORS ON ONE OF THE LARGEST WHEAT FIELDS IN KANSAS

"The millions of hurrying people who jam the streets of our great cities," says Mr. Lever, "seem not to give the slightest thought to the fact that they have a vital concern in the struggle of the Kansas wheat grower"



Ninth article in the Independent's Industrial Series on the big plants that are finding a successful answer to the problems of labor unrest

## Lizzie Likes Her Job

By Professor John R. Commons of the University of Wisconsin

In collaboration with A. P. Haake, O. F. Carpenter, Malcom Sharp, Jennie McMullin Turner, Ethel B. Dietrich, Jean Davis, John A. Commons

**I**N a great, well-lighted structure, nimble fingers are guiding hundreds of garments under the needles of power-driven sewing machines. A quick turn, a break of the thread, a toss to the left while picking up another garment at the right, and each girl bends forward again as the cloth speeds thru the machine.

In rapid succession girl after girl arises from her place, carries the bundle of garments she has sewed over to a nearby table, walks to the control board in the center of her division, has her work recorded and receives another batch of garments to work on.

They work hard, these girls, and they work steadily. The garments literally flow thru the shop in an unbroken stream. One gains the impression that some omniscient being has arranged all the machinery, so delicately adjusting its parts that everything operates in perfect coördination and balance with every other part.

For this group of six hundred workers, most of whom are women and girls, the turnover for employees, after the probation period of five days, has averaged about 5 per cent per month over a period of six years, the range being between 33.5 per cent and 67.02 per cent per year. The absentees average about 2 per cent per day, and many of the women are married and have their own homes. More than two-thirds of the entire group have been employed here more than a year, while over 15 per cent have served ten years or longer. The workers are healthy, their appearance is neat and business-like. There are no strikes, production has steadily mounted, and wages have increased more than

the increase in labor costs. The factory runs with the full force the year around.

Joseph & Feiss understood the art of designing clothes and measuring cloth to fit the pattern so as to utilize most of the cloth. Likewise, they designed the kind of an operative force they needed for their business and proceeded to measure the human beings to fit the design.

They needed work done in large quan-

ties. It had to be well done. It had to meet competition. It had to be produced at low costs. They needed to produce garments which would sell.

If the factory could be kept running without layoffs one great source of loss could be overcome; it would mean less waste of overhead expense and smaller turnover of labor. But it was difficult to accomplish this so long as dealers bought goods in season and so long as changes of style made over-production an ever-present menace.

They proceeded to educate their salesmen and their trade. First their materials and later their styles were standardized to meet a certain extensive conservative demand, principally for the more serviceable and everyday man's clothing. These models change very little, standardization lowers the cost, and it becomes feasible to manufacture the garments before they are actually sold rather than wait for orders. They develop their market to absorb a year-round production and make possible the economies of continuous production.

Fitting the operative force to the production design meant a measurement of human motives. How can you induce Lizzie Meyers to fit herself in with a scheme of scientific production, appear for work on time every morning and work steadily for the entire day? How can you get her to keep the quality up and the stream of production unimpeded, at the same time keeping her happy and loyal, willing to remain in your employ even when another employer tries to attract her to his company?

Lizzie is a bundle of motives and if you appeal to the proper motives with just the requisite appeal you win; if not you lose.

But you cannot measure motives with a yard stick as you can cloth. Incentives, motives, human willingness to do things, all grow out of mental states. It was discovered, however, that you can measure motives in terms of dollars and cents. For money makes possible the gratification of most desires and provides a measure of the attitude of human beings to each other. [Continued on page 202]



Mr. Feiss has made his factory "the greatest experimental laboratory of industrial psychology"



Miss Mary Gilson has a keystone position as head of the service department of Joseph & Feiss

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Next Month—To Their  
Mutual Advantage

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# The Town Meeting Talks Back

Illustrations by W. C. Morris

**W**HEN our esteemed contributor, Chester T. Crowell, described why he did not like the Texas village and why he thought the eastern village only one degree better he was doubtless aware that he had issued a challenge to the public and that it would not be long before some reader picked up his gauntlet. In our issue of September 4 we invited those who wished "to talk back" and promised to print some of the replies in a general "town meeting" in our columns. You have responded generously, so generously that we cannot print all the letters which we have received and must condense many of those that we do publish.

While many admitted that Mr. Crowell's indictment was valid in part, few would accept it as the whole truth and most of our correspondents were distinctly critical. Of the minority who fully endorse Mr. Crowell's point of view the following letter is typical:

Regarding Mr. Crowell's estimate of the small villages that make the mighty map, do I want to talk back? I certainly do. I want to agree with every word he says and add some. I lived in a Texas village, one containing three grocery, two dry goods and a racket store; also a barber shop, bank, drug store and doctor's office combined and four churches. There was one railroad thru this small burg. Every person in this place knew who got on and off of the trains, where they had been, what they had bought, whether it was paid for entirely or bought on the instalment plan. People residing in this village were people of wealth, owning big and beautiful farms. They were amply able to travel, to broaden, to live, not merely exist, yet they were content to congregate around the barber shop and gossip. If there was a woman in the community who dressed in a manner befitting any intelligent person, all the other women, also the men, criticized her bitterly. If a woman went alone thirty miles to a nearby city to do some shopping that was absolutely necessary all the villagites got together in a group and whispered, "she ain't goin' fer no good." And when she returned bundle-laden and tired not a smile of welcome greeted her. Only looks of suspicion



"She ain't goin' fer no good"



We teach the young to save pennies to educate the depraved in the slums of the large cities

mingled with curiosity. Sunday all the church bells were ringing and everybody hustling to get a front seat and enjoy their religion or a clean shirt, I don't know which. The last sermon I listened to was a violent denunciation of persons playing games of croquet on Sunday afternoons. Yet this class of people have as their motto, "Do others before they do you," and so I could go on with different characters that go to make up the small town, the petty bickering and narrow minds. What a crying shame such an atmosphere exists in this enlightened world, when there are such wonderful opportunities for uplift, for the attainment of education, culture and refinement in this big, beautiful and progressive world of ours.

MRS. E. C. LIMBOCKER

Dallas, Texas

But others who can see the faults of the village clearly enough can see also another side:

What Mr. Crowell says about villages is true. But he sees only one side, and that from the viewpoint of a young business man. I know another side. For many years I lived in the largest city in Texas, then I moved to one of the villages. At first I saw all the faults he saw, and saw them the more plainly for the contrast with the characteristics of the city I had left. But as the years went by and I came to know the people and to make friends I saw another side that far outweighed these faults. Serious misfortune overtook me—accident, long illness, bereavement. At such a time one needs friends, for few people really want to "die unnoticed by neighbors." Then it was that I realized that for genuine brotherly love, whole-hearted kindness, and true friendship in time of trouble there are no people on earth like those of the Texas village.

MRS. JAMES NEWCOMB

Suffolk, Virginia

This point, that the village is the home of neighbors and neighborly aid, is stressed by many correspondents:

Mr. Crowell, did you ever have the "flu"? I hope so, for then you can better appreciate my viewpoint. Last winter, while I was undergoing a siege of this popular malady, with only my small son in attendance, my neighbors voluntarily brought me nourishing food, straightened my house and gave me the attention I required. We were neither too poor nor too stingy to hire help, but it was not to be had at that time. Now, can you imagine me preferring to live in "two or three square holes in a mountain of brick on Manhattan" for the happy privi-

[Continued on page 210]



# Is the Constitution Efficient?

By Preston Slosson

AT the hour of election it is fitting that the American people should not only take thought as to the men to be chosen, the policies to be approved and the parties to be entrusted with power, but also as to the machinery of government with which we work. Is it working with perfect smoothness? Is the public will passing into law with the least possible waste of energy? Could it be improved by the adoption of any of the new political devices which have been patented in one country or another since 1787?

So great has been the success of the American constitution that many resent criticism even of details. Every other nation in the whole world has passed thru revolutionary changes of its political institutions since the American constitution was adopted; our Government alone stands structurally unaltered. The present French constitution dates only from the Assembly which met at the close of the Franco-Prussian war and is but the latest of a dozen constitutional experiments since the revolution of 1789. Great Britain has changed from a narrow oligarchy into a democracy; from a joint rule by King, Lords and Commons (the "commons" in the days of George III being chiefly a small class of merchants and country squires) into a virtually unchecked rule by a House of Commons based on adult suffrage. Germany, Italy, Belgium and many other nations of today did not even exist as united and independent nations until well along in the nineteenth century. Russia was an absolute despotism until the war with Japan. Few constitutions of the lesser Powers of Europe date back of 1848; many of them are no older than last year or are still under discussion. The whole development of constitutional government in Asia, in Latin America and in the British Dominions is many decades younger than our constitution.

The constitution of the United States has stood the test of time better than any other political institution of the modern world. But this very fact renders it probable that it needs many changes to bring it up to date. If you live in a house built in the eighteenth century the fact is an excellent testimony to the fundamental strength and soundness of the walls, but it is probable that the arrangement of the rooms will not be so convenient or the labor-saving devices so numerous as in your neighbor's house, whose paint is still wet from the brush. If your automobile is older than your friend's it may be because your friend's last automobile was smashed up and he had to buy a new one while yours is a safe machine. So far you are to be congratulated. Nevertheless his new machine will have some features worth copying in yours.

It is true that there have been nineteen amendments to the American constitution, some of which are of great historical importance. But most of these deal with individual rights, such as the guarantee of free speech or the prohibition of slavery. A slight change in the method of counting ballots in the electoral college, a change in the method of electing Senators and the extension of the franchise without discrimination of race or sex comprize practically the only changes ever enacted in the structure of the constitution itself. More important changes in our political life have come about owing to the slow changes of custom and habits of thought or the development of the party system; but these changes are not embodied in the constitution and are the very reason why provisions which worked well enough in the eighteenth century are not adequate to our needs today.

Take, for example, the electoral college. It was originally designed to be a council of the chosen statesmen of each

state for the selection of a President "above party." It has come to be merely a clumsy and roundabout method of registering the popular victory of one party ticket over the other. It makes permanently possible the election of a minority President and, what is a more practically serious evil, it virtually confines a political campaign and the selection of political candidates to a narrow belt of "doubtful states," since no practical politician bothers to pile up useless majorities of the popular vote in a state whose electoral vote is in any case secure. Yet so great is the reverence for the very letter of the constitution that there is no agitation for the removal of this vermiform appendix of our political system.

Then there is the four months' delay before a new President takes office and the thirteen months' delay in the regular meeting of a newly elected Congress. The whole modern democratic theory, that an election is the obtaining of a "mandate" from the people, is made ridiculous by the fact that no matter what may happen to a President and a Congress at the polls they can go on governing as they like for four months after the people's verdict is known.

But the electoral college and the prolonged delay between an election and a change of administration are minor defects in our constitutional system. Its one fundamental difficulty is lack of coöperation between the legislative and executive branches. The President, the House and the Senate can act as "checks" on each other, they can very effectively prevent each other from doing much harm. But when it is a question of getting some positive work accomplished the result is very different. If one of these three departments of government is captured by a party hostile to the one controlling the other two constructive work stops and a two years' war begins. A hostile House of Representatives can cut down appropriations till it starves the President's administration into inefficiency. A hostile Senate can reject all treaties and turn down all appointments. A hostile President, who is supported by one-third of either House, can absolutely block all legislation. When party feeling is not high a compromise can be arranged and ordinary public business transacted, tho no very fundamental or controversial reforms can be carried thru unless one party wins a sweeping victory in both branches of Congress and carries the electoral college besides. But when party feeling is strong and power is divided between a President and a Congress of different parties, as happened in 1910 and again in 1918, each branch of government does what it can to make the other impotent and ridiculous.

IT is easier to indicate the disease than to find the best remedy. The system now existing in all European governments is to secure harmony by making the Cabinet or Ministry the real government and the King or President a mere figurehead, and by making the Cabinet dependent for its existence on the command of a majority in Parliament. It is thus impossible for a French or British or German Prime Minister to work long at cross-purposes with the legislative power. But there may be other and better ways of solving the difficulty. Perhaps a question important enough to create a real deadlock between the President and Congress could be placed before the people by referendum. Perhaps the President might be given the power to dissolve Congress and hold a special election for the whole of the House and the Senate, with the understanding that he would himself resign if a hostile Congress were elected. Perhaps the people might be given the power to recall their representatives in the House and Senate without waiting



for the election at the end of their terms. Perhaps a party leader might be selected in the House of Representatives and made responsible for framing the budget and adopting a definite legislative program, while the President would be limited to purely executive duties. The important thing is not what method is chosen of breaking a deadlock between the different organs of government but the recognition of the fact that some reform for this purpose is necessary.

For two years we have lived in a nightmare. A Democratic President of obstinate temperament and a Republican Congress of bitterly partizan temper have so effectively acted as "check and balance" on each other that we are still at war tho everyone desires peace, we are still outside the League of Nations which we did so much to create, we are subject to outworn war legislation and administrative regulation, we have no responsible budget, we have no legislative program of reconstruction. It is the deadlock of trench warfare. Any system of government which has this possibility needs drastic amendment and reform. The constitution of 1787 is not adequate for 1920.

### Cassandra

**C**ASSANDRA, says Greek fable, was gifted with the power to read the future and the curse of never being believed. Think of all the money she could have made betting on elections!

### Election Day Motto

Blessed is he that expecteth nothing for he will not be disappointed.

### Infant Mortality of Issues

**W**HAT has become of the great anti-Prohibition movement of this spring? Also the Bonus, Universal Military Training, the anti-Red campaign, the Overall movement and everything else that was exciting the press on one side or the other six months ago? The American public seems to have a short memory for issues. Probably six months from now people will ask dreamily, "Who Was Article Ten?"

### Remember the Red Cross

**I**T is now two years since the armistice closed the greatest period of activity that the Red Cross has ever known. But even peace has much need for its services. Not only has the Red Cross done its share in the reconstruction of Europe, such as caring for the eleven million war orphans of the continent and combatting the typhus epidemic, it has had its hands full of work in the United States.

During the last year the American Red Cross was called on for rescue work in seventy-three public disasters: towns wrecked by tornadoes or devastated by storms and floods, communities visited by fire or earthquake, ships wrecked on the coast or train collisions. By these disasters 850 persons were killed, 1500 injured and 13,000 left homeless and destitute, and property destroyed to the value of \$85,000,000. In every case first aid came from the Red Cross, which is building up a special \$5,000,000 fund for preparedness against such emergencies.

It is impossible for an army of relief to disband. When the last soldier has been demobilized and the last warship sent to the scrap heap there will still be fire and flood, shipwreck and storm, industrial accident and epidemic disease. If individually we escape these dangers—of which no one has any assurance—we still owe it to our country as a patriotic duty to support the organization which makes America safe against the recurrent perils of peace. A contribution to the Red Cross has never yet been generosity misplaced.

## Shall We Make the Chinese Drunkards?

By Shailer Mathews

**O**N October 10 the Chinese Republic celebrated its ninth anniversary. No one who has been in contact with the fine men and women constituting the Chinese student body in America can doubt the high ideals which they are attempting to shape the future of the nation. In all history there is nothing more dramatic or inspiring than the transformation of the ancient empire into a republic under the leadership of men trained in a different civilization whose ideals are those of a religion.

But the Chinese Republic, like all new states, faces difficulties which will require not only ideals but common sense and courage. China has been for a century at the mercy of nations purporting to be composed of Christians, whose foreign policy has not always been consciously Christianized. In particular, has China suffered thru the enforcement of the opium trade by Great Britain. This trade the Republic has now stopped, and since 1909 an International Opium Commission has assisted in the prohibition of the importation of the drug. In January, 1919, approximately one thousand chests of opium, supposedly all that was left in the Republic, were destroyed by order of the President.

But it appears that China is not yet free from purveyors of drugs. Since the adoption of the eighteenth amendment there is said to have been a decided movement on the part of American brewers to set up business in China. China has never been cursed by alcoholism, and ought to be delivered from any prospects of such curse. The brewers are introducing beer with great publicity as a "sure cure for opium." In other words, the liquor interests are about to develop investments in China, after having been outlawed in the United States.

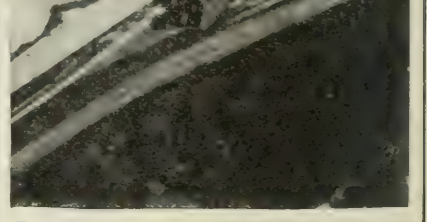
Of course in the last analysis, prohibition is a matter which China herself must establish, but in this, as in so many other instances, the assistance of American public spirit is needed.

The Chinese students in America have organized a Prohibition League, which is presenting its pleadings in pamphlets to well-disposed Americans. The League is also endeavoring to cooperate with welfare organizations. But such efforts will undoubtedly fail of large results unless they are earnestly supported by men and women of international interests, who believe that a nation ought to be given moral support as it endeavors to protect itself from evils which other nations have repudiated. Just what America can do by way of direct legislation is a little difficult to see, but we can at least understand and approve any prohibitory legislation which the Chinese Republic may pass. It has been too much the practice to let the East suffer from the evils of Western civilization, and then defend the authors of the evil from local legislation.

There should be an International Commission on the extension of alcoholism into uncontaminated or little contaminated regions. What is dangerous to America is certain to be dangerous elsewhere. The League of Nations may very well take the production of alcohol under its supervision, as it has other activities warranted to do injury to human personality.

Just at the moment when the Chinese are flushed with their sacrificial idealism, and have begun to realize the possible significance of their republic to the world at large, it is scandalous that Western civilization should not recognize the opportunity to cooperate in the building up of a new Asia, which will be one of the great factors in the new world. It is unendurable that we should handicap Chinese progress by permitting a few soul-hardened capitalists to





*Underwood & Underwood*

## Beauty vs. Power at Niagara

These two contrasting views of Niagara point the question that is being much discussed nowadays: whether the beauty of the falls should be sacrificed to the increased need of the electric power they can be made to furnish? The photograph at the top of the page was taken by Major Maxwell, of the Royal Flying Corps, from a height of about 700 feet over the falls. It gives an unsurpassed view of the immensity and grandeur of Niagara. At the left is an artist's drawing of how Niagara will look if the utilitarians have their way and divert the water to make power, leaving bare rocks and dribbling rivulets in place of the thunderous magnificence of the natural falls. A plan to please both factions has been suggested by Col. J. G. Warren, of the United States Army Corps of Engineers. He proposes by a submerged dam in the center of the rapids above the crest of Horseshoe Falls to divert enough water to develop 800,000 horse power and at the same time leave the appearance of the falls unchanged, since "more than 80 per cent of the flow over the central curve of the falls plunges down over the cliff behind a thick cloud of mist"





debauch an entire nation. If we exclude the Chinese from America we ought to welcome the exclusion of American booze-makers from China.

## Essential Industries

TWO hundred years ago a great coal strike would have bothered the English people very little and a railroad strike would have been impossible. The great industries on which present prosperity depends and which are essential to the very existence of the modern state were either non-existent or conducted on a very tiny scale. Perhaps two hundred years from now industry will flow in such different channels that coal and railroad strikes will be of no more importance than a strike of armorers and hand-loom weavers would be today. Some new social peril will have come instead; perhaps the danger of a general strike of aviators or radium miners.

## The Unveiling of Victoria

By Edwin E. Slosson

TO those of us who were brought up on the legend of the great and good Queen the sixth and final volume of Monypenny and Buckle's "Life of Disraeli," just published by Macmillan, comes as a sad shock. We were taught in our innocent youth to believe that the Queen could do no wrong tho—strangely enough—she did a great deal of good; that she knew her place in the British constitution and never overstepped it; that she favored freedom and sympathized with the oppressed of all nations; that she always worked for peace and used her sweet womanly influence to soothe the wrath of man; and that her serene dignity and feminine intuition overawed her councillors.

But her portrait as portrayed by her self in her secret letters is quite the contrary to this ideal sketch. No wonder British critics question whether it was wise of Mr. Buckle to publish them now when monarchy is getting into such ill repute the world over. Her correspondence with her prime minister puts her in almost as bad a light as that cast upon the late Czarina of Russia by the recent publication of her letters to the Czar.

The wily Beaconsfield was able to wheedle her into backing him in any of his schemes by his gross flattery. He said to Matthew Arnold shortly before his death: "You have heard me called a flatterer and it is true. Everyone likes flattery and when you come to royalty you should lay it on with the trowel." Here is a sample of his skilful trowel-work from a letter to his sovereign on her birthday, written like all of his in the third person:

He can only think of the strangeness of his destiny, that it has come to pass, that he should be the servant of one so great, and whose infinite kindness, the brightness of whose intelligence and the firmness of whose will have enabled him to undertake labors, to which he otherwise would be quite unequal, and supported him in all things by a condescending sympathy, which in the hour of difficulty alike charms and inspires.

And this was written at the time, May 24, 1879, when she was scolding him daily by telegraph for not prosecuting the war against the Boers more relentlessly!

Beaconsfield writes to the Queen from the Congress of Berlin about how he rebuked Bismarck, who asserted that all princes were untrustworthy, by saying "that served one who was the soul of candor and justice and whom all her ministers loved." But possibly Bismarck was merely quoting Psalms, 146, 3.

He likens Victoria to Titania and commonly refers to her as "the Faery" altho to look at her portrait the resemblance is not striking. He gave Lord Esher his simple rule for getting on with the Queen: "I never deny; I never contradict; I sometimes forget."

Gladstone, who was not so sycophantic, never got on well

with the Queen. When finally she was forced to receive him as her prime minister she took it as a personal insult and arranged to correspond in cipher with the ex-prime minister so as to get his counsel on great public questions in preference to her constitutional advisers. By this private channel she informs Beaconsfield of what is going on in the Privy Council and what policies his successor and rival, Gladstone, proposes to adopt. At the same time that she is giving away the secrets of the Government to the leader of the Opposition she was warning Gladstone against doing this. She wrote to Beaconsfield on May 4, 1880, about her instructions to her new Premier: "I enjoined the all importance of secrecy in the Cabinet and instanced the mischief which had been done formerly by the reverse."

Queen Victoria's hatred of Gladstone surpasses even Beaconsfield's. She was furious against him for championing the cause of the Christians who were being massacred by the Turks and for opposing her anti-Russian policy. Her tender heart was touched by the danger threatening the Turks "our poor Allies whom we so cruelly abandon to a shameful and detestable enemy and invader!" But the sufferings of the Christians under Turkish rule left her comparatively unmoved for she regarded them as "quite as cruel as the Turks." The Gladstone crusade against the Turkish atrocities aroused Victoria to hot indignation. "She thinks the Attorney-General ought to be set at these men: it can't be constitutional."

This was the time when the music halls resounded with the song that gave a new word to the language:

We don't want to fight,  
But, by Jingo, if we do,  
We've got the ships, we've got the men,  
We've got the money, too.  
We've fought the bear before,  
And we'll fight the bear again,  
And the Russians shall not have Constantinople.

Victoria was a jingo queen and the song was simply her sentiments set to music. A few fragments from her letters in 1877 will show her determination to force the country into intervention in defense of Turkey even tho it might mean war with Russia:

Pray for God's sake, *lose no time* and be *prepared* to act tho we may never have to do so. But to threaten, and intend to do nothing, will never do. Make any use of this letter, only take care not to let Lord Derby see what the Queen says of him. [June 1.] Surely Lord Derby cannot be indifferent to the dangers . . . Warning after warning arrives and he seems to take it all without saying a word!! Such a Foreign Minister the Queen really remembers! [June 25.]

And the language—the insulting language—used by the Russians against us! It makes the Queen's blood boil!

Lord Beaconsfield . . . told her on Tuesday that in three days 5000 could be sent to increase the garrisons and that every effort should be made to be prepared even for Gallipoli if the Russians did not make a dash at Constantinople. But she hears of no troops moving or going and becomes more and more alarmed.

A decisive answer must be given, Gallipoli must be occupied. You will be fearfully blamed if you let Constantinople be taken . . . You should bring this at once before the Cabinet. [July 28.]

The Queen regrets to hear from Lord Derby, that it is now too late to undertake the Gallipoli expedition.

The Gallipoli expedition was undertaken forty years later—but for the purpose of giving Constantinople to the Russians instead of keeping them out. If Gladstone's policy had been followed the Turk would have been turned out of Europe "bag and baggage" at that time and the Balkan wars and their sequel, the Great War, might have been avoided. As Lord Salisbury, Beaconsfield's aid, afterwards confess England "put her money on the wrong horse" when she saved Turkey from Russia.

The Queen repeatedly threatens to resign unless the British army and navy are sent to stop the Russian advance on Constantinople:

Russia is advancing and will be before Constantinople in no time. Then the Government will be fearfully blamed and the



Queen so humiliated that she thinks she would abdicate at once. Be bold! [June 27, 1877.]

The Queen feels more and more anxious lest we should be found powerless and receive a slap in the face from these false Russians and wishes the Cabinet to consider seriously what measures we should take to show that we are not going to follow Mr. Gladstone's view of giving up all to the beneficent and tender mercies of Russia.

To him [Beaconsfield] she will say (and he may make use of it) that if England is to kiss Russia's feet, she will not be a party to the humiliation of England and would lay down her crown.

It is not a question of upholding Turkey: it is a question of Russian or British supremacy in the world! This mawkish sentimentality for people who hardly deserve the name of real Christians, as if they were more God's creatures and our fellow-creatures than every other nation abroad, and forgetting the great interests of this great country—is really incomprehensible. Only say if the Queen can do anything.

The militant spirit of Victoria led her to wish that she were a man so she could herself take part in the fighting like a second Jenne d'Arc. Thus she writes to her Prime Minister:

She feels she cannot, as she before said, remain the Sovereign of a country that is letting itself down to kiss the feet of the great barbarians, the retarders of all liberty and civilization that exists. Her son feels more strongly than herself even. She is utterly ashamed of the Cabinet . . . Oh, if the Queen were a man, she would like to go and give those Russians, whose word one cannot believe, such a beating! We shall never be friends again till we have it out. This the Queen feels sure of.

This reference to her son is funny in view of the fact that the first thing Edward did when he became King was to reverse his mother's policy and to make friends with "the great barbarians" even at the cost of giving them the major portion of Persia and later a promise of Constantinople. Yet Nicholas II, with whom this bargain was struck, was by no means so good a man as Alexander II, the great "Czar Liberator," who had set free 24,000,000 serfs and was engaged in trying to free the Balkan peoples from Ottoman oppression when Great Britain, at the urgent instigation of Queen Victoria, thwarted his efforts by force.

Probably Beaconsfield was more amused than moved by the hysterical letters of his Fairy Queen. He politely put her off until the Russians were within sight of the minarets of Constantinople, then he quickly took an action that startled all Europe and set the stage for the Great War. He called on Asia to fight Europe. The despatch of 3000 Sepoys to Malta in the Mediterranean in March, 1878, marks a new epoch in the world's history for it meant that England had a reserve force of 300,000,000 to draw upon. Russia had her Siberia, but England had her India. It was a game two could play at and England could play it best. Beaconsfield's purpose, as he explained to the Cabinet, was to "show that from England also we can send forth our hosts." He had placed his pieces in advance for this great game as he confesses (page 155). It was not mere vain-glory and Oriental love of display, as his enemies charged, that led him to add the unprecedented title of "Empress" to the ancient and honorable title of "Queen." He writes to his sovereign, "that troops should be sent to the Persian Gulf and that the Empress of India should order her armies to clear Central Asia of the Muscovites and drive them into the Caspian." The world was quick to learn the lesson. France set out immediately to extend her holdings in Africa and Asia and by the time the Great War came she was able to bring into Europe a Black Army and Asiatic laborers amounting to a million men. Germany soon after tried to acquire a colonial empire but was not able to make use of it. The British Government, following the plan of campaign outlined by Beaconsfield forty years before in this letter to the Queen, sent Indian troops to the Persian Gulf—tho this time to fight the Turks instead of to defend them.

If we hear again the old fiction that in Great Britain "the king reigns but does not govern" we can refer to Beaconsfield's letter to Queen Victoria, dated February 27,

1877, in which he compliments her on getting legislation thru Parliament in spite of the Cabinet:

It shows how great is the power of the Sovereign in this country—if firm and faithfully served: for the Act would never have passed, nay, would never have been introduced, had it not been for your Majesty. The Titles Act the same. Both bills, certainly the first, were passed without the support of the Cabinet. And yet both are great Acts and most efficacious.

But the wisdom of both these acts is now seriously called in question. The Public Worship Act, designed to crush out the ritualists by putting the discipline of the Established Church under the control of the state, has not effected its purpose, for ritualism has grown ever since and the High Church party are now demanding freedom from state control under threat of going over to Rome. The Titles Act, which made the Queen of England Empress of India is proving something of an embarrassment now when many Britishers, especially those of the oversea dominions, are coming to dislike the term "empire" and prefer to speak of the "British Commonwealths."

But Beaconsfield was not only a shrewd courtier, he was a far-sighted statesman. His cynical foreign policy has on the whole proved much more sound and successful than those of the sentimental Gladstone. It was fortunate for his country that his sovereign was a woman whom he could usually flatter into acquiescing in what he had determined to do. But these letters leave little of the Victoria legend.

## Dr. Scorpion

THE scorpion is one of those things that nobody has had any use for. But from a report on the British expedition into the interior of Abyssinia presented at the recent meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, it appears that even the tip of a scorpion's tail may have its place in the economy of nature. While at Lake Rudolf Major Darley was suffering from a severe attack of dysentery when he was stung by a scorpion. This added misfortune proved a blessing in disguise for a rapid and complete cure started from that moment. Rheumatic patients have been known to subject their aching limbs to the sting of bees, but then a rheumatic will do anything to get relief—or diversion. We may expect soon that the doctors will be carrying around live scorpions and that their patients will get stung for ten dollars.

## The Paper Shortage

(MISS. found written on a piece of bark, A. D. 2200). The last newspaper ceased publication nearly one hundred years ago. For some time previous to this it had been printed in so fine a type on such tiny sheets that it was necessary to supply subscribers with microscopes in order to make the text legible. A few years later the publishing of school books was suspended and illiteracy began to plunge civilization once more into the darkness of medieval times. The final blow came in 2160 when even the *Congressional Record* went under. All the old libraries had long since been repulped to get it out, so there was not a book left in the world, save a few museum specimens. Such traces of culture as remain are maintained only by the phonograph and the moving picture. I, alone, remember how to write and now I die! After me the deluge!

## Bring Your Own Lunch

THE "bring your own lunch" movement among business men who are away from home at noon may bring down restaurant prices if persisted in; otherwise it will simply raise the price of lunch boxes. The overalls movement only a few months old and already almost forgotten is a warning. It seems to be the American habit to start a reform and then leave it alone to carry on unaided, which is like hitting a golf ball once and then expecting it to travel around the course and home again without further attention.



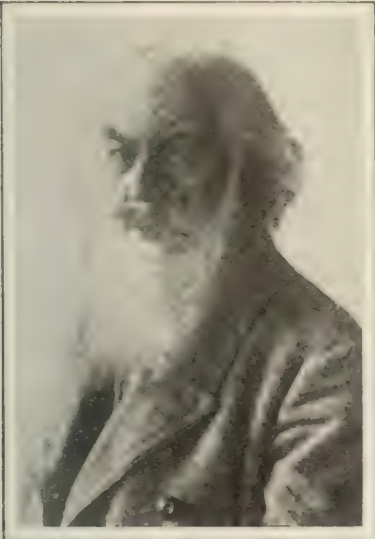
# Five Phases of Soviet Russia



Wide World

## THE MOB

Bolshevism seems to know how to use crowd psychology. The great demonstration above took place in the streets of Moscow to welcome the delegates to the Third Internationale, the Bolshevik congress held on the third anniversary of the Russian revolution



Wide World

## A PROPAGANDIST

Comrade Yassinsky, editor of the Bolshevik organ in Petrograd, typifies the intellectuals who dignify Bolshevism



International

## DIPLOMACY IN CONFERENCE

This is the first photograph to reach this country of the peace conference between Soviet Russia and Poland which was held in the first days of October to negotiate an armistice. The conference was held in the famous Schwarzhaupthaus (Blackheads' Hall) in Riga, Poland. During the progress of the conference the Bolshevik troops in the field suffered severe reverses under a Polish advance, but terms were concluded, nevertheless, which M. Joffé, head of the Soviet Russian delegation, found satisfactory and characterized as providing for "a peace without victor and without vanquished"



Wide World

## MORE SOLDIERS

Bolshevism is recruiting men of all classes, and women, too, in order to build up a trained army. Notice in this group the diversity of costume: the old peasant in farm boots, some of the other men with odds and ends of military uniform, the women in heavy coats

## BETTER SCHOOLS

The Soviet recruits are given "book learning" as well as rifle drill. In the group at the right are several just beginning to read and write





# The Story of the Week

## The Root of the Matter

THE personal views of Mr. Elihu Root, veteran Republican statesman, have loomed large in the closing days of the campaign. Mr. Root has served with distinction in the Cabinet and in the Senate, he was the chief rival of Justice Hughes for the Republican nomination in 1916, and he has recently returned from Europe with a triumphant record of service in organizing the International Court on behalf of the League of Nations. His address on October 19 in New York attracted widespread attention and provoked attack from two quarters: the Democrats, who insisted that he was wrong in his statement of Governor Cox's position, and the irreconcilable Republicans, who objected to his interpretation of the position of Senator Harding.

Governor Cox quoted from Mr. Root's address the remark, "Mr. Cox declared that he will insist upon the Treaty just as Mr. Wilson negotiated it," and declared this statement "not in keeping with the facts." In his telegram to Mr. Root he said:

I have invariably stated in my addresses, and restate here, my wholehearted desire to make the United States a member of the League of Nations, and that to secure that consummation of the purpose of America when she entered the war I will accept reservations that will clarify, that will be helpful, that will reassure the American people; and that as a matter of good faith will clearly state to our associates in the League that Congress and Congress alone has the right to declare war, and that our Constitution sets up limits in legislation or treaty making beyond which we cannot go.

I have stated further that I will accept reservations from any source which are offered in sincerity and with a desire to be helpful. I have also stated that if I am elected President my election can be construed only as a mandate of the American people, and that to secure ratification of the Treaty and the League I would sit down with the members of the United States Senate; I would confer with Mr. Wilson, and with you, Mr. Root, as well as with Judge Taft and all others who have a sincere purpose and whose service in the past equips them especially as advisers in this work.

To this Mr. Root replied that Governor Cox's assurances were too vague and did not imply an acceptance of substantial reservations. He said that nothing less than the Lodge reservation would make Article X harmless and that if

Governor Cox sincerely favored assurances which would safeguard American freedom of action he would have agreed to the Lodge reservation. Failing this, "both what you say and what you refrain from saying confirm the understanding I expressed in my speech that your position and purpose are to impose upon the United States the Covenant negotiated at Paris without any real change whatever."

Secretary of State Colby answered Mr. Root's attack on Article X, saying in part:

The idea of an international court of justice, to which Mr. Root has just contributed his enthusiastic labors, has admittedly been a lifeless thing, hopelessly beyond realization, conceded by its sponsors to be impotent and impracticable until the success of the League of Nations effected a political organization of the world powers, which for the first time gave the court a background and a promise that its decrees will be effective. If there is one thing which the war has taught the nations of the world, it is that the projects discussed at the two Hague conferences for restraining war, and the peaceful regulation of international conduct, were utterly valueless and illusory.

It is Article X which for the first time has given vitality and significance to the project of a League of Nations. It is this underlying and ultimate sanction of a joint force, susceptible of being invoked in the final analysis by the nations charged with the preservation of world peace, that makes the League a real thing instead of an academic theme.

On the other hand, the irreconcilables were offended not by Mr. Root's attitude toward Article X, but because he accepted the other provisions of the Covenant. Senator Johnson quoted Senator Harding's own words against those of Mr. Root and added:

Some gentlemen supporting Mr. Harding say that notwithstanding this plain declaration he will take the United States into the League. Between these gentlemen and men of my belief there can be no unity of purpose, no agreement upon the League issue. I stand with Senator Harding. I accept as conclusive his emphatic declaration. His words upon the issue, not the words of those who are for the League, are all controlling.

## League of Nations at Work

THE Council of the League of Nations, now in session at Brussels, is having a busy time disposing of the important business that has been brought before it. The machinery provided by the Covenant is working smoothly on the whole, but various amendments and improvements have been suggested by members of the League and doubtless some of them will be adopted.

The plan for the World Court of the League, prepared by an international committee of jurists meeting at The Hague, was adopted by the Council in general, but with reservation of certain points where the plan went beyond the scope of the Covenant. According to the Covenant both parties to a dispute must consent in advance to submit the case to the court, but The Hague jurists proposed to go farther and make international arbitration compulsory. The Council will not include the compulsory clause in recommending the plan to the Assembly. Those parts of the World Court plan that are supposed to have been the work of Elihu Root, former American Secretary of State, were adopted by the Council of the League without question.

The League of Nations has been in actual operation since May 5, 1919, and has accomplished a large amount of work at comparatively little expense. Its total expenditure to the end of the present year, that is twenty months, will be about \$3,000,000, and this is a small price to pay for all the League has done in the way of repatriat-



Underwood & Underwood

THESE MEN PRAY BEFORE THEY PLAY

Dr. W. A. Ganfield, president of Centre College, Kentucky, and "Bo" McMillan and Charles Moran—captain and coach of the Centre College football team—startled the sporting world not only by their prowess in their recent game with Harvard, but because they pray before each game. It is not necessarily a prayer for victory, but a simple appeal for help to play a clean and sportsmanlike game





International

#### THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS IN ITS PERMANENT HEADQUARTERS

November, 1920, marks the establishment of the executive offices of the League of Nations in its administration building, formerly the Hotel National, in Geneva, Switzerland

ing prisoners, stabilizing international finance, investigating labor problems, administering disputed territories and preventing armed conflicts.

The most serious question before the Council at Brussels was the seizure of Vilna, the capital of Lithuania, by a Polish force under General Zellgouski. Poland was represented before the Council by Professor Askenazi of Warsaw in place of Paderewski, while the Lithuanian case was argued by Augustine Waldemar. The Council is expected to recommend that the question be decided by a plebiscite.

The League of Nations has hitherto maintained headquarters in a building on the corner of Piccadilly and Downing Street, London, but will hereafter be located at Geneva as the Covenant provides. The Secretary General, Sir Eric Drummond, has established himself with his staff in the Hotel National, Geneva. Here the Assembly of the League will be called to meet for the first time on November 15. The Covenant provides that President Wilson shall summon the first session of the Assembly and he was expected to open it in person, but his physical condition will of course prohibit this.

## Cardinal Gibbons Favors League

**A**MONG the more than 15,000 American clergymen of various denominations who have publicly endorsed the League of Nations one of the most distinguished and influential names is that of Cardinal Gibbons. The Cardinal began his statement by citing Pope Benedict's words that "it is much to be desired that all states, putting aside mutual suspicions, should unite in one league." He then commended the detailed arrangements of the Covenant as wisely framed and concluded:

Sitting as a council of brethren, with the shadow of the great catastrophe still upon us, we should, and I have no doubt we will, draw nearer to one another and take up, in a fraternal spirit, seriatim, those vexed questions that still remain and which are a grave menace to the fellowship of the forward-looking, God-fearing, God-loving nations. These questions still threaten the peace of the world—that peace whose blessing we are just beginning to enjoy again.

Delay is dangerous and it means continued cumulative suffering. I know that we will, at an early day, accept our evident responsibilities in the world situation, and at the same time make perfectly clear what they are. Once our responsibility is clearly manifest, the American people will not sidestep. We will do our duty. We always have.

## Cox Tours the East

**G**OVERNOR Cox, after making one of the widest tours of the western states ever undertaken by a candidate, turned his attention to the Atlantic seaboard. Many political experts regarded this as in some sense an invasion of the "enemy's country" since the Democratic campaign had been languishing in the eastern states and the Republicans were predicting old-time McKinley pluralities for

Harding. Nothing daunted, he carried the campaign not only into the doubtful regions of New Jersey and New York City, but made numerous brief speeches in rural New York and New England, which are strongly Republican. He denounced Senator Lodge's "conspiracy" against the Treaty to the voters of Massachusetts and welcomed the heckling of anti-League Irishmen in Newark and New York.

Two new points were brought out in Cox's eastern campaign. One was a definite declaration against intervention in Mexico: "If I am elected President of the United States I will not take the blood of a single American boy and turn it into gold for any investor in Mexico." The other was the promise that he would make almost any concession necessary to win the support of the Senate to immediate entrance into the existing League of Nations. In New York he said with regard to Article X he "would willingly accept a reservation stating explicitly that the United States assumes no obligation to defend or assist any other member of the League, unless approved and authorized by Congress in each case." He promised to "consult with all members of the Senate" and with leaders of both parties who have "given intensive thought to that question."

In West Virginia he went even further in his desire to conciliate opposition. He promised to "sit down with the Senate and make an agreement" as to reservations to the Covenant and added that "the sort of agreement which I shall be enabled to obtain will be determined by the Senatorial elections." He declared that talk of a new association to replace the existing League of Nations was "but an idle phrase" and that the one great evil to be averted at all costs was to remain excluded from the League "until another election could be held." In order to get into the League he was prepared to compromise on reservations because "if too much has to be given in compromise now in order to insure our entrance into the League, the people themselves will have an opportunity to modify and correct later."

## Senator Reed Bolts

**O**N October 21 Senator James Reed of Missouri announced to a Kansas City audience that he could no longer give his support to the national Democratic ticket. Senator Reed's own term does not expire this year and therefore he does not figure in the campaign as a candidate, but he has a personal following and undoubtedly his stand cost Governor Cox as nominee for President and Breckinridge Long as Democratic nominee for the Senate thousands of Missouri votes.

Senator Reed has not, however, left the Democratic party for "keeps", nor joined with the Republicans even for this campaign. His purpose is to be a lonely crusader



against the League of Nations, attacking all candidates of either party that favor "any kind of alliance, league or association with Europe." He denied that he had turned against the Democratic Administration because of a quarrel over patronage and held that until the League of Nations issue arose he had supported the majority of party measures which came before the Senate. He declared that not one man or woman in a thousand wanted the League as it was originally presented, but that those who thought that the evils of the Covenant could be cured by reservations or amendments were deluding themselves:

The majority of the Senate wanted fourteen amendments. Taft's League to Enforce Peace wants amendments. Root wants amendments—only Root and the Lord know how many. Bryan wants amendments. Professor Lowell wants amendments. Wilson says he will accept amendments. Hitchcock wants amendments. Twenty-six Democratic Senators voted for the treaty with all of the Lodge amendments. The other twenty Senators voted for something like a dozen similar amendments. Everybody wants amendments, except those who had the foresight to understand from the first that the entire instrument was un-American and rotten to the core. They want the accursed thing totally rejected.

He condemned Cox and said that in the event of his election "I fear the influence of Woodrow Wilson." But he was not much kinder to the Republican nominee:

The Republican candidate for President is for an association of nations, but asserts he does not know what it will be. If he is elected I shudder at the influence of Elihu Root and the international bankers.

Senator Reed does not give his support to either Harding or Cox, but he indorsed Senator La Follette's independent nominee for the Wisconsin senatorship, James Thompson, against both the Republican and Democratic candidates. In every state he hoped that the candidate most hostile to "the infamous doctrine of internationalism" would be returned, whether Republican, Democrat or Independent.

## Harding on Efficiency

IN an appeal issued from the "front porch" to the American people a week before election Senator Harding shifted the emphasis of his campaign somewhat from the League of Nations to the issue of Democratic inefficiency. He referred to the League incidentally, but somewhat vaguely, declaring against "the proposal to approve our membership in the League of Nations as our opponents insist that it shall be written," but favoring "a wise association of nations." But his main appeal was for "a reorganization of administrative government so that it shall become a source of pride to the American spirit of efficiency." He attacked the Democratic record:



Underwood & Underwood

IS THE KU KLUX BACK AGAIN?

It is being rumored that the "Invisible Empire" is again spreading consternation among negroes south of the Mason and Dixon line. "They say" that now its members burn the cotton gins and terrorize cotton growers to keep up the price of cotton. How did the photographer snap this during the weird ceremony of the Ku Klux Klan on the top of Stone Mountain near Atlanta without being hanged?

I call upon the Democratic party to answer the charge that its management of domestic affairs had brought us to the brink of an industrial crisis in 1914 from which only the World War saved us, and is even now leading us toward another precipice.

There has been no answer to the well known fact that they have cost America untold billions of dollars and the precious lives of our sons by unpreparedness for war persisted in for political expediency.

They have made no answer to the charge that they were equally unprepared for peace and reconstruction.

They have made no answer to the charge that their experiment with the American railways, their industrial policy and their maintaining in the Federal Government hundreds of thousands of unnecessary employees have cost the taxpayers of this country a fearful financial burden which our men and women, and even their children, will have to pay.

They have made no answer to the charge that their rule has been one of grotesque inefficiency.

The Republican party wound up its campaign with exceptional confidence, tho this confidence was stronger as to the election of Harding and Coolidge than as to control of the Senate or victories on local tickets. General straw votes taken by newspapers, magazines, drug stores, moving picture houses, colleges and other agencies pointed in the main to a Republican landslide. Chairman Hays claimed for Harding every electoral vote outside the "solid south" of the old Confederate States. The Democrats were far less confident, but Chairman White estimated that Cox could count with certainty on 256 electoral votes and Harding on only 164, leaving 111 doubtful votes to determine the balance of power. Betting on the eve of election favored the Republicans, tho the odds varied widely at different times and places.

## The Cotton Crisis

THE prevailing low prices of cotton have not only called forth lawless attempts to restrict output, but have called into action the more legitimate intervention of the public authorities. Governor Parker of Louisiana has appealed to the cotton ginneries of the southern states to close down for thirty days. This appeal was telegraphed to the Governors of other cotton growing states. Governor Parker said in part:

The one great agricultural crop in which the South has almost a monopoly is cotton, and with a number of short crops in succession and the certainty the world urgently needs cotton, it is almost criminal to force this crop on the market at prices far below actual cost, bringing ruin to farmers and thereby ultimately disaster to the spinners and actual suffering to those needing cotton goods.

The present emergency requires the attention and coöperation of all classes of citizens in justifying the request for all gins to shut down for at least thirty days, or longer if necessary, in order that the producers may receive living prices for their products and the great cotton industry not be crippled or destroyed.

Night riders have raided plantations or destroyed gins in Texas, Alabama, Arkansas, South Carolina, Tennessee and other states within the past few days. Everywhere the authorities have issued proclamations denouncing lawless methods of upholding prices and in several states rewards have been offered for the detection of the lawbreakers. The declared policy of the raiders is to prevent ginning or sale of cotton until the price reaches forty cents a pound.

## New Men for Shipping Board

UNDER the Merchant Marine Act the President is required to make seven appointments to the Shipping Board, of whom only four may belong to the same political party; two of whom must be named from the Atlantic coast, two from the Pacific, one from the Gulf region, one from the Great Lakes region and one from the interior. The members of the Board must divest themselves of private shipping interests and devote all of their time to their work as shipping commissioners, in return for a compensation of \$12,000 a year.



President Wilson reappointed Admiral William S. Benson, chief of naval operations during the war, as chairman of the Shipping Board. The other four members appointed at the same time were Theodore Marburg of Baltimore, former Republican Ambassador to Belgium; Gavin McNab, a San Francisco attorney, who was a member of President Wilson's first industrial conference; Martin J. Gillen, an attorney of Wisconsin and an assistant to former Chairman Payne of the Shipping Board, and Frederick I. Thompson, publisher of the Mobile (Alabama) *Register*. One appointee from the Pacific coast and one from the interior must still be named, and both must be Republicans since four of the five already appointed are Democrats. A substitute must also be found for Mr. Marburg, who did not accept his appointment.

Admiral Benson, in an address before the Boston Chamber of Commerce, expounded his views of the function of the Shipping Board, which he believed would ultimately be to private shipping what the Interstate Commerce Commission is to the railroads. He considers "that it is absolutely necessary for the success of our merchant marine that the vessels be owned and operated by private parties." He supported the St. Lawrence River canal project as promising the best relief to the coal shortage in New England, and even contended that, if necessary, the Government should issue bonds to finance it. He urged American shippers to give preference to American-owned vessels.

## Mayor McSwiney Dies

**T**ERENCE MacSwiney, Lord Mayor of Cork, died on October 25 in Brixton prison, London, from self-imposed starvation. He had fasted ever since his arrest in Cork on August 12, seventy-three days before. His brother, John MacSwiney, and his chaplain, Father Dominic, were with him when he died early in the morning. He had been unconscious for thirty-six hours before. Such a lengthy fast is unprecedented. In 1880 Dr. Tanner created a sensation by fasting forty days and this record was beaten by S. Nucci, an Italian professional faster, who went without food for forty-five days in 1890. So far as known MacSwiney received nothing in the form of food up to a few days ago, when the prison physicians, taking advantage of his state of coma, administered some fruit juice to counteract the scurvy from which he was suffering. His relatives and friends who had access to him every day might have fed him secretly, but deny having done so. His sister and Archbishop Mannix believe that the prolongation of his life was a miracle due to the prayers offered in his behalf in various parts of the world.

Joseph Murphy, one of the eleven hunger strikers in the Cork jail, died on the same night after having fasted sev-



Wide World

The new Lord Mayor of Cork is Donald Ellachain, who took the office when the late Lord Mayor McSwiney was sentenced to imprisonment for supporting violence in the cause of the Irish Republic



Underwood & Underwood

On the seventy-fourth day of his self-imposed fast in protest against the British domination of Ireland, Terence MacSwiney, Lord Mayor of Cork and a leader of the Sinn Fein movement, died in Brixton Prison. His suicide made him a martyr in the eyes of Irish Republicans and reprisals for his death were threatened in England as well as in Ireland

enty-five days. Michael Fitzgerald, another of the Cork hunger strikers, died last week.

Terence MacSwiney (pronounced Sweeney) was born in Cork in 1879, the son of a tobacco manufacturer. He was educated at the Christian Brothers School of Cork and the Royal University of Dublin. He became absorbed in the study of Irish history and used Gaelic instead of English on every possible occasion. He took an active part in the Sinn Fein movement as a writer and editor during its literary phase and as an officer in the republican army during its later militant phase. Since the Sinn Fein rebellion of Easter, 1916, he has been repeatedly arrested and has spent a total of thirty months in prison. He was elected to the House of Commons in 1918, but refused to take his seat.

When Thomas MacCurtain, the Sinn Fein Lord Mayor of Cork was murdered on March 20, MacSwiney was elected to succeed him. He declared on his inauguration that his allegiance was not due to the British crown but to the Dail Eireann, the Parliament of the Irish Republic. He was arrested while holding an illicit republican court and tried by court martial. Copies of the cipher telegrams despatched by the police the preceding day were found concealed in the wall and a key to the cipher in his desk. He was found guilty of sedition and sentenced to two years' imprisonment. He refused to acknowledge the authority of the court and declared that since he would take no food he would be free, dead or alive, within a month.

The British Government took the ground that every prisoner could obtain his freedom by voluntary fasting if that were accepted as a reason for release. Premier Lloyd George said:

A law which is a respecter of persons is no law. If the Cabinet departed from its decision, a complete breakdown of the whole machinery of law and government in Ireland inevitably would follow. The release some weeks ago of hunger strikers in Ireland was followed by an outburst of cruel murder and outrage.

The King was appealed to for pardon, but refused to violate the constitution by acting against the advice of his ministers.

MacSwiney's death is regarded by one party as murder



and by the other as suicide. But even those who held that the Government could not surrender to a hunger strike felt sympathy for MacSwiney in recognizing that he was dying for an ideal. The long drawn suspense has greatly acerbated the bitterness of both sides and enhanced the difficulty of bringing about a peaceful solution of the Irish question. It has also entered into the presidential conflict of the United States. Professor Kelly of Fordham University demands the impeachment of President Wilson because he did not intervene in MacSwiney's behalf.

## Great British Coal Strike

FOR ten days the coal miners of Great Britain have been idle. The men say that they must have higher wages. The Government says that they must produce a higher output. Every week the contest lasts the miners lose more in wages than they would gain in five weeks if they got the increase they demand and every week the Government loses nearly as much as it would gain in six months by the increase placed on the price of coal by the Government. Whichever side wins the net result must be a decrease in the foreign trade and a rise in the cost of living. To the million miners who left their jobs must be added those in dependent industries which had to close down on account of lack of fuel and also a large army of previously unemployed, altogether making about a million more men out of work at the end of the first week. If the strike continues British industry and finance, hardly recovering from the war, will suffer a severe setback.

The National Union of Railwaymen declared their intention to go out at the end of the first week in a sympathetic strike. This action was taken spontaneously by a majority of only ten out of sixty delegates and in opposition to their leader, J. H. Thomas. But the majority argued that within a few days 300,000 railwaymen would be laid off anyway on account of the closing of the mines and that a "lightning strike" that would tie up all the traffic of the country would force an immediate decision in the miners' favor. But the railwaymen's strike was held off at the request of the executive of the miners' union when the Government consented to open conversations with them.

The third big union concerned in the strike is the Transport Workers' Federation, which comprizes the dockers, longshoremen, bus and train drivers and the like. If they should go on strike as they threaten to it would stop all shipping and shut off the food supply. To prevent this calamity the Government is enrolling citizens who can aid in driving motor trucks, operating railroad trains and otherwise keeping the cities from starvation. Over ten thousand men and women of all classes have volunteered for national service of this sort. This has aroused the indignation of the transport men, who consider them strike breakers and, as Robert Williams, General Secretary of the Transport union, says:

look upon the danger of the enrollment of volunteers, especially from the middle class and white guards of the community, as of more provocation than the use of troops.

The Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress voted to "request" Premier Lloyd George to reopen negotiations with the miners' executive before Friday noon or they would call together the executive committees of all the big trade unions to consider a general strike.

Under pressure of these threats or because he saw a chance to effect a compromise the Premier sent an invitation to the leaders of the miners, Robert Smilie, Frank



International

The death of King Alexander of Greece, who was poisoned by a monkey bite, may precipitate a crisis in Greek national affairs. His father, the former King Constantine, was deposed and exiled during the war for his pro-German sympathies. Premier Venizelos, the real head of the Government, is reported to have said that at the time of Alexander's accession to the throne that it was the last experiment Greece would ever make with a king

ceptional powers exercised by the Government during the war. In spite of heated opposition the House of Commons passed the Emergency Powers bill on second reading by a vote of 267 to 55.

## King Killed by a Monkey Bite

KING Alexander of Greece, namesake and successor of Alexander the Great, died on October 25 from blood poisoning caused by the bite of a pet monkey. Tatos, the monkey, was supposed to be tame and was allowed to wander at will about the palace park. But one day early in October, when the young King was playing with him, he bit the King's foot viciously. The wound was not thought serious at first, but symptoms of acute blood poisoning set in and developed into congestion of the lungs. Dr. Georges Vidal, a French specialist on animal bites, and Professor Delbet, a surgeon, were brought from Paris, but were unable to effect a cure. It was rumored in Rome that the monkey had been inoculated with hydrophobia as a means of getting rid of the King, but this is officially denied.

King Alexander was born in 1893 and was educated at Oxford. He was placed upon the throne in 1917 when his father, Constantine, was deposed and exiled by the British because of his pro-German proclivities. Constantine was married to Princess Sophia of Prussia, sister to Kaiser Wilhelm of Germany, and her influence, it is believed, made him averse to bringing Greece into the war on the side of the Allies or allowing it to be used as a base of operations against the Bulgars and Austrians. His eldest son, Crown Prince George, was also suspected of anti-Ally leanings so the British made Alexander, his second son, King of the Greeks.

Alexander refused to contract the customary royal alliance and insisted upon his right to marry for love. Accordingly in November, 1919, he secretly married Anastasia Manos, the pretty daughter of his stableman or Royal Equerry. When the news came out last May thru the visit of the young couple to Paris the Greeks were shocked at

Hodges and Herbert Smith, to come to his official residence, No. 10 Downing Street, and talk over the questions in dispute with the members of the Cabinet. Since then daily conferences have been held, but no agreement has yet been arrived at. The Government is said to be willing to grant the two shillings a day increase in wages demanded by the miners, but insists in return on some guarantee of increase of productivity. As the hours have been reduced and the wages raised the output of coal per man per hour has continually fallen off until it has reached a point where it threatens to undermine England's commercial supremacy of the world.

In order to meet the emergency of a general strike or revolutionary movement the Premier has asked Parliament to restore temporarily the ex-



the idea of a morganatic marriage and declared that they would never receive the low-born lady as their Queen. But Alexander declared, "Well, if she can't be Queen I won't be King, that's all."

Prince Paul, the younger brother of Alexander, is likely to succeed him unless the Greeks seize the opportunity to throw off altogether the rule of foreign monarchs that has been imposed upon them by the powers ever since 1832. The exiled King Constantine has never abdicated and still signs himself "Rex" in messages from his residence at Lucerne. His supporters will doubtless endeavor to bring him back to Athens. Premier Venizelos, however, will block the return of his old enemy Constantine and probably the Allies would not permit it anyhow. A few months ago an attempt was made by the royalists to assassinate Venizelos, but he recovered from his gunshot wounds.

## Wrangel's Campaign

THE latest of the efforts to conquer Soviet Russia is that led by Baron Wrangel. He was one of Denikin's ablest generals in the anti-Bolshevik campaign of a year ago last summer, but broke with his chief because Denikin did not restrain his troops from outrages on the Ukrainian population whom he was supposed to deliver from oppression. In consequence of this protest Wrangel fell into disfavor with Denikin and his British backers and was exiled from Russia. But after Denikin's defeat he was recalled to take charge of the remnants of the army which had been driven down into the Crimean peninsula. The Bolsheviks would have followed and annihilated the routed troops but were prevented by the British battleships, whose guns ranged across the narrow neck of the isthmus. Here at Sevastopol, the old Russian naval base which British, French and Turks besieged for a year in the Crimean war, Wrangel reorganized the army and refitted it with British arms and uniforms in preparation for another invasion of Soviet Russia in the summer of 1920. But by the time the weather became warm enough for fighting the British Government was engaged in negotiations with Soviet representatives at London for opening up trade with Russia. The Soviet Government insisted as a preliminary condition that the British cease giving aid and encouragement to attacks on Soviet Russia. Accordingly the British Government warned the Poles that if they should overstep their ethnographic limits and Wrangel that if he should undertake an offensive campaign they need not expect British sympathy and support.

But the French adhered to the opposite policy and gave both the Poles and Wrangel all possible assistance in their campaigns against Soviet Russia. It was thought that if Russia were attacked simultaneously by the Poles from the west and by Wrangel's army from the south the two forces could conjoin near Kiev and that the Soviet, weakened by internal dissensions and economic distress, would speedily collapse.

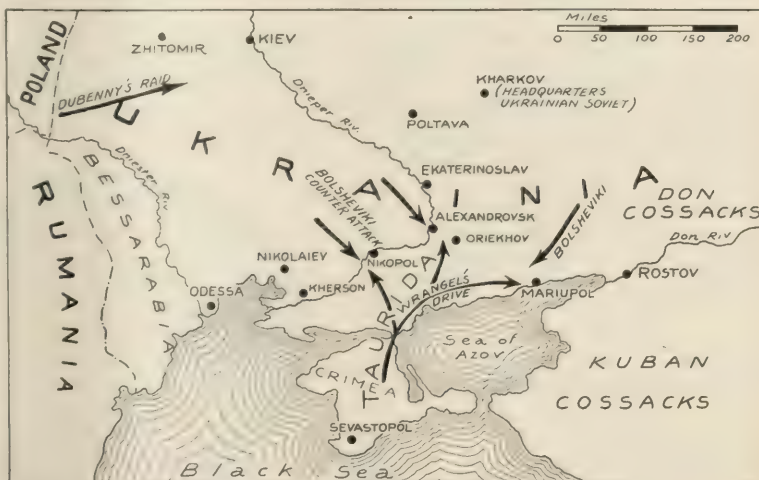
But the effect was quite the opposite of that anticipated. As the Polish armies advanced into the heart of Russia far beyond their racial frontier and even beyond the eastern boundary of the old Kingdom of Poland, all the ancient animosity of the Russians for the Poles became inflamed and the officers of the Czar's army volunteered for service under the Soviet to repel the invader. Under their guidance the Soviet armies rallied and recovered their ground. But not content with driving the Poles back within their national boundaries the Bolsheviks continued to advance, believing that they could capture Warsaw and dictate peace

to Poland in her own capital. This they might have done for in early August their guns could already be heard in Warsaw and the Polish troops were badly demoralized. But in the nick of time the French General Weygand arrived at Warsaw with a large staff of French officers and quickly turned the tide. The Bolsheviks were driven out of Poland with heavy losses and the Soviet was forced to sign an armistice at Riga that surrendered to Poland a large strip of Russian territory.

Wrangel's fortune waxed and waned according to the attention that the Soviet could spare him from the Polish war. In the fall when the most serviceable of the Red troops were withdrawn to the Polish front he made rapid inroads into Southern Russia. Reports of victories in which he captured five, ten or even twenty thousand Soviet troops came in frequently during September and early October. He gained the whole province of Taurida that lies between the Dnieper River and the Sea of Azov. The further advance of Wrangel's forces toward the northeast would have put him in possession of the Donetz coal region and deprived the Bolsheviks of their fuel supply for the winter. On the other wing the Wrangel cavalry had crossed the Dnieper at two points and threatened to envelop Odessa.

But by the middle of October when the armistice with Poland was concluded at Riga, the Soviet was free to throw its forces against Wrangel and quickly changed the situation in the south. The Wrangel forces were driven out of Mariupol, Nikopol and Oriekhov and forced to withdraw from the western side of the Dnieper. In these defeats the Wrangel armies lost heavily both in men and munitions.

The Russo-Polish armistice forbids the use of the territory of either party as a base for military expeditions against the other. Consequently the Russian volunteers under General Balakovich, who have been fighting Soviet Russia in coöperation with the Poles, will now have to leave Poland and join Wrangel in south Russia. General Dubenny, the dashing Bolshevik cavalry leader who recently was fighting fiercely against the Poles, has changed sides and is now attacking Soviet Russia in the direction of Kiev. General Weygand, the savior of Warsaw, has sailed for Sevastopol to help Wrangel as he helped Pilsudski in Poland. A number of ex-German officers from the Baltic provinces have volunteered for service under Wrangel. Major General Townshend, the British officer who defended Kut-el-Amara on the Tigris during five months' siege by the Turks, has resigned from the British army to serve under Wrangel. The French have loaned Wrangel a million dollars for shoes, overcoats and blankets for a winter campaign.



THE SCENE OF WRANGEL'S CAMPAIGN

Baron Wrangel has been conducting a campaign from the Crimea against Soviet Russia in coöperation with the Polish attack from the west. His troops had gained control of the Taurida province but have been expelled



# A Little of Everything



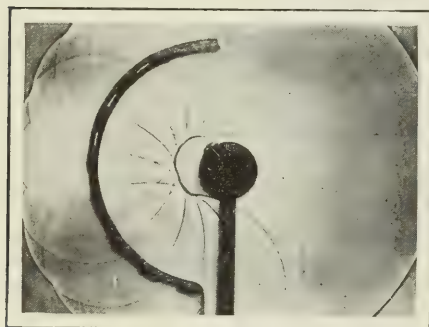
## How to See Sound

By Robert H. Moulton

The man who has had his troubles photographing an automobile traveling at the rate of 100 miles an hour, or about 140 feet per second, will best appreciate the difficulties that confronted Prof. Albert J. Foley, of the University of Indiana, when he attempted to take the picture of a sound wave, which travels ten times faster than the fastest motor car. Yet the feat was successfully accomplished, as accompanying photographs show.

The simplest and most obvious type of wave motion is that which we observe in the ripple in a teacup, a surface-tension effect, or in the mighty

billow rolling on under the action of gravitation. Such waves are essentially two-dimensional. A typical wave front in this case, such as that produced by a stone falling into a pond, is circular in form.



Diffraction pattern produced by a cylindrical grating with eight apertures. Time .00024 of a second after spark

Other waves, and a very important class, are three-dimensional, the typical form being spherical, each wave starting out from a source point, and spreading out as a sphere with that point as its center. Light waves are of this character, as well as the waves used in wireless telegraphy. In fact, the two are propagated with the same velocity thru vacuum, which is of the order of one fifty-thousandth of an inch in the case of light, and of the order of several thousands of feet in the case of electric waves commonly used in wireless telegraphy.

It is only by special means that spherical waves can be rendered visible. Light waves are themselves, of course, invisible. But there is another kind of spherical waves—sound waves—which, tho ordinarily quite as invisible as waves of light or electro-magnet waves, can nevertheless be rendered

observable to the sense of sight and photographed. The difficulties of photographing an invisible sound wave in an invisible gas, the wave itself being merely a series of condensations and rarefactions in this invisible gas, are such

that it was only after years of experimenting that Professor Foley succeeded in securing perfectly definite sound wave pictures, pictures which show the waves traveling in all directions from the source, which show them in the process of being reflected from plane and curved mirrors, being brought to a focus by convex lenses and made divergent by concave lenses, doing everything in fact demanded by the wave theory.

Professor Foley's method of photographing sound waves is simple in its fundamental principle. All of us, looking out over a field on a hot, bright day, have seen what is commonly called "the heat rising from the ground." We have also seen stars "twinkle." The heat rising from the ground is simply the confusion of the waves which reach the observer's eye after passing thru air of varying density due to varying temperature. The same thing causes the twinkling of the stars, while in reality the light from the stars is absolutely constant.

In a sense, Professor Foley has put the twinkling to a practical use. According to his own statement, the argument which first led him to undertake the experiment was as follows:

Sound waves in air are waves of con-



A sound wave taken .0002 of a second after the spark. It is growing in circumference as it travels

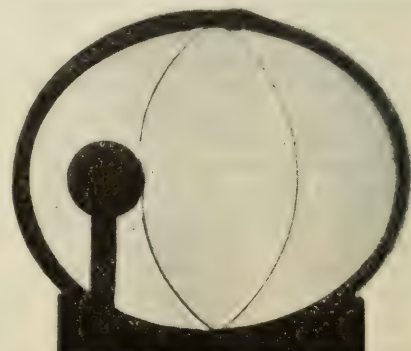
densation and refraction, that is, series of regions of varying air density. Light from a star or any point or source of light will be bent from its straight line path when it passes thru such region. Therefore, sound waves produced between a point source and a photographic plate should cast shadows on that plate. Just photograph the shadow and the work is done.

At first this seems simple and easy, but not when it is explained that, owing to the great speed of a sound wave, the light of the source or star could not last longer than the millionth part of a second, or the shadow would be blurred. Further, if the light lasts only the millionth part of a second, while it does last the light must be a thousand times as strong as the light which a camera uses when taking a picture in one thousandth of a second to give good images on the plate. Still further, one must be able to turn on that light at exactly the right time, or the sound wave will not be in the correct position with reference to the photographic plate and other apparatus.

To a large electric machine capable of giving a perfect torrent of electric sparks a foot or more in length, Professor Foley connects some Leyden jars, which act as a reservoir for the storage of electrical charges. The number of sparks produced by the machine is reduced, because the jars must be charged before a spark will pass. But when a spark does occur, the entire system is discharged, resulting in a spark of great energy, the crack of which sounds like the report of a gun. This spark is discharged thru a circuit containing two spark gaps, that is,



A sound wave reflected by an elliptical reflector. Taken .00007 of a second after spark



The same wave a little later. The original and reflected waves are symmetrical; divergent and convergent



two breaks in the circuit across which the current must pass.

One of these gaps, the one nearest the electric machine, is placed just in front of a photographic plate and when the spark passes it, generates a sound wave in front of the plate. The current then passed under the second gap, arriving there later than at the first gap. When the spark occurs at the second gap it throws on the photographic plate a shadow of the second wave that had been produced a moment before at the first gap. Thus the time interval between the sound and the light that is to photograph it is due to the time that it takes the electric current to pass from the first gap to the second gap, and can be regulated by changing the current.

## What Wilson Told the Navy

We have got to throw tradition to the wind.

Do not stop to think about what is prudent for a moment.

The amateur knows so little about it that he is fool enough to try the right thing.

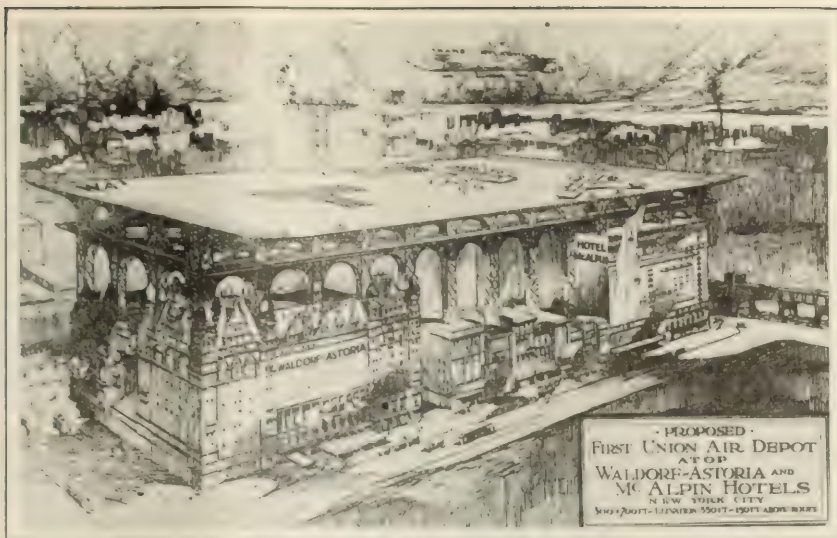
The Germans not only have no more brains than we have, but they have a different and less serviceable kind of brains.

I despair of hunting for hornets all over the sea when I know where the nest is and know that the nest is breeding hornets as fast as I can find them.



ANOTHER GREAT CARMEN

Alice Gentle has been classed by Frederic Dean, the critic, as the fifth Carmen—such is the excellence of her interpretation of the colorful daughter of Romany. "Before her," says Mr. Dean, "only four singers have proved worthy to take the 'Carmen' role: Minnie Hauck, who introduced the part to New York; Emma Calvé, the universally admired; Camille Bresler-Gianoli, the Carmen who approached nearest to the ideals of Merimée and Bizet; and Esther Ferrabini, the beautiful—and now the San Carlo Grand Opera Company has given us Miss Gentle. She brings to the part all that her predecessors did, besides her own distinctive, bizarre portrayal of the wilful, tragic gypsy



Underwood & Underwood

In less than ten years your guest to New York will, perhaps, arrive at the First Union Air Depot instead of the Grand Central or the Penn. A Brooklyn architect sketched this projected great airplane landing, which would be 150 feet above the highest points of the McAlpin and Waldorf-Astoria hotels. A floor would be utilized for hangars and parking space, and would be reached by elevators. Already the Aero Limited Company operates a successful air line passenger service with headquarters at these hotels

## The Origin of Races

By Benjamin Harrow

Darwin told us how man was evolved from the monkey, or rather, how man and monkey were evolved from one common ancestor; but Darwin offered no explanation how different races of men evolved; how, say, the types known as the European, the Chinese, and the negro developed. We have usually satisfied ourselves with such phrases as "the influence of environment," "natural selection," or "the inheritance of slowly-acquired characters." Environmental influences are important, as a moment's consideration shows. Take the Jew, who hails from Asia Minor, and who is now spread over the five continents. The Polish Jew, who has lived in Poland for three or four generations, is as unlike the English or American Jew, who has lived in these more western countries for the same period, as can well be imagined. Similarly it can be shown that natural selection and the inheritance of slowly-acquired characteristics are of importance.

Arthur Keith, a famous Scottish anthropologist, now advances a new theory to account for the negro, the Mongolic, the American and the Caucasian. Says he, men have developed into different races because their internal secretions have developed differently.

Internal secretions? you say; what new fad of the scientist may they represent?

"Internal secretions" is no fad. We know today, what we did not know so very long ago, that there are body-coördinators. The various organs of the body do not act independently, but harmoniously. The heart, the spleen, the liver, the kidney, etc., may be likened to army corps in a great army: they are parts of one great whole; and these parts are directed by generals

who in turn are in touch with one another.

The generals at the head of these army corps are five glands of internal secretion, of which the thyroid is perhaps the best known. These glands, these generals, have their staff officers who keep in touch with the other armies in the field. The scientist, ever fond of strange names, calls such subordinate officers *hormones*, which, when translated into our every-day tongue, mean *messengers*. The glands of internal secretion shape, by means of their hormones, the activities of the various organs of the body. Whether the organs fare well or otherwise, or whether they either do, or do not exhibit certain peculiarities, depends upon the skill or stupidity of the generals, the glands. Of course at the head of the entire army, the body, we have the commander-in-chief, the brain.

Professor Keith informs us that one of the five glands, the pituitary, regulates growth and is directly concerned in determining stature, cast of features, texture of skin and character of hair—all of which, as the anthropologist will tell you, are means used to classify races. And the professor reminds us that the pituitary is most prominent in the Caucasian race, where bulk of body and height of stature are noticeable.

Then we have the interstitial glands, made famous by Dr. Voronoff, of Paris, who claims, with the transplantation of these glands, to be able to renew youth. Professor Keith here again finds that these glands are most prominent in the Caucasian—more so than in the Mongol or negro type.

The suprarenal glands are active in removing much of the pigments of the skin—which explains why the Euro-



pean is so much fairer than his darker brothers from Africa.

But most important of all, in combining many of the properties of the other glands, is the thyroid, which, according to Professor Keith, influences growth and several racial characteristics—hair, skin, skull, jaws, cheekbone, nose, eyes, stature, speech and temperament.

We may add that not only do these glands probably play the part Professor Keith assigns to them, but that much of our general well-being is dependent upon their normal behavior. If for any reason one or more of these glands get out of gear a variety of diseases, all marked by decided physical disfigurement, make their appearance. Depending upon the gland that misbehaves, our physician may call the disease such awful names as acromegaly, gigantism, dwarfism, cretinism, myxedema, and so on.



International

#### A FALSE ALARM

"It's nothing but knitting, smartie," says the girl stenographer to the United States Coast Guardsman protecting the New York Customs House from a bomb explosion that didn't explode

## A Woman's Parliament

Most woman suffragists are not really woman suffragists at all. They are just *human* suffragists and support women's right to vote "along with the rest," not on the ground that women are women but simply on the ground that they are citizens and taxpayers. But Alice Heyman, a Belgian suffrage leader, has another idea. She says that when women vote they usually vote for men so that the peculiar feminine point of view gets very little representation in legislative bodies. She insists that "The only logical and just method for women to acquire equal representation and authority is to split the present parliaments into two houses, one composed of men representatives and the

other of women. Every measure would have to be passed by both houses in order to become effective."

If this rule were applied in the United States, instead of a House of Representatives and a Senate, there would be a House of Men Legislators and a House of Women Legislators. How the President would be divided up it is hard to see, unless we adopted the Roman device and had two consuls for our chief executive. But that difficulty does not exist in countries like England and Belgium where the Ministry is chosen from the houses of Parliament and could be so selected as to represent both, and where the supreme head of the state is a King whose Queen shares his rank and dignity and something of his authority. In fact, anyone who plays chess or cards knows that a Queen is not safely ignorable.

## Hors d'Oeuvre

Edison subscribes for fifty-two technical and commercial magazines.

\*\*\*

Delaware has the lowest average elevation of any state in the Union.

\*\*\*

Arkansas produces nine-tenths of the aluminum ore (bauxite) mined in the United States.

\*\*\*

Mount Mitchell, in North Carolina, is the highest point of land in the United States east of the Rockies.

\*\*\*

The Supreme Court of Maine has decided that a woman need not tell her age to be a voter, so long as she is "over 21."

\*\*\*

During the war the Government bought 945,000 army saddles for 104,000 cavalry horses. How long does a saddle last your horse?

\*\*\*

Eight new military airplanes have been formally "blessed" by the ecclesiastical authorities at the aerodrome of Zeluan, in Spanish Africa.

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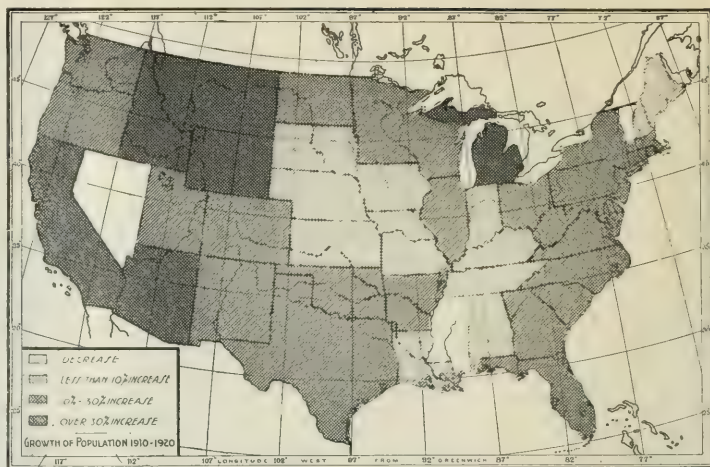
There are 4700 miles of streets in New York City. In other words a stroll from New York to Petrograd would be no longer than a walk thru all the city streets.

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There are in New York City five buildings more than 500 feet high, the Woolworth Building, 791 feet; the Metropolitan Life, 700 feet; the Singer, 612 feet; the Municipal, 560 feet, and the Bankers Trust, 539 feet.

\*\*\*

London is still the largest city in the world, since her population was 6,276,753 in 1917, while that of New York was 5,621,151 in January last, but should the metropolitan district population, 7,700,000, be considered. New York would lead.



## How the States Stand

The 1920 census does not change the rank of the first six states; they still rank in this order: New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, Texas and Massachusetts. But Michigan has displaced Missouri as the seventh state and California, which ranked twelfth in 1910, now comes in the eighth place, followed by Missouri and New Jersey. These ten states contain more than half the population of the entire forty-eight.

But perhaps the rate of increase of population during the last decade is of greater interest than the absolute population of the states. The accompanying map shows this rate. There appears a general tendency towards rapid increase in the Far West balanced by another concentration around the great cities of the Atlantic seaboard and the Great Lakes, with a sort of "low pressure area" over the agricultural region of the Mississippi Valley. The Pacific and Rocky Mountain states grew more gradually than in some past decades, but all of them with the single and striking exception of Nevada (which shows an actual decrease of population since 1910) had a population increase of more than one-tenth. The banner state of the Union was Arizona with an increase of 63.1 per cent, or not far short of two-thirds. In the east only Michigan and the District of Columbia increased by more than thirty per cent; the phenomenal industrial expansion of Detroit accounting for the one and the enlargement of Federal activities during the war for the other. But Ohio, New Jersey and Connecticut passed the twenty per cent mark. All of the southeastern states, with Florida in the lead, showed a fair rate of increase, but the lower Mississippi valley made a poor record and the state of Mississippi showed a falling off. Northern New England contrasted strongly with the growth of the industrial centers of southern New England. Maine and New Hampshire were almost stationary and Vermont failed to maintain the population of 1910. Summing up, there is no general rush to east, west, north or south; but everywhere a rush from country to city with the growth of each state practically dependent on the growth of its cities.



## The Metals of the Future

In Edwin Eckel's interesting book on industrial mineralogy, *Coal, Iron and War*, there is a comparative table of the common commercial metals to show the relation of present output to the real abundance of these metals in available ores, according to the estimate of geologists. In each case gold is taken as the unit of comparison, because gold is the rarest and costliest of the principal commercial metals (tho not so rare and expensive as some recently discovered metallic elements which have a limited or specialized use in industry):

Metal	Natural abundance	Annual output	Cheapness
Gold .....	1	1	1
Silver .....	20	12	34
Lead .....	4,000	1,700	6,700
Zinc .....	8,000	1,460	5,400
Copper .....	15,000	1,470	2,000
Nickel .....	46,000	49	750
Iron .....	8,800,000	115,000	40,000
Aluminum ..	15,680,000	117	1,500

It will be noticed that there exists a rough parallelism between the annual output of a metal and its cheapness in the market. This is to be expected, since the rarity of a metal in its finished form is one of the chief determining causes of its value; if gold, for instance, were as abundantly produced as iron it would be as cheap, perhaps even cheaper since iron is more essential to industry. On the other hand the output of the commercial metals differs very widely from their estimated natural abundance.

This may be due to any of several causes. The natural abundance of the metals is, after all, a matter of guesswork to some extent and the figures in this column cannot be considered as

accurate as the statistics for annual output and cost. In the second place, some metals, such as gold and silver, are so highly valued that they are eagerly sought after and their annual production is thus much greater than their natural abundance would warrant. In the third place some very common metals, such as aluminum, occur mainly in ores from which it is a difficult and costly process to extract the metal. Lead, on the other hand, is easily obtained as a by-product in the mining or refining of other metals such as silver and zinc. Its output therefore ranks next to that of iron and it is very cheap even in relation to output, altho not so abundant in nature as several other metals.

But even when allowance is made for all these considerations, it is evident that nickel and aluminum have a great future before them. New applications are being discovered for them every year and there is no danger of their ores "running short," as is the case of

some metals now prominent in industry. Copper is already costly and may in the future become so much more costly than aluminum that the latter metal will be substituted for the former in electric wiring. Aluminum may also replace tin for kitchenware and even for the "tin" (tinned iron) can. Altho Eckel does not include tin in his comparative table, he puts it among the naturally scarce metals and predicts that its price will soon rise very sharply owing to the exhaustion of the chief sources of supply. When the most "popular" metals are used up in modern industry substitutes will be brought in to play and these will be the metals most widely distributed in nature.



REPAIRING LIVE WIRES BARE-HANDED

The apparatus above has been developed to safeguard the lives of those working on repair jobs on high voltage circuits. The other advantages are obvious; doing away with clumsy, heavy tools and maintaining constant electric service for homes and factories

## Handling Live Wires

One of the bugaboos of the lineman's daily work has always been the great danger attending repair work on high voltage circuits which are hot or in which the current is still running. For maintaining a line of wires serving homes, farms and industries in a high state of efficiency every precaution must be taken to safeguard the lives of those working on repair jobs as well as to maintain a constant service. Service is reduced appreciably if it is found that every time a repair job is necessary on high voltage circuits the only thing to do is to shut off the power

for a length of time. Factories will find their machinery unproductive, household duties will be unaccomplished during such intervals and in many ways losses of production and waste of money may be traced to inadequacy of equipment for repairs.

But now an apparatus has been developed so that repair work on hot lines may be performed with bare hands in safety and the long cumbersome insulated tools of yesterday are a thing of the past. The safety staging used with this apparatus is made from carefully selected hard wood which is submitted to a special drying and impregnating process. After the staging has been properly placed the man enters it and by doing so has placed between himself and the pole or steel tower an insulating medium which is capable of withstanding several hundred thousand volts. Guards for preventing any possibility of accidental contact with a grounded arm, guy wire or other phase of the circuit are provided. The man is free to touch the hot line at any time now. Other than a slight "zip" similar to a static discharge there is no discomfort to the worker in grasping the line. As the staging is about 90 per cent wood it has no capacity with the result that as soon as the man's body takes its charge there is no further sensation.

It is claimed that satisfactory results may be obtained up to 110,000 volts and the manufacturers expect to extend this limit with further improvements in the methods of drying and impregnating the wood used in the staging.

Insulators may be changed and tested and the entire pole top may be rebuilt in perfect safety by using this apparatus. Any job which has ever been done on a 2500 volt line can be done on higher voltage lines.



© Brown & Danson

Built on a rocky plateau in the dry hill country of southern Palestine, Jerusalem, "City of Peace," depends for its shade not upon trees but upon deep limestone recesses which hold what little moisture there is in the air and offer sanctuary from the blinding heat of the main thoroughfare. In ancient times a brook flowed down the Valley of Kidron, which separates Jerusalem from the ridge of the Mount of Olives, but today there is only one known spring within the city limits, that of the "Fountain of the Virgin" on the western side of the Kidron valley



# Lizzie Likes Her Job

(Continued from page 184)

The management of Joseph & Feiss found that inequalities in pay among their workers rankled even more than the fact of larger pay elsewhere. The girls who felt that they were discriminated against lost interest in their work; they talked, and the dissatisfaction which resulted lowered the morale of the shop.

Justice, then, is one of the motives which needs to be measured. Instead of leaving the hiring, firing and promotion to forty different foremen with forty different standards and all manner of prejudices and favoritisms, a single department, the Employment and Service Department, with a single standard for all workers, supervises relationship between the company and its employees. An open channel to the manager thru their own elected representative provides the machinery for hearing complaints. With the removal of all signs of inequality and discrimination, providing the same measure of rewards for all employees, the dissatisfaction of Miss Lizzie Meyers and her kind disappears.

It was recognized that work must be paid for in accordance with the difficulty involved, the skill required, the degree of agreeableness or disagreeableness and the importance. The management further recognized that the basic amount to be paid was a question for bargaining, since judgment as to difficulty or disagreeableness or importance varies with the individual. So they arrived thru investigation and discussion at what was believed to be a fair wage per hour for each kind of work. In 1914, the average for men—excepting cutters, markers and trimmers—was \$13.35 per week. In 1918 the average was \$24.37. In 1919, it was \$28.09. Women's average earnings were \$9.28 in 1914, \$15.90 in 1918, and \$18.25 in 1919. These are actual earnings determined by dividing the total annual earnings by fifty-two; and so include vacation week, sickness, and any shutdown or lay-off. The earnings for markers, cutters and trimmers are appreciably higher.

Suppose we say that a coat baster should receive 60 cents per hour. But on the amount of work to be done to earn the 60 cents, the firm was not willing to bargain. This was not a matter of judgment or higgling; it was a matter for measurement. An actual test showed how many operations could be performed in an hour. Allowance is made for interruptions, personal needs and the like, and a standard performance determined. Thus while Miss Lizzie Meyers might have produced fourteen basted coats in an hour, due allowance would lower the amount set as a standard, let us say to ten. The rate of pay then becomes six cents per garment, and the standard worker, producing her ten garments per hour, earns the agreed-upon sixty cents.

The worker who actually meets the

standard, however, is given additional compensation in the shape of a 20 per cent "production bonus," and she would earn seventy-two cents instead of sixty cents. The company states that at the present time over 70 per cent of the workers are making the production bonus regularly.

There is also a "quality bonus." For each kind of work there is determined a maximum number of rejections to be allowed the worker, the number depending upon the speed and kind of operation. If the worker exceeds this schedule, that is, falls below the standard of quality required, she is paid no quality bonus. If she reaches or passes the standard she is paid a bonus up to 10 per cent of her earnings for perfect performance. She need not maintain the standard continuously to earn a bonus, but is paid a bonus for the aggregate of the hours for which she attains or exceeds the standard.

In order to keep the workers interested in pursuing the prize the management helps them to qualify in skill, or to find the kind of work for which their natural aptitude will fit them. A business-like young woman, who has the position of supervisor of production, keeps in close touch with the workers all day, encouraging, helping where she can.

College trained women fill many of the executive positions. The management has learned that the higher type of executive, with the necessary ability and the mind trained to gauge human motives, is often developed more easily from the product of the college classroom than from the ranks of experienced operatives in the industry. Given the same opportunity, and possessing the perseverance essential to acquiring practical experience, the college-trained aspirant is likely to win out.

**T**HE worker during the first weeks of employment is likely to become discouraged, and if paid by the piece would not earn enough to pay her board for several weeks. To meet this discouragement, the management divides the pay of the worker into two parts, called the "Retainer" and the "Expectancy." Suppose a girl is put on an operation worth fifty cents per hour. Being a beginner she is not expected to produce the amount of work which would entitle her to the pay, but she is expected to earn part of it. So they pay her, let us say, thirty cents per hour for a "retainer" and expect her to earn twenty cents at the piece rate for that operation. The twenty cents is called "expectancy," and is earned in whole or part as the worker measures up to the learning standard. As the worker progresses the "retainer" goes down and the "expectancy" increases, that is, the guaranteed rate decreases and the standard of performance is raised.

The same method is used when a girl is taught a new operation. For,

mind you, the management is bent upon having every worker familiar with several operations, so that the absence of a worker does not prevent her operation from being performed. This scheme makes possible the balancing of all departments so that the flow of work is continuous and regular in quantity: which would not be the case if department A were fully manned while department B had only one-half its force at work.

The worker, while being taught this new operation, is not penalized for loss of production, but is given a "retainer" to compensate for the possible loss. Again, increasing familiarity with the operation reduces the "retainer" and increases the "expectancy." This "retainer" is in effect an instruction bonus.

An "attendance bonus" invokes regularity and helps to keep the productive machinery balanced. For each unbroken consecutive day of work the worker gets a bonus of fifty cents. For each absence, she fails to make the fifty cents attendance bonus for the first day following the absence. Thus, if Lizzie Meyers worked on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, she received fifty cents bonus for each day. But if she is absent on Thursday, works on Friday and also on Saturday, she loses her Thursday bonus, by reason of being absent on that day, and loses also her Friday bonus, the first day of her attendance, but earns her bonus on Saturday.

There is additional inducement offered in the "excuse bonus." It may be that Lizzie was sick on Thursday and called up the firm before nine in the morning; or she may have had to stay home and help with the washing, or wanted to go to a funeral, and knowing this, secured an excuse from her foreman and the Service Department. Or she may have gone home without completing the day's work, but secured an excuse for her absence. In any of these cases half of her attendance bonus is given her on Friday, that is, the "excuse bonus" nets her twenty-five cents.

Economic superiority, especially if it is earned, provides basis for social standing in the group. The aristocrats of this body of workers are the people who have served many years, earn regularly the production bonus and quality bonus, and are able to perform a large number of operations. The badge of superiority in each instance is not a blue ribbon, or the listing of a name at the head of a typewritten sheet, but cold cash. It has its physical counterpart in clothes, hats, shoes; a higher standard of living.

What if these workers could be made to feel that every day in the service of Joseph & Feiss made more certain provision for their old age; if they could be convinced that long service with the company, instead of exploiting them of their youth and





## Convenience and Protection

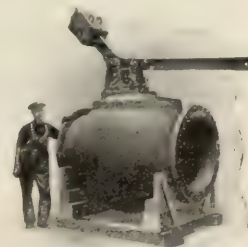
Facility in selecting and obtaining the complete fixtures and other materials needed for any heating or sanitation system is not the only advantage afforded to owners, architects and contractors by the Crane line. Convenience is supplemented by the protection that results from one central source of supply, and one high standard of quality.

## Anything for Any Pipe-Line

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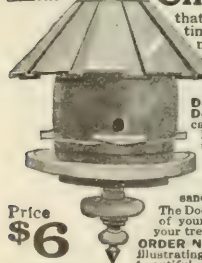
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strength, leaving them worn out and useless in their old age, would guarantee provision against want and suffering?

The "service bonus" does it. For each year of service the worker gets a bonus of five cents per day, up to thirty years of service, beyond which time the rate does not increase, altho the payment continues. Lizzie Meyers has now been with the company for four years, and is getting a service bonus of twenty cents per day, paid every day, in addition to the other bonuses she earns.

But this bonus is not to be wasted, and the company reserves the right to deposit the bonus, agreeing to turn over the bank book when the employee leaves the service. It is intended to be educational towards thrift. In effect it is similar to a pension fund, but has the advantage of being actually seen to grow with each pay period out of the employee's own steadfastness, instead of mysteriously appearing out of the company's benevolence upon the incapacity or old age of the worker.

There is still another bonus. The management is not content with having measured economic desire, esteem, desire for justice, security of employment, power and dignity, pleasantness of work, congeniality of the group, merely for the sake of greater production and steadiness of service. It also utilizes these to forestall termination of service. If the worker has decided to leave she can secure her pay up to the minute that she quits. But if she gives notice of her intention to leave she gets a bonus of a day's pay for each week of notice up to six weeks' notice. Six weeks' notice would entitle her to an extra week's pay, when leaving, but it would give the firm that much time to adjust its organization, and to discover whether any solution may be found which will make it possible for the worker to remain. It is surprising how easily personal difficulties may be surmounted when an experienced person analyzes them.

But the very backbone of this whole system of measurement is the piece-rate system—the system which has probably received as general condemnation by organized labor as any one method of wage measurement. Under it have developed the evils of rate-cutting, speeding-up, the tenseness of application which so often exact heavy toll, physical and mental, of the worker. And here we have the piece-rate system probably as highly refined as it will be found anywhere in the country. There is not merely a simple measurement of wages by piece production, but additional measurement for bonus, quality, attendance, length of service, promptness and notice of resignation.

On the other hand the evils that usually accompany the piece-rate system are decidedly mitigated. The low rate of turnover shows it. The operatives are required to work only forty-four hours a week, as short a period as will be found for regular day work anywhere. The speeding-up which be-

comes really serious only for long work periods is thus ameliorated by the shortness of the working hours. If a division completes its task before the day is done the girls can go home; and many of them finish before 5 o'clock.

Systematic organization of their time, the avoidance of delays in getting work to the operatives, the occasional rising from a sitting posture to walking over and getting fresh batches of work, the manifest effort of the management to maintain exact justice—make for contentment and increased productivity and earning power.

They are paid well; the rates once made are not cut unless some mechanical improvement or change of task justifies the cut and causes the worker no loss. The company provides a lunch room with wholesome food at low cost, rest room, visiting nurse, a dispensary.

But the crowning stroke in the use of motive measurement and bonus incentives is the play hour. We watched them at play. The stout woman at the end of the line slipped the loop about her waist and strained her weight against the rope. Twenty other married women in front of her laid strong hands on the rope and dug their feet into the ground, while on the other half of the rope twenty-one unmarried women strained in the opposite direction. A signal from the umpire and the tug-of-war was on. Mixed in the crowd, hatless and coatless like the rest, cheering and laughing and finally wiping the beads of perspiration from his face, the manager of the factory could scarcely have been recognized as the same man who had talked to us on his philosophy of management for several hours the day before.

Today it was a tug-of-war, tomorrow it will be baseball, day after tomorrow something else; but every day it is something, and the management takes the opportunity to achieve a common footing with the rest of the organization. Nowhere else have we found either such minute measurement of motives in terms of pecuniary incentive, or such careful attention toward preventing any ill-effects that are often charged against it. The management is thoroughly convinced that motive measurement and bonus incentive, as applied in their organization, has the opposite of ill-effects. We figure the reason to be, that they do not leave it to operate itself like a machine once wound up and let go, but the whole management is always on the job attending every minute to the wear and tear of the system, and improving it at any point as soon as a defect appears. Little points which we found in August were not there the following March. Improvements made in March, 1920, were just beginning to be thought of the preceding August. Even yet, they tell us, much remains to be done. Theirs is, indeed, the greatest experimental laboratory of industrial psychology that we have found in America.

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# How to Study This Number

## THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

### English, Literature and Composition

#### I. Why We Want the League of Nations.

1. Write a "brief" or outline scheme for this article and show how the argument is developed.
2. How does the opening, with a quotation from an enemy statesman, add to the effectiveness of the article?
3. Using Mr. McCurdy's article as a basis write in narrative form, and as if it had actually happened, a short history of the organization of a League of Nations in 1913 and how it dealt with the Austrian-Serbian crisis the following year.

#### II. Remembering.

1. This article ought to inspire you to write a poem. Entitle it "The Old Camp" and make it such length and in such form as your muse requires of you. If you like the result, get a group of your friends (or a class of students) to do the same and then pass in their verses and have them read aloud without announcing the name of the writer so that the group or class will feel free to criticize.
2. This reflective, retrospective type of essay is a favorite with many writers. Try something like it on another subject, such as "The Deserted House," "The Old School," or "Revisiting My Home Town."

#### III. Lizzie Likes Her Job.

1. Write three letters from "Miss Lizzie Meyers" in the factory to a girl friend in another town. The first letter should be written as on the first day of her employment; the factory is new to her and she is not ready to believe all she hears about it. The second letter may be dated about a month later and the third four years later.
2. Condense and rewrite the article as a newspaper interview. You are the reporter and are summarizing what Professor Commons says about the factory he has just visited. Limit yourself in advance to a definite number of words and see if you can get all the important points within this limit. If so, you may have the makings of a journalist in you.

#### IV. The Town Meeting Talks Back. Have Our Cities Grown too Fast?

1. Write a short and sparkling essay on the advantages of country life and sign it the "Country Mouse"; or, if you prefer, write an essay on "Why Boys Leave the Farm" and sign it the "Town Mouse."
2. What qualities in the letters here published, do you think, led us to pick them out? Which seem the best to you? Notice how the personal, concrete touch and the element of human interest is prominent in most of these letters, as it was in Mr. Crowell's article.

#### V. The Unveiling of Victoria.

1. Write a short descriptive sketch of Queen Victoria based on the material in this article.
2. Who was "Titania"?
3. Define the following words: jingo, sycophantic, thwart, cynical, mawkish, wily, minaret.
4. Why does Dr. Slosson call the quotation from Lord Beaconsfield's letter to Queen Victoria on her birthday "skilful trowel-work"?
5. What is Matthew Arnold's place in English literature? Name some of his more important works.
6. What stories by Rudyard Kipling are based upon England's policy toward Russia during the reign of Queen Victoria?

#### VI. The Story of the Week.

1. Assign the chief subjects in the foreign news of the week to different speakers and let each one be prepared to talk four minutes on his theme.
2. Does it seem unusual to you that so many men of prominence have announced their decision to "bolt" their regular party at the election this year? Write a short article on the significance of this trend in our party politics.
3. Give a short talk for a Sunday School on the fact that the famous Centre College football team always prays together before going out on the field to play a game.

### History, Civics and Economics

#### I. The League of Nations Issue—Why We Want the League of Nations. The Root of the Matter. Cardinal Gibbons Favors League. Senator Reed Bolts. Cox Tours the East.

1. Mr. McCurdy expresses the opinion that the League of Nations might have prevented the Great War. Study the Covenant of the League in the light of the situation created by Austria's ultimatum to Serbia in 1914 and write a brief summary of the manner in which the situation could have been handled to prevent war. Suppose Germany and Austria had persisted in going to war in spite of the intervention of the League. What steps would the League nations have been obliged to take? In what ways might action thru the League have shortened the war?
2. Point out common elements in the arguments for the League by Mr. McCurdy and by Cardinal Gibbons. Why did the Pope give his sanction to the League?
3. What objection does Mr. Root have to the League as at present constituted? In what respects is he more favorable to the League than Senator Reed or Senator Johnson?
4. Both Senator Harding and Governor Cox promise to consult prominent men and women who have studied the question before they announce definitely what reservations must be made to the Covenant or how the League is to be remade into a new "association of nations." Suppose that you were elected President under such pledges. Name a committee of fifteen American citizens, including at least five members of the Senate, with whom you would consult.

#### II. The Cityward Movement of Population—Have Our Cities Grown Too Fast? How the States Stand. The Town Meeting Talks Back.

1. "For the first time in the history of our country urban population is larger than rural." What other important nations are mainly urban and industrial? Which are still mainly agricultural?
2. What causes have existed during the last ten years to intensify this movement to the cities in the United States?
3. What big towns or cities in your state have shown marked increases in population during the last ten years? Are you personally acquainted with a rural district which has "gone backward"?
4. What advantages of village and small town life are pointed out in the "town meeting" letters? How can these advantages be developed and emphasized to halt the cityward drift of population?

#### III. Factory Management—Lizzie Likes Her Job.

1. What kinds of bonus are granted in the Joseph & Feiss factory? What is the purpose of each?
2. Why does organized labor generally object to "piece rate" as a basis for wages payments? How are these objections met where "Lizzie" works?

#### IV. English History—The Unveiling of Victoria.

1. Why was British policy hostile to Russia during the nineteenth century? What caused the change in the relations between Russia and England which resulted in the "triple entente"?
2. Show by means of a map why Disraeli and Queen Victoria thought that Russian expansion in the Balkans and in central Asia endangered the security of India. Could modern Bolshevik Russia be a danger in the same way?
3. Why does a constitutional sovereign like Queen Victoria take more interest in foreign than in domestic politics and intervene more freely with regard to them?

#### V. The American Constitution—Is the Constitution Efficient?

1. Why did the makers of the American constitution emphasize so much the "checks and balances" of different departments of government on each other? What similar features does your state constitution show?
2. What is "parliamentary government"? How does it differ from the American system? Which form is followed by the Latin American republics and which by the recently established republics of central Europe?
3. Which of the remedies suggested to overcome deadlocks between the President and Congress appeals to you as the most practical? Why?



## Have Our Cities Grown Too Fast?

(Continued from page 183)

is raised thru the hand method of production. The tractor, the riding plow and the chopper are just beginning to be considered by the cotton farmer, while the cotton picker is still in the process of invention. While labor was plentiful and the industries held out little in the way of competition for it, the hand method of farming could be relied upon to produce enough for all the people of the country with a surplus for export, but with industries offering from five to ten dollars per day for ordinary labor, thus draining the farm of its best labor and unduly increasing the price of such as remains, it cannot be wondered at that even with wheat at \$2.50 per bushel and cotton at 40 cents per pound, the profits of the farm are not such as to bring the farmer within the excess profit taxpaying class of our people, nor is it to be wondered at either that the city consumer of these products should consider the price he pays as unwarranted.

If the agriculture of the country has been slow to adopt the use of labor saving machinery, it is equally true that in many sections of the country it has been as equally slow in the use of improved livestock, in the utilization of the most modern methods of soil preparation and conservation, in the utilization of commercial fertilizer and in the use of better seed and the better methods of cultivation, gathering and marketing, all of which must be reckoned with as prime factors in a lower cost of production.

If our method of farming has been slow to move away from a primitive state, the modernization of our rural surroundings has been equally slow and for the same reason. If only a fraction of a per cent of the farm homes of the country are blessed with fireless cookers, if less than 20 per cent of such homes have in them running water or artificial lights, if only a small per cent of the farm dwellings are painted or have within them anything approaching what might be called a library or paintings or carpets or music, if a majority of our farms are wanting either in drainage or irrigation to bring the maximum yields and if a majority of our farm boys and girls chafe under these conditions and vow solemnly at the first opportunity to quit them, we can always, as a rule, trace the condition to the same cause, namely: a lack either of sufficient capital or of adequate credit. The average farmer is not only sensible but thoughtful of his family. He will not, if he can help it, put in three days with his own hands if the same amount of work may be accomplished in one with labor saving machinery, nor will he force his helpmeet to work on an average during the summer months of 13.7 hours per day if these hours might be reduced by the installation of running water



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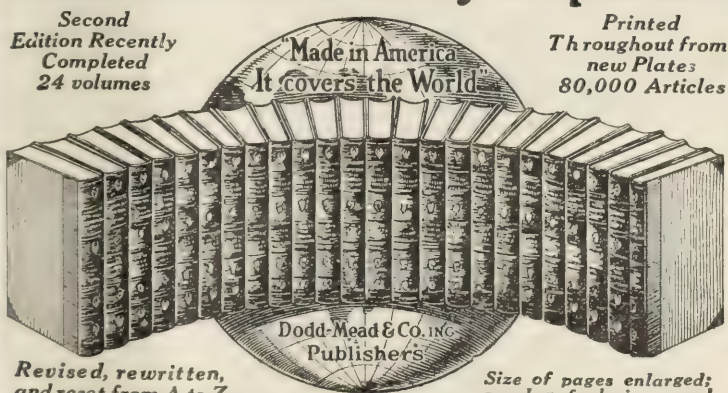
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or of modern conveniences in the kitchen. If such a condition exists it is due to the fact that he has not the money with which to provide these labor saving devices both for himself and for his wife, and your man of the city is vitally interested in these things because every family that leaves the farm and goes to the city reduces by one the productive forces of the country and increases by one the consumptive forces of the country, with a result which is inevitable always.

The greatest need of agriculture today is a larger and more accessible credit. This fact was not realized until within the last decade when students very suddenly awoke to it and then began the agitation for legislation which should recognize this as a fundamental fact. The agitation resulting from this discovery eventuated finally in the passage of the Farm Loan Act on July 17, 1916, which undertakes among other things to provide capital for agricultural purposes at low rates of interest and upon easy terms of repayment. This law has been in active operation approximately three years and within that time has loaned to about 126,000 farmers approximately \$360,000,000 at from 5 to 5½ per cent interest upon a thirty-four year basis of annual or semi-annual repayments. Thru the system when it was temporarily halted there was being loaned from twelve to fifteen million dollars per month upon these terms and while it is found that the first loans made thru the system were devoted largely to the purpose of liquidating existing indebtedness, it is encouraging to note that a larger per cent of the later loans are being devoted either to the purchase of labor saving machinery or for the improvement of the home or for purposes other than the liquidation of existing indebtedness. It is believed that this tendency will increase with time and that it should be of the utmost importance to the future of our rural life. It is as important, perhaps more so, that farm surroundings should be pleasant, that farm methods should be modern, as that the farm itself should be free of mortgage, and this is especially true when the mortgage is of the kind, such as we have in the Farm Loan system, that cannot be foreclosed so long as the mortgagor meets his interest and amortization payments when due. Under a system of this kind not only is it possible for the young man to buy a farm, but it is possible likewise for him to improve it and its surroundings without any thought that one disastrous crop may result in foreclosure. A farmer operating under such a system of credit can do the things already indicated which make for increased profits to himself as well as reduced costs to the consumer of his products.

The operation of the Farm Loan Act is conclusive of the fact that the problem of long term credit for agricultural purposes has been practically met and the future management of the system will concern itself largely with matters of expediting loans and

of bringing to public attention the advantages which the system offers to the farm borrowers.

The inauguration of a system of long term credits where the collateral consists of lands and insured buildings was not so difficult as will be the inauguration of processes thru which farmers will be enabled to have access to short term credits to carry them thru the growing as well as the marketing season of their crops. Perhaps the greatest loss which agriculture suffers, and this reflects itself in rural discontent, resulting in the diminution of rural population, resulting again in higher costs of the necessities of life to the city dweller, is to be found in the present disorderly method of crop marketing. It takes about nine months to grow and gather any of the staple crops such as cotton, corn and wheat. Of course, it takes longer to grow livestock, especially cattle. These same crops are largely marketed during a period of from three to four months. The natural consequence is a heavy strain upon the finances of the country, its transportation facilities, and its immediate consumptive power. The orderly method of marketing farm products over a period of nine months instead of three would of necessity inure largely to the benefit of the producer. Such an orderly system is impossible without an easy access upon the part of the farmer to credits extending over such a period. Section 13 of the Federal Reserve Act recognizes this necessity and provides that member banks may discount agricultural paper of a six months' maturity when such paper has back of it as collateral warehouse receipts issued by accredited warehouses. As a supplement to the provisions of Section 13, the Federal Warehouse Act was passed which provides for a system of licensed warehouses operating under Federal regulations and inspection for staple agricultural products. If there existed in this country an adequate system of elevators and warehouses for the cereals and cotton and if the farmers could be induced thru educational campaigns to store their products, taking warehouse receipts as collateral with which to obtain credits for the purpose of carrying the crops, the problem of short term credits would be measurably solved. Along with such a system of warehousing would of necessity go the formation of selling agencies managed by trained business men, together with the formation of export corporations which should serve the purpose of making a more direct contact between producers and the ultimate consumers of farm products. The building up of such agencies for the staple products should result in the creation of a system of marketing which should bring to the farmer the largest possible profits and at the same time carry to the consumer farm products at the lowest possible cost.

These problems, it must be repeated, are just as vital to the man of the city as they are to the man of the farm.

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## Why We Want the League of Nations

(Continued from page 180)

mitted, not only against the people that is assailed, but against the whole community of nations. In this view it is just as much the duty of other nations to prevent the invasion or spoliation of a weak state as it is the duty of an individual citizen to interfere where a crime of violence is being committed.

In any case we are all quite agreed that the conduct of international relations which made possible if not inevitable the war of 1914 leaves much to be desired. Some coöperation to prevent future wars is clearly imperative. To that policy of coöperation the somewhat vague phrase "A League of Nations" has become attached. We have to construct such machinery as we can; we need the assistance of all powers to make it as satisfactory as is humanly possible.

London

## Remembering

(Continued from page 181)

first to the camp. That thrill, that enthusiasm, that lofty notion that the country was greater than the man, and that if it demanded all he was ready to give all; give it because it was his country and it asked; it was that that made the American soldier splendid, that made the American army magnificent. Was that not the thing which would save America and make her again, not the slave of her own desires, but the servant of the oppressed over all the world?

I do not believe in ghosts, but there are things in life which are not seen. And they came to me there beside the empty flagstaff, to assure me that those echoes had not wholly died, that the spirit that then made America great was not dead but sleeping. This camp and scores like it thru the land had been the breeding places of a spirit which we had laid aside for the moment as we had laid aside the khaki that then we wore, but which we had not forgotten. Here boys had come from great homes and simple homes, and endured hardships and toil when a great cause challenged. Here they had sweated and sworn under hot summer suns thru long hours of drill, here they had been wet and cold when the snow lay heavy on the camp and the north wind blew. And from this place they had swung out in long straight ranks fit and ready for their task, while the sleepy guards saluted and the midnight stars looked down. And over wide seas they had gone, peril infested seas, to do the deed whose worth only the years shall tell. And so I turned away content, and took my course back to the big gates. The gods of the market-place might hold America for awhile, but they could not hold it always. Not a land for which such boys had died, and in which as veterans they still lived.

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## The Town Meeting Talks Back

(Continued from page 185)

lege of "having permission to die without being noticed by my neighbors," rather than in my small town home surrounded by these dreadful neighbors?

MRS. JAMES R. POMEROY

Stuart, Florida

La' now Mr. Crowell! How you do lam-baste us millions o' "just folk" for not livin' in New York. It just made me think o' last fall when I was down with the flu'. What would I a' done in a city, with no Miz Simpson to run across to take keer o' me and no Miz Hughes to send over rich chicken broth and milk toast, to say nothin' o' Jack Martin a robbin' his ever bearin' patch, to fetch me a dish o' strawberries. Yes, maybe us small town folks does take a lot o' frin'ly interurst in one another, tho it may seem to you like pryin' into folks' business. Anyhow, nobody ever starves or freezes to death—we don't let 'em.

WILLA HARBERT CHATT

Tekamah, Nebraska

Most of our correspondents resent the implication that ethical standards in business and social life are lower in the country districts than in the city:

The villages in which I have lived always reminded me of a large half-grown family. There are the same petty quarrels and fusses, the same jealousy and nipping selfishness, the same "nosiness." Yet there is also the bonds of brotherhood, the mutual helpfulness, the kind sympathy. The former elements are upon the surface of village life, the latter lie deep and are therefore unnoticed by the casual observer. And as for the "shrewd skinflint whose piety is part of his stock in trade" he does not exist outside the active mind of Mr. Crowell and sundry other gentlemen who sometimes get their absurd scenarios accepted by motion picture concerns.

If Mr. Crowell knew his psychology better he would know why cities cheer and throw their hats away. Villages may be moved just as deeply but their nerves are steadier. Omaha, Nebraska, and Duluth, Minnesota, afford evidences of what happens when Mr. Cityman's hat-throwing proclivities get started in another direction. As for the "game" which the bankers and brokers play by juggling foodstuffs and other vital necessities, is it any wonder that some of us hicks out in the long grass think of them as equipped with horns, hoofs and spearhead tails?

ELIHU MEAD

Jeffers, Minnesota

Some readers, especially in the Eastern states, regard Mr. Crowell's Texas experience as insufficient to permit of broad generalizations as to country life in the nation at large:

The charm of Mr. Crowell's article on villages lies in its trait of youth which is a characteristic also of towns in newly developed states like Texas. It is natural that towns of the older East have acquired the beauties of maturity. Youth and maturity—both have their attractions, but are not to be found in the same unit.

JAMES RITCHIE

Pores Knob, North Carolina

The village people are not money mad and they want success and they have it. They have all kinds of societies and clubs for improvement, namely the Business Men's Club, the Young Men's Reading Rooms, Civics Clubs, Women's Equality and Political Club, Morning Musicales, Library Associations conducting traveling

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## Journalism As An Aid To History Teaching

By EDWIN E. SLOSSON, Ph.D.

Literary Editor of The Independent

Associate in the School of Journalism, Columbia University

This address, which was given before the History Section of the New York State Teachers' Association at Rochester, November 23, 1915, has been published in pamphlet form and will be furnished free to teachers.—Write to The Independent, 311 Sixth Avenue, New York.



libraries and circulating libraries provided by the state, Societies for the Relief of the Poor, and last but not least missionary classes to teach the young the need and the reason for saving pennies to educate the morally depraved in the slums of New York and other large cities that find the task of control and reform beyond their scope and their ability.

LULA E. BOWKER

Bedford Hills, New York

Crowell evidently knows Texas. We accept his description of Texas villages. We have been bored before by drawn out accounts of the wild and woolly West and Texas.

But when he paints a New York or New England village we protest. He looks thru Texas eyes and sees what he has eyes to see.

GEORGE L. GLEASON

Topsfield, Massachusetts

But there are western villages also which do not accept Mr. Crowell's description as having any application to themselves:

It seems to me that Mr. Crowell's interesting but cynical article in last week's Independent might have come from a man who has no real acquaintance with the cheerful home life, and kindly neighborliness, and the wholesome pleasures of the Western villagers. He seems not to have observed the owned-and-paid-for homes, the family car in the garage, the independent businesses, the pleasant flower gardens, the little fruit orchards, the home-grown vegetables, the strawberry bed, the good cream, fresh eggs and fried chicken; he has not seen the children rolling on the lawn, or heard the shouts of the school-boys from the baseball field.

W. C. PALMER

Jewell, Kansas

Even the hardships and limitations of village life may be blessings in disguise by making for a sturdier manhood:

The villager, lacking a variety of amusements, turns to pondering and discussing the issues of life and of the day and thus forms definite opinions. The city dweller, in his rush thru life, little heeds anything, usually taking his opinions ready made from the ubiquitous newspaper. His mode of life breeds a false content. But the villager is wanting in so many things that the villager early realizes that the world is big and holds many things not to be found in his village; hence he goes out, like Ulysses, "to strive, to seek, to find but not to yield." Tho often he does yield to the humdrum of city life.

R. A. D. MORTON

El Paso, Texas

Mr. Crowell is reminded that the great men of the cities come from the country:

No finer thing can be said for the village than that people who strive "to reach a goal" are drawn to the city, for the men of vision and character and power who make our splendid cities nearly all are produced by our villages.

O. E. TELL

Parker, South Dakota

We are very proud of our "country cousins" who have contributed their answers to Mr. Crowell and we think that the letters themselves are as good a testimonial to the intellectual benefits of country life as any of the arguments contained in them. But maybe Mr. Crowell's own wit and wisdom owes more than he suspects to the Texas village that bored him so.

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No, Ichabod, if a man prof. married a lady prof. you would not call their children prophets.—*Sun Dial*.

She—Have you made up your mind to stay in?

Her—No, I've made up my face to go out.—*Juggler*.

Millie—How did Mr. Bonds get his eldest daughter off his hands?

Clarence—By putting the man she married on his feet.—*London Opinion*.

The Girl—You make me think of Venus de Milo.

The Boy—But I have arms.

The Girl—Oh, have you?—*Voo Doo*.

Sympathetic One—Yes, in a battle of tongues, your wife can always hold her own.

Well, then, why doesn't she?—*Purple Cow*.

Noah—Was Foolish in the university follies?

Zark—Yes, he had a leading part.

Noah—Oh! What did he do?

Zark—He was an usher.—*Nebraska Argonian*.

First—When the judge ruled that Jones had to pay alimony, how did he feel about it?

Second—Chagrined.

First—How did his wife feel about it?

Second—She grinned.—*Sun Dodger*.

An untraveled countryman once treated himself to a trip to London. There for the first time in his life he saw a schoolgirl go thru her gymnastic exercises for the amusement of the little ones with whom she was playing.

After gazing at her with looks of interest and compassion for some time, he asked a boy nearby if she had fits.

"No," replied the boy; "them's gymnastics."

"Ah! how sad!" said the man. "How long's she had 'em?"—*Tit-Bits*.

## Opening Nights

*Hitchy Koo—1920*. A Raymond Hitchcock phantasmagoria of tunes and costumes. Veritable side-splitting inanity. (New Amsterdam Theater.)

*Bab*. This charming sub-debutante is familiar to us from the novel of Mary Roberts Rinehart and Helen Hayes portrays her well upon the stage. A study of the psychology of adolescence, not appreciated by girls of sixteen, but enjoyed by their elders. (Park Theater.)

*The Skin Game*, by John Galsworthy, shows the English playwright at his tragic best. The rivalry between an old English county family and a self-made manufacturer deepens in bitterness until honorable men and women on both sides are horrified to realize the depths to which the contest has sunk. In showing how easily righteous indignation may degenerate into malicious hate Mr. Galsworthy perhaps implies a warning to nations as well as individuals, but, if so, he leaves the moral to the audience. (Bijou Theater.)

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## Remarkable Remarks

WALTER CAMP—What means all this secret practice?

MRS. VINCENT ASTOR—I do not think clothes take much time

MRS. CALVIN COOLIDGE—We have two boys who are not spoiled.

MARY PICKFORD FAIRBANKS—I always like men who use perfume.

REV. E. S. SYNOTT—I once put a wedding ring on a lady's thumb.

NOVELIST JANE BURR—I believe in love, but it only lasts eight years.

SENATOR HARDING—Don't be distressed about the so-called Senate oligarchy.

PRESIDENT ARTHUR T. HADLEY—The hard road is the only one worth taking.

WOODROW WILSON—The country cannot afford to have a coward for President.

AMY LOWELL—Mr. Louis Untermeyer is the most versatile writer in America.

J. B. CRANFILL—Harding's hands are crimson with the blood of a suffering world.

ISABEL M. ROTH—New York girls are never bashful about meeting themselves in a mirror.

ROY K. MOULTON—I have much difficulty in saving enough of my salary to pay my income tax.

LORD ROBERT CECIL, M.P.—In my judgment state management is the principal evil of nationalization.

LEON BOURGEOIS—The obligation of settling international conflicts by peaceful means is the first law of mankind.

JAMES H. WILLIAMS—The paper that stands pat and gobbles the most lies without squirming gets the corporation advertising.

GOVERNOR COX—In many respects Lincoln was the strongest, the saddest, and the sweetest character in all history next to Christ himself.

ED. HOWE—When I was a boy parents found much fault with Beadle's dime novels. They were harmless compared with the present moving picture plays.

ELINOR GLYNN—As for the ballet scene on the staircase, it is at once the most daring and yet the most refined orgy I have ever witnessed on the stage.

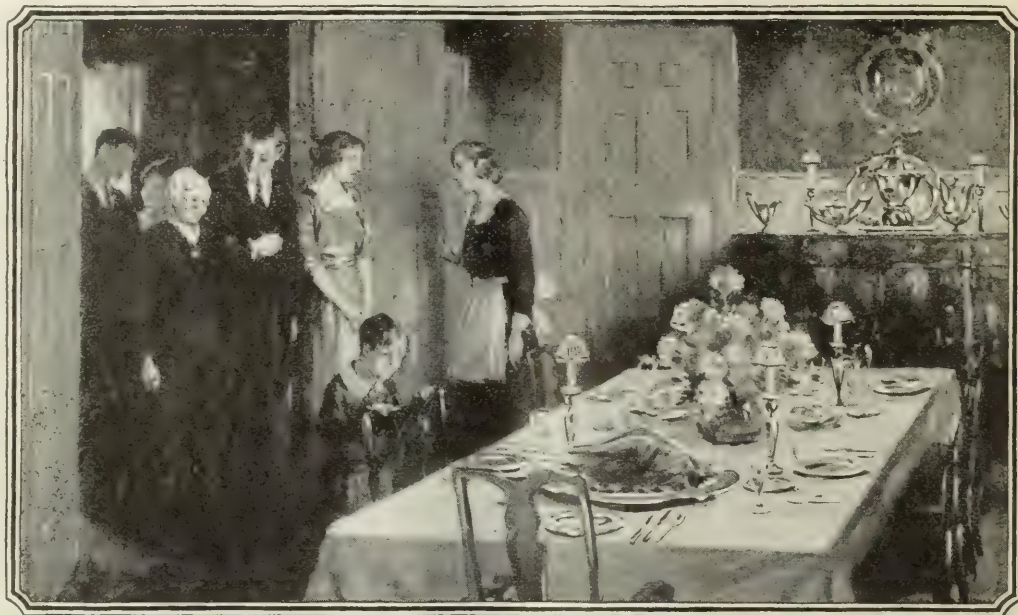
NOVELIST BERTHA RUCK—I have seen hands of American men on which diamond rings glistened but on which the finger nails were edged with grimy black.

PRINCE PURACHATRA OF SIAM—The New York woman who rides every day in the subway is as brave as a lioness and as daring as a Red Cross nurse working under shell fire.

ANNE RITTENHOUSE—One feels like getting up and giving a rousing cheer for the very persistent individuals here and in Paris who have been so steadfastly trying to get grey into the limelight of fashion.

GEORGE BURTON HOTCHKISS—Consider these pairs: Damon and Pythias, Romeo and Juliet, Stratford and Shakespeare, Oyster Bay and Roosevelt, Boston and beans, thanksgiving and turkey, corn beef and cabbage, skittles and beer.





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# The Independent

November 13, 1920

## What British Labor Wants

By The Rt. Hon. J. H. Thomas, M. P.

The head of the British Federation of Railwaymen begins here a series of three articles written to explain to the American people the significance of the present strike in England and the ultimate aim of the Triple Alliance which "makes possible a national strike by which the whole life of the country could be brought to a standstill." Mr. Thomas is one of the foremost leaders of the Labor Movement in Great Britain and he is a Labor Party member of the British Parliament

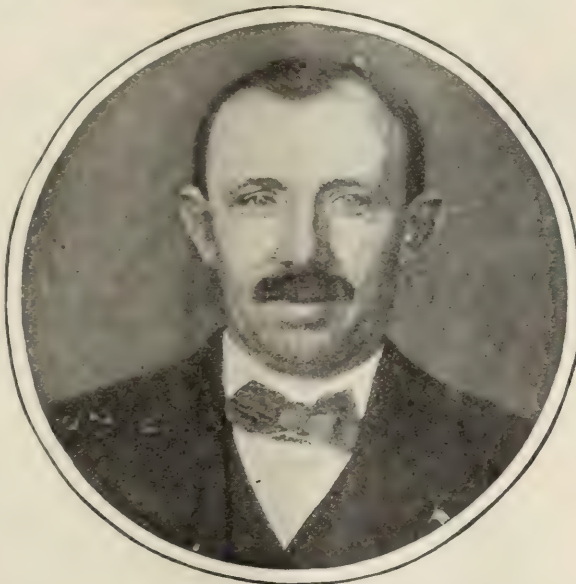
**T**HERE is a great tendency in different countries to attempt to demonstrate that the labor troubles of their neighbors are vastly different to their own; that they arise from different causes and are actuated by different objects and tend generally toward radically different ends. Each country would seem, indeed, to endeavor to make capital out of its neighbors' internal disputes with the result that its people are liable to gain a very hazy and erroneous knowledge of the progress made and the position held by their fellow workers in other lands.

Prior to twenty years ago British labor was contented in its efforts to ameliorate its lot by lobbying the House of Commons—a procedure which was attended by varying results. Then it decided to run its own show and today it forms the second party in the state; moreover, everyone is becoming reconciled to the formation of a labor government as the next party in power. Incidentally, people in America may be surprized to know that folk in England are not nearly so disturbed at the prospect of being governed by a labor cabinet as are people abroad.

The British trade union movement is both industrial and political and altho both sides of the movement work together, they are both independent. The movement is composed of six and a half million organized men and women.

There is also a coöperative movement in this country of three and a half million men and women. In its earlier days the men and women who made up its membership were contented just to purchase goods at the cheaper coöperative price, but the movement is now a huge concern with a revenue of about five hundred million dollars per annum. This movement is definitely allied to labor.

In order fully to appreciate the position of labor in



England today it is necessary to examine the various stages of its development, the social conditions out of which it grew and the legislation which, like milestones, has marked its progress.

The beginnings of trade unionism in England can be traced back to the early days of the eighteenth century when, on the one hand, employers of labor were making an ever increasing number of petitions to Parliament complaining of the existence of combinations of workmen, and the workers, on the other hand, were petitioning against the employers' cruel habit of beating down wages.

Parliament, after a good deal of wavering over the matter, at last came down on the employers' side of the fence and the workers, discovering the uselessness of making petitions to Parliament, found it more and more necessary to resort to strikes which, in themselves acts of desperation, were often accompanied by the still more desperate act of violence. The strikes frequently culminated in riots, and machine breaking, and if evidence be necessary to show how little the capitalist class were able or willing to read the true cause of the troubles it is to be found in a declaration made by Lancashire magistrates to the effect that "the sole cause of the riots was the new machines employed in cotton manufacture."

In 1824 a law forbidding the combination of workers was repealed, but the employers found it easy to circumvent any benefits which this greater freedom might bring. Furthermore, so prosperous had grown the manufacturers, and so plentiful had become the stocks which the workers had been able to produce with the aid of the new machines, that industry came almost to a standstill and all efforts to stem the general fall of wages, low enough in all conscience already, proved entirely ineffectual.

The condition of the lives of the workers at this



period was appalling and the power of the employers, despite the repeal of the combination laws, was, viewed in the light of today, altogether incredible.

Piece workers and day workers were so continually subjected to reduced prices and wages that they were never certain how much or how little they would receive at the end of each week, and George Jacob Holyoake, that ardent advocate of coöperation and social reform, has recorded how a Birmingham mill owner was one day astounded by the appearance of a new "hand" who turned up at his work in a well-fitting and handsome suit of clothes. This employer at once concluded that he had offered the man too high a wage and forthwith proposed that it should be reduced! And there was nothing remarkable about such a thing in those days. If a workman, by some miraculous means, succeeded in saving a little money, he was very much lacking in wisdom if he allowed it to become known; if he could afford to dress in clean and decent clothes, he was afraid to do so lest his wages should be reduced.

In these early days of the trade union movement capital held unrestrained sway and as a result the greater part of the country was reduced to a terrible position; not only were wages bad and housing conditions worse, but the women and children of the industrial centers were living in a state as bad as any suffered by slaves in the whole of recorded history. The wages of the men folk reduced to the lowest conceivable rate, it became essential that if a spark of life was to be kept in the workers' homes the women and children would have to share the burden of factory and coal mine life. It is recorded by the historians of the time that children of both sexes worked together in the mines, often for sixteen hours a day, and that women were employed underground, even while pregnant, and that they were back at work within a week of their children's birth. In some places women stood knee-deep in water throughout the day and women and children six years of age were employed drawing coal along the passages of the mines, crawling [Continued on page 250]

# A Penitential Office

By Marguerite Wilkinson

*Life Calls Out to the American People and They Answer*

*You, who have been called to be a great people,  
By the years I have given you, tell me your dreams!*

Our dreams are like fireflies flashing in darkness  
Where thieves work cunningly and none can see;  
Our dreams are brush-fires fading in the autumn  
That warm no poor man starving silently;  
Our dreams are wild lightning, shaken out of  
Heaven,

To show mad murder in the storm running free.

*By the years I have given you, these are your  
dreams!*

*But what are the dreams of a great people?*

They are full of glory as the towers of Manhattan

Shining thru the nights—

They are full of warmth as the sun upon the  
prairie

Quickening the earth—

They are full of wonder, stilling the spirit,  
Like the Northern Lights—

*You have known the dreams of a great people,*

*By the years I have given you, tell me your words!*

Our words are small coins, discolored and bent,  
Or counterfeits; the truth they seldom buy;  
Our words are keys that are broken or lost—  
Few know the doors they would unlock, and why;  
Our words are weapons in the hands of fools  
Or madmen who wound us, leaving us to die.

*You have known the deeds of a great people!*

*By the years I have given you, what will you do?*

We must have the dreams of a great people,  
We must have the words of a great people,  
We must have the deeds of a great people,—  
From our sins we must go free!

*By the years I have given you, so let it be!*

*By the years I have given you, these are your  
words!*

*But what are the words of a great people?*

Their words are swords in the hands of heroes  
Fighting a shame—

They are good tools in the hands of builders,  
Building tomorrow—

They are ploughs and harrows that will make  
fertile

The world that they reclaim—

*You have known the words of a great people.*

*By the years I have given you, tell me your deeds!*

Too many bodies burned and bent and broken,  
Gross bellies, sagging mouths, dim eyes, foul  
hands;

Too many minds grown sick that quake and  
tremble

When they must learn what nobody understands;

Too many spirits desperate and doubtful—

Those who should lead do what the day com-  
mands.

*By the years I have given you, these are your  
deeds!*

*But what are the deeds of a great people?*

Bodies strong and clean as the trees of the forest,  
Eyes full of light—

Minds quick and keen as winds upon the ocean,  
Blowing where they will—

Spirits triumphant leading all the rest

To love or fight—





The hall of the main temple measures over 10,000 square feet. The worshippers kneel on separate mats with their hands clasped, the index fingers stretched out and touching, the little finger of the left hand closed under, and the big finger of the left hand over the big finger of the right, while a chapter from the sacred book, O Fude Saki, is read to them

# The Birth of a New Religion

By Edwin E. Slosson

**S**UCH times as these are favorable to the growth of new forms of faith and we may expect the coming century to show many strange developments of the religious impulse. Asia, whence all the great religions have sprung, will probably prove still the most fertile soil, so it is not surprising to hear of the rise of a new religion in Japan that is since the war gaining ground rapidly in spite of the efforts of the Government to suppress it. It is called Omoto-Kyo, which may be translated as the Religion of the Great Foundation or the Fundamental Faith. Like many other religious movements, old and new, it owed its origin to a woman.

In the village of Ayabe, fifty miles from Kyoto, in the province of Tamba, there lived a poor ragpicker called O Nao Baasan, or Old Woman Nao. She was the widow of a drunken carpenter named Masagoro Debuchi, who had left her with no property but with eight children to support. All day long she wandered about the village gathering up scraps of rags and paper to get food for her family, but never failed to pray in the Shinto shrine morning and night. Her piety was at length rewarded, for on New Year's Day, 1892, she became imbued with the spirit of Kuni-toko-tachi, the Earth God of Shintoism. She straightway began to prophecy, shouting unintelligible warnings to people she passed on the street. Altho almost illiterate she scribbled her revelations on the walls of buildings and such bits of white paper as she could find. People called her crazy and paid no attention to her forebodings of fires and wars. She proclaimed to her neighbors that Ayabe was built upon holy ground and that unless they evacuated the village a mighty conflagration would sweep all their homes. This prophecy came true, but the skeptical police simply ar-



A street in the village community of the new sect of Omoto Kyo. The cultivation of flowers and trees is to them a form of worship

rested her for incendiarism on the supposition that she had furnished the fulfilment of her own prophecy. She was imprisoned for a time and later turned over to her relatives on condition that they keep her safely locked up. This they did and the room in which she lived until she died in 1918 is known as Zashiki Ro, the Parlor Prison, now a sacred shrine. To the end of her life she kept busily writing and her visions fill ten thousand volumes of manuscript, according to her followers, tho the critics of the cult say there were less than three thousand volumes originally. Much of the manuscript is illegible and much of what can be deciphered is incom- [Continued on page 240]



Photographs from Adachi Service

In the printing plant of the new Japanese sect women set type and make up the forms, a considerable departure from the old regime when women were not expected to learn to read

At the right is the interior of the Founder's Shrine. The present head of the cult, Deguchi, is kneeling in adoration before the picture of Nao, the prophetess





# President Harding

## A Forecast of the Policies and Personality That Will Determine the Next Administration

By Richard Boeckel

THE personification of the Republican party is what Senator Harding wants to be and will try to be every minute of his four years in the White House. He disbelieves in "one man government." It is not democracy—and besides the country is too big for it. He believes in party government. And having at the outset made that just as clear as he knew how, he is entitled to construe his election as a mandate to restore party government in the United States.

Similar frankness in dealing with every other issue was not to be expected from a candidate whose success, if he sat tight and made no serious mistakes, was a foregone conclusion. Senator Harding has been guilty of the usual number of campaign ambiguities, but it would be an error to draw from them the conclusion that he does not know how to be frank.

Nothing could have been more brutally candid than his speech the night the Senate acted on the declaration of war. He was not voting for war in the name of democracy. . . . "It is my deliberate judgment that it is none of our business what type of government any nation on this earth may choose to have." He was voting for war because American rights had been invaded, because American lives and property had been destroyed on the high seas and because Germany might triumph if the United States stayed out. These were ample reasons for going in. His plain spoken words are one of the few refreshing bits of that day's record.

And he knows how to be frank with himself—how

to see himself as he is seen. He has told himself, therefore, that it was not because he was Warren G. Harding, rather it was in spite of that fact, that he was elected President of the United States. It was because he represented the Republican party to the voters.

Senator Harding knows how to be grateful. On the basis of his record he had no legitimate right to expect the preferment that has come to him. He is grateful to his party, and to the people who elected him. He will give the country the best government he knows how . . . the kind of government



*Republican National Committee*

This photograph of Senator Harding was taken on his front porch in Marion while he was talking to a delegation of 20,000 Ohio voters

the people have said they want by voting for him. He will try to put the Republican party in the President's chair.

I think there will be no Mark Hanna during Harding's administration . . . unless it be Mrs. Harding. Mrs. Harding's influence will be very great. She had very much more to do with making Harding President than Boies Penrose. Penrose, as a matter of fact, had very little to do with it.

A newspaper man was introduced to Senator Harding, the candidate, in this fashion:

"Here is a man who believes you have Boies Penrose to thank for your nomination and that Penrose will be the next Mark Hanna."

The Senator smiled. His response was very deliberate.

"I know how difficult it is to disillusion folks of the things they believe. Only time will tell."

Putting the Republican party, the whole party, in the President's chair will not be an easy task. To personify that party, a conglomerate of conservatives, liberals, progressives and radicals, all artificially held together, would seem to call for a Lloyd George, rather than a Senator Harding. The President-elect had a foretaste of its difficulties during the campaign, but only a mild one.

Senator Harding is a conservative. The men at the top of the Republican party—the Senate cabal and the rest—are conservatives. When he looks at his party with half closed eyes, obliterating its detail, Senator Harding sees it as a wholly conservative organization. His victory is a victory for conservatism.

"I do not want to confess literally to being a standpatter," he has said. "I do not know what a standpatter is in public life. But if one who sometimes elects to go back to an old and efficient method and retain it is a standpatter, then I am going to choose to be one."

Party government is one of the "old and efficient methods" to which Senator Harding wishes to go back. Party government gets things done—so long as the party doing the governing remains undivided. But when the party splits, as the Republican party is likely again to split during the next four years, party government begins to look like a riot. How he meets this crisis, if it develops, will go a long way to determining the judgment of the future as to what kind of a President Harding has made.

The danger is that a revolt may spring up in Congress against the effort of the bosses, inevitably developed under party government, to translate the Administration's conservative policies into legislation. In the House the Republicans will have a large majority in the next Congress. Large majorities always are difficult to manage. Always there are men among them ready to yield to the constant temptation the system affords to "get off the reservation." A sufficient number can, of course, be held in line to prevent the butchering of the party's program in the House, but the



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They say in Massachusetts that the Vice-Presidency of the United States will be more than a figure-head office when Calvin Coolidge fills it



spirit of revolt is likely to be transmitted to the country and reflected in the Senate. And it is in the Senate, narrowly held by the Republicans, that the principal danger will lie.

Senator Harding knows the psychology of Congress. Wilson does not. Neither did Taft or Roosevelt. Harding is the first Senator ever elected to the Presidency. His intimate knowledge of the workings of the senatorial mind should guide him safely past many pitfalls when the menace to his administration of progressive disaffection in the Senate arises.

A revolt without leaders can make little headway. Senators Borah and Johnson are the logical leaders for an insurgent movement in the Senate. Under the attempted leadership of such men as La Follette, France, Norris or Kenyon the movement would be comparatively ineffective. Senators Borah and Johnson, for the time being, are interested only in the League of Nations issue. It is clear that Senator Harding must go as far as he can toward satisfying them with his foreign policy, as a means of forestalling a movement in opposition to his domestic policies under their captaincy. And in doing so he will be following his own natural bent, for his opposition to the League of Nations Covenant is by no means feigned.

"My own instinct is to be with you," he confided to Senator Borah when the Treaty fight opened. "I am set against entangling alliances, but, of course, as you know, there is a great deal of sentiment for this League out in the country. I am getting shoals of letters from Ohio. . . . You and Johnson are going out to explain this League to the people, and work up sentiment against it. What about a few speeches in my state?"

The speeches were made, and as Ohio began to register its reaction, Senator Harding's outward attitude underwent a gradual change. At last he was classified

His clarifying statements have failed to make his purpose clear to the majority of the American people—and for a simple reason—because it is not exactly clear to Senator Harding, himself. He will "scrap" the Covenant, but he knows that he must thereafter retrieve many of its essential provisions. The conservatives, the dominant element of his party, the men who sent the Des Moines telegrams, down in their hearts are for the League—with the Lodge reservations, of course.

What Senator Harding wants is an entirely new deal—that is a new conference to revise the Covenant, making it the constitution of a "new association of nations" that better accords with the wishes expressed by the American people in the solemn referendum. Speculation as to just how much of the Wilson league he would retain cannot be more than guess work. But since Senator Harding himself has said he wants a "world court of justice, supplemented by a world association for conference," it can be inferred that the Root international court plan would come first in importance, if he had his way, and the association, stripped of all legislative powers, would become little more than a debating society.

The irreconcilables up till this time have expressed no serious objection to a world court, if it is given none except moral force to secure compliance with its decrees. Indeed, it would not be surprising to find them approving such a new international arrangement as Senator Harding would desire, in the end.

Searching for some means to bring about a new conference to revise the Covenant, Senator Harding will come across a provision in the naval appropriation bill of 1916 "authorizing and requesting the President to invite . . . all the great governments of the world to send representatives to a conference which shall be charged with the duty of formulating a plan for a court of arbitration or other tribunal to which disputed questions between nations shall be referred for adjudication and peaceful settlement." This authorization and request by Congress has never been acted upon. There seems good reason to believe, however, that Senator Harding may be saved the necessity of taking the initiative, by some action looking to a revision of the Covenant by France or Great Britain, shortly before, or immediately after he assumes the Presidency.

Pending the meeting of a new conference hold-over war legislation might be chalked off and a status of peace with Germany and Austria restored by the re-adoption of the Knox resolution, vetoed by President Wilson when first adopted at the last session of Congress. In any case, Senator [Continued on page 233



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Mrs. Harding as "the First Lady of the Land" will need only to continue in the characteristics that she has shown as her husband's partner in business and in politics



Edmonston, from International

Perhaps playing in the village band when he was a boy got Warren Harding into the belief in teamwork that he now intends to practise in the administration of the United States, "putting the whole Republican party in the Presidential chair"

with the irreconcilables, tho he voted for ratification with the Lodge reservations. Count von Bernstorff, a discerning observer, analyzing Harding's questions addressed to the President at the White House conference August 19, 1919, saw him as "one of the keenest opponents of the League of Nations."

An incident that occurred during the campaign is interesting in this connection and also it throws a side-light on his character. In his Des Moines speech Senator Harding came out for "scrapping the Covenant." A group back East learned of the contents of the speech before it was delivered and didn't like it at all. Requests—nay, orders—went to Des Moines that the speech be changed. Senator Harding read the telegrams carefully, laid them aside, and delivered the speech as it had been written.

How then will Senator Harding deal with the treaty?



# Do You Want to Lose Your Parks?

A Message from the United States Government to the American People

By Stephen T. Mather

Director of the National Park Service



If the irrigation projects that threaten Yellowstone Park were carried out this famous "Thumb" of the lake would smear out the motor road, the hot springs at the left and the forest edge beyond

**T**HE national parks must be maintained in absolutely unimpaired form for the use of future generations as well as those of our own time."

This is the first, and the most important, of a set of three broad principles laid down by former Secretary of the Interior Franklin K. Lane at the outset to govern the work of the National Park Service, which has now been in existence three years.

The others of Secretary Lane's basic principles were: "Second, that they (the parks) are set apart for the use, observation, health and pleasure of the people; and third, that the national interest must dictate all decisions affecting public or private enterprises in the parks."

These latter principles were written for the present. Only the present generation would suffer, if they were neglected for a time, but let the first principle be forgotten for ever so short a space and injury may be done to the parks that a thousand years will not erase.

## No Trespassing!

By John Barton Payne  
Secretary of the Interior

No other country in the world has such wonderful national parks as our own. To persons who know the health, recreation and pleasure afforded to the people by these permanent breathing places, filled as they are with natural objects of the greatest interest and with wild animals, birds and flowers, it would seem that the American people should insist that they be permanently preserved, free from every form of commercialization.

To me it is perfectly plain that the wise course for the Government is to hold that when a national park is once set aside it shall remain the property of the whole people forever, and shall not be trespassed upon by any business or commercial use. Unless this policy is followed, encroachment will ultimately impair, if not destroy, our national parks.

The argument of utility should not be entertained. Indeed, it can nearly always be met by the plain statement that the water sought for reclamation and power purposes does not remain imprisoned in the parks but may be utilized after it flows from them. This is strikingly true in the case of the proposition to dam the Yellowstone River at the mouth of Yellowstone Lake, because the volume of water at the mouth of the lake is less than half the volume of the water outside the park, due to the fact that the Lamar River, Tower Creek and other streams empty into the river in the meantime.

The only other argument I have heard for placing this dam inside the park is that it would be less expensive to build it there than outside—an argument which in my view should not be considered for a moment.

Nine hundred and ninety-nine out of every thousand men and women in the United States will agree, and if necessary will fight for the principle that these, our national playgrounds, must be "maintained in absolutely unimpaired form for the use of future generations." However, it is their impression that the parks are secure against commercial intrusion, that they come very near to being hallowed ground. But are the national parks safe?

At this moment there are pending before the Federal Power Commission at Washington applications for leases to water power sites, which, if approved, would ruin many of their most beautiful waterfalls and calm forever the rushing rapids of their rivers. And more applications are on the way. Half a dozen projects for damming up the outlets of some of the loveliest of their lakes, for purposes of irrigation, are being vigorously pressed. Without the approval of Congress, of course, these projects cannot be carried out.

It has been the traditional policy of Congress, since the



first national park was created, half a century ago, to resist every encroachment upon these areas set aside for the enjoyment of future generations, and to give them the most watchful protection.

However, at the last session, a provision was incorporated in the water power bill, passed in the closing days, including the national parks in the public lands thrown open for power development under the act. It is provided that no license shall be issued that will "interfere or be inconsistent with the purpose for which such reservations (including parks) were created or acquired," but the finding is to be left, not to Congress, but to the Federal Power Commission, made up of three political appointees, subject to all kinds of political pressure.

On the assumption that it was not the real intention of Congress to withdraw the protection it has maintained over the parks for so many years, the present Federal Power Commission, including in its membership that staunch friend of the parks, John Barton Payne, has wisely decided to grant no applications for leases to power sites in the parks until Congress shall have had an opportunity at its next session either to repeal this destructive provision or, by refusing to do so, to reaffirm its previous action.

There is no real necessity for this desecration of public property for hydro-electric power development. It is proposed only because it is cheaper. The national parks are limited in area. The water does not remain in the parks. Indeed, it could be better utilized in most cases after it leaves the parks, because of its larger flow. The lower reaches of streams flowing from the parks should be utilized before it is proposed to destroy the beauty of the high mountain country. The Government itself has set a practical example by building the Yosemite power plant well below the beauty spots of the Yosemite valley.

It is clear that the power development proposals are put forward by private interests for their own private profit, but it is supposed that the irrigation projects, on the other hand, are put forward by dry land farmers whose lands cannot otherwise be made fertile. There is, therefore, more sympathy for the irrigation proposals than there would be if it were more clearly understood that they too are the schemes of promoters for their own gain.

It is Yellowstone, perhaps the most famous of our national parks, that is in the greatest danger. There it is proposed by the construction of dams not only to raise the waters of the beautiful Lake Yellowstone and Lewis, Shoshone and Heart Lakes, but also to flood the basins of the Falls and Bechler rivers in the southwestern corner, the cascade section of the park. Tunnels would be dug under the Continental Divide at two points to carry off the waters of Yellowstone Lake. The stored water would be used under various of the projects for irrigation purposes in Idaho, Montana and Wyoming.



Mr. Mather has been for five years in the Department of the Interior. But he has been a manufacturer, too, and he argues for the protection of our national parks with a full understanding of the commercial viewpoint as well

The execution of any one of these projects would do damage to make any lover of nature shudder. There can be no utilization of the lakes or of the Fall River basin for irrigation that will not bring with it destruction of the people's playground for the benefit of a few individuals or corporations. All the lakes are in heavily timbered districts. Great forests reach down to the very water's edge. In some parts of the park level tracts of land embracing thousands of acres lie at an elevation of only a few feet above these lake shores. Raising the level of these lakes would inundate beautiful islands, kill millions of feet of timber on the shores, wipe out miles of roads and trails and many bridges, and would create a scene of chaos and destruction that would be an eyesore for hundreds of years to come.

The water would be drawn off in the late summer, at the height of the tourist season, revealing unsightly borders of dead, water-soaked trees, rooted in ill-smelling slime, surrounding all our lakes. How long would the thousands of tourists who now visit the park annually continue to come to see such sights as these, with the addition of irrigation dams, reservoirs, flumes, tunnels and conduits on every hand?

I do not think the residents of the areas bordering the parks realize just what this ever increasing tide of pleasure seekers means to them, or they would not so readily give their support to projects for their commercialization. Of the 80,000 persons who visited the Yellowstone Park this summer 42,000, more than one-half the number, came in their own cars. On my recent tour of inspection of the parks in the west I came across one man, and there must be many like him, who admired the region surrounding the park so greatly when he saw it from his automobile that he bought a farm and settled down there.

Along one of the roads I saw half a dozen signs, "Melons For Sale," at as many places. I stopped at one farm to buy. The woman who sold me the melons told me that on the previous Sunday [Continued on page 238]



© Haynes, St. Paul

This heavy timber along Lewis Lake in the Yellowstone would be destroyed if the irrigation project were permitted to raise the level of the lake



# Harding's Election; Wilson's Defeat

By Talcott Williams

TWICE the Republican party has won a sweeping victory, comparable with Tuesday's election, President, Senate and House: in 1868 and 1872 when Grant was elected by majorities so large that Southern states were won, and in 1900 and 1904. The last two victories were followed by constructive legislation dealing with great issues, railroads, trusts, the meat supply, food, irrigation and rural posts were all put on a new basis and a multitude of lesser reforms were put in operation. The elections of 1868 and 1872 were followed by the worst corruption in our federal history and in the next five Presidential elections the Republicans were in a popular minority in two cases against three. No electorate is so merciless with corruption as the American. The United States has today left corruption far behind. Our administration, Federal, State and local, is better than that abroad. We are lavish. Corrupt, we are not.

The celerity with which in 1874 the country returned a House of Representatives Democratic by a heavy majority, shows how swiftly this country acts when corruption comes and for twenty years after the Republicans were never certain of a Presidential election. The Republican party will undoubtedly improve the administration of the Government. A man grossly ignorant of business needs and chiefly interested in advancing rural free delivery like the present Postmaster General will not be put in charge of our postal system. The whole Federal machine will be run better.

Senator Harding's Cabinet will be better and abler, more experienced and knowing better the work before them than the Cabinet Governor Cox could have named in the Democratic party.

But the policy and not administrative efficiency is the crying issue in the next four years.

Who will decide the policy of the next Administration? It will be like that of President Hayes (1877-1881), when Rutherford B. Hayes drew to his Cabinet William M. Everts, John Sherman, Charles Devens and Carl Schurz—four very strong men. President Hayes is chiefly remembered, by a Washington correspondent like myself, for being the first President who in summer in the White House wore a black sleazy alpaca coat and no waistcoat, instead of the American statesman's frock coat in which previous Presidents had perspired; as a man who banished booze from the national table because Mr. Hayes held the creed—now triumphant—of the W. C. T. U., yet showed a personal willingness to absorb the usual liquid army ration of the Civil War brigadier, and had a hand which always smelled of fresh castile soap. But his administration was not like that. It reconstructed the South, resumed gold payments, pacified our relations with Mexico, carried thru the fisheries arbitration, began our navy and commenced the modern winning of the West.

The Republican party is far stronger in the national legislature than it has been since the radical wing of the Republican party thought it could impeach and remove President Johnson. The Senate will try to own Harding; but it is a great deal easier to control a man when he wants to live in the Executive Mansion than after he deals out as President all that Senators want. They are a hungry lot. With Congress in Republican hands and able to do anything it pleases, it will have to do something. It cannot go on making "Americanism" its only issue. A Senator, distinguished, powerful, astute political leader with surpassing skill in political management, told me a year ago that Americanism was to be this year's issue. When I asked him what "Americanism" meant he said that he did

not know, but "it was a ——— good word with which to carry an election." It is, however, easier to get majorities than wisely to use them. Legislation is perilous to any party. It is rarely a monument; it is often a tombstone.

Adversity will do for President Wilson what it did for President Grant—restore his personal popularity. No passing defeat, headlong as this has been and self-caused, as most hold, can permanently change the national position of the greatest figure of our day. He will be the one great outstanding figure of his period as is Cromwell, tho Cromwell was in his last years hated, solitary, powerful, praised and admired in the high tide of his success abroad, but weak at home, worried over national finances, lied about in his personal life, slandered by foes, deserted by friends, jeered at by the governing group, ill, sad and lonely, with a positive gift for estranging and irritating his closest friends. All this has passed like the mists of even when the few large stars jewel the autumn sky. As Luther began religious freedom, Jefferson human equality, Washington killed the King myth, once for all, and Lincoln ended an institution older than civilization, so Wilson has made visible the rights of the lesser and weaker lands to independence and a free, independent, individual freedom.

This great principle will not leave great states in peace or smaller states willing to be subject. The one way devised to keep the peace both of great and of small, Article X, the American people are at present clearly and overwhelmingly against. The voters were with Lodge and his reservations. They were willing in the war to help neighbors in distress. They were not willing to go into a partnership in which the neighbors furnished the liabilities and the United States the assets.

This was as clear to some of us for the League, in October, 1919, as it is today. Wilson thought differently and he has paid for his error, almost with his life. The transatlantic people whose members cross the ocean every year or two know much of European affairs and share the opinion of the advantaged and of the college group on the North Atlantic coast, thought the country was for the League and Article X. They were wrong. Exactly as this country refused Yucatan when its people begged us to take them in, would not keep Mexico seventy years ago and is opposed today to military interference in that country, was in doubt about taking Alaska, let horrible misgovernment go on in Cuba for fifty years, rejects today with general unanimity any responsibility under a mandate in the Ottoman Empire and is ready to get rid of the Philippines, so it refuses to let any President or his representatives sitting on a world Council decide that the United States should protect any boundary abroad. Presidents have twice made war inevitable by their acts. This country does not want wars or foreign responsibilities or any agreement that pledges it to any definite armed action abroad. This has always been true. It remains true. For the next forty years it will be generally impossible to get the American people to send an army overseas. Europe must learn to live at peace, as we do, by shunning covetous desires for its neighbor, or take the consequences.

This cuts out Article X and probably all the ways except a court under which, thru the Covenant, any country can be asked to act with other lands by the use of force. The colonial "mandates" Europe must accept and pass upon. We will none of them. I very much fear that the small capitalist, from store, shop or factory, and the farmers will none of the international agreement as to labor provided for by the Covenant. They will certainly refuse to have our international representatives in this labor conference



chosen by "labor" organizations. Tuesday's vote decides for four years, perhaps longer, that any international agreement or periodical conference on labor shall be carried on by the United States Government and not by representatives chosen by labor unions. I regret this. I think the labor clauses in the Covenant the best it has. They will not be accepted. Uncle Sam prefers to speak for himself. He will not put a blank labor proxy even into the hands of a man as able, wise and patriotic as Samuel Gompers.

Better results would, I think, be secured by Mr. Gompers. He and Mr. Fursueth, the leader of the Seamen's Union, have made possible the presence of our flag on the high seas at a profit by raising the wages of seamen under foreign flags to our own seamen's wages. But Uncle Sam is of a different view. The advance in the cost of passenger and freight transportation, in part so as to secure high wages for railroad unions, the conduct and policy of the English labor organizations and the record of the "proletariat" in Russia, have all thru the United States solidified small capitalists against organized labor. Uncle Sam of the whimsical shrewd face in this election has fallen back on the one motto out of several he has, which he likes best of all:

If you want to know who is boss here:  
Start something.

All the attempts to give the covenant means by which international action should be gained not by governments but thru labor unions, a League bureau of colonies, an international military commission on armaments and so on will lose the present place they have in the Covenant—to the loss of humanity. Over fifty treaties for common action on many subjects, the white slave trade, social diseases, prisons and many philanthropic subjects will continue, helped and strengthened by the League.

The League itself has, however, already made the entrance of the United States hard by deciding last week not to give the new court a compulsory jurisdiction, as provided by the plan drawn by Mr. Elihu Root. This is the cleavage line between Europe and America. Europe does not believe in courts. The American people do. European governments want a world executive committee, such as the Council is, a sort of ministry. Americans believe in a court, such as the Supreme Court has been in our system. It is strongly probable, but not certain, that public opinion here will approve a court before which nations would be compelled to appear. At all events, this is the utmost that can be secured. Even this will be difficult. It would be wise to exclude regions under "regional agreements," like the Monroe Doctrine. This would cover the issues raised in English and French colonies and in Latin-America from coming before the court except by consent. After a century of protection, willingly accepted, relieving Latin-America of military and naval burdens, this reservation would remove some objections. Embargoes and blockades would be enough to protect and enforce the compulsory jurisdiction of an international tribunal.

Some agreement is certain. It will have a permanent court. Appearance before the court should be compulsory. The Senate may oppose, because every arbitration sets the Senate aside. Even Senator Sumner tried to kill the Geneva Arbitration. Senator Lodge has followed his example. The powers of the Senate must be proved before adequate advance is made. This time not only the Senate but the country has shown itself ready to reject any international executive in the shape of a council. The next best is a court. This is probable, and about it will grow an international tribunal. Its presence and working will develop a League with adequate powers.

The Republican party has as serious a responsibility in its pledges and those of President Harding on internal

affairs. State sanitation is poor. It needs Federal expenditure. National aid is needed for national education. The poorer Southern States have not the revenue to educate on a just and fit standard. The Land Bank needs rigorous investigation, but when that is over, its work and its powers must be widened to the purchase of homes, singly and on the cooperative apartment plan. Irrigation must be extended. A ship canal must cross north New York state to the Hudson. It would cost less than the Panama Canal and be worth more.

A strong navy is needed. Not a strong army. Federal expenditures cannot be diminished. They must be increased. Cumulative probate taxes on large fortunes will do this. Nothing could be better for the heirs of rich men than to work as hard as their fathers.

Above all, everyone who cares for a League and believes in it as the world's best hope, should unite in common action to make a Supreme Court of Nations which the American people can, by the historical habit of over a century, be brought to accept as the next step to protect the world, its lands, its institutions and its civilization.

## Why We Need the Puritan

By Preston Slosson

EVERY age considers itself decadent and invokes the spirit of its predecessors to redeem it from moral laxity. The Pilgrim tercentenary has called forth many comparisons, only partially justified, of the rigid ethical code of the Puritan age with the self-indulgent and worldly manners and morals of the twentieth century. It is true that we have introduced new fashions in dress, that we no longer experience the old dread of the theater, that we are less strict in attending church on Sunday, and that we devote more time and energy to "worldly amusements" than the Puritans would have approved. But in some respects we are more puritanic than the Puritans. We have, for example, placed an absolute ban on intoxicants, which the men of 1620 never dreamed of doing. We have shortened the sermon, but we have elaborated the church service. Our views on divorce are more conservative than those of Milton. If the modern world has accepted the theater and the novel it has at the same time made them vehicles for moralizing. The "problem plays" of Galsworthy and Shaw and the novels of Winston Churchill and Mrs. Ward are far more like seventeenth century sermons than they are like the plays and romances against which the Puritans protested. If America of 1920 has fallen off from the ideals of Plymouth Rock it is at least immeasurably more moral, in every reasonable meaning of the word, than was the England from which the Pilgrims fled.

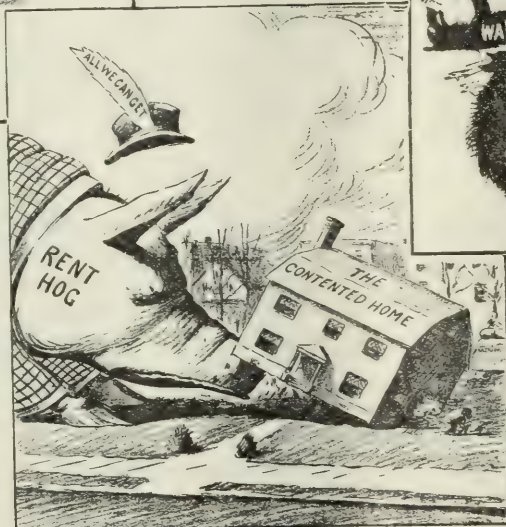
But there is a sense in which the Puritan is needed now and needed very badly. The United States is no sink of iniquity; it is a community consisting mainly of very prosperous, well-behaved and kindly people. In the negative sense of the word we are as virtuous a commonwealth as has ever existed. But it cannot be denied that the moral overstrain of the Great War has left our national morale in a certain state of shell shock. Our stock of idealism has temporarily run low and a mood of cynicism has replaced the devoted enthusiasm of 1918. We wish harm to no people in the world, but we will not exert ourselves to help. Poland and Austria are as hungry today as Belgium was five years ago, but we are less concerned about it. The Turks are still killing Armenians, but it no longer keeps us awake nights. We are no longer willing to act the part of the Good Samaritan for the rest of the world; the rôle of Priest or Levite suits us well enough for the moment. In our domestic affairs the same moral slump is evident. The great moral wave of 1912 which created a political party overnight and introduced a new vision of social





Donahy in Cleveland Plain-Dealer  
ONE SURE WAY TO ROUT HIM  
If the builders' tools are mobilized and got in action they can wage a successful warfare until it is all over with the rent profiteer

# Be It Ever So Humble!



Harding in Brooklyn Daily Eagle  
ROOTING IT UP  
"There's no place like home" may have another meaning soon!



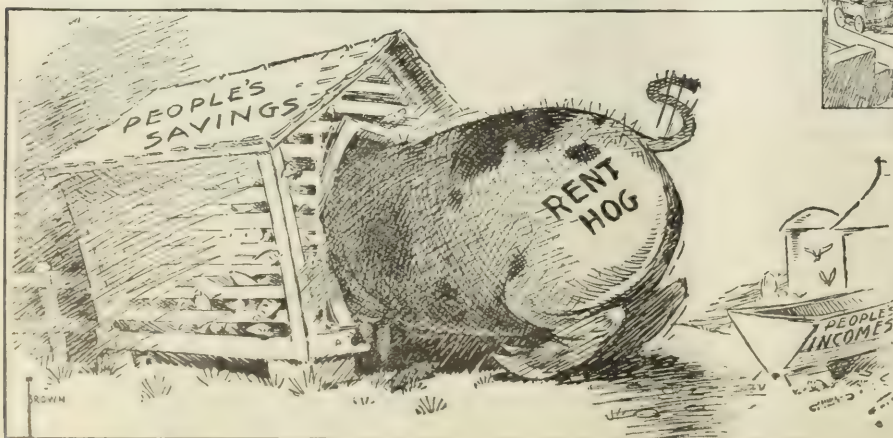
Marcus in New York Times  
(Left) Police-man: "Sorry, Sir, but the books say I ain't got no right to interfere"



© Murphy in New York American  
THE DEED THAT DOES IT  
You can chase them all away with this



PROSPECTING IN DEAD MAN'S GULCH IN 1849



© New York Tribune, Inc.  
PROSPECTING FOR A HOUSE IN 1920  
After all, living conditions remain about the same from one generation to another

Brown in Chicago Daily News  
PIGS IS PIGS  
Having emptied the trough, now he is cleaning out the whole bin



justice, is now at a low ebb. Mark Hannaism and the good old days of 1896 seem to satisfy the demand of the American soul.

Well, this is nothing to worry about in the long run. Nearly every great war or revolution causes a reaction, and this reaction always passes away when some new spurt of enthusiasm comes to urge civilization forward once more. The licentiousness of the Stuart restoration after the downfall of Cromwell's Commonwealth, the moral disintegration of Germany in the latter part of the Thirty Years' War, the corruption of the Directorate in France after the strenuous days of the Revolution, the scandals which marked the political life of the decade after the supreme effort of our own Civil War—all these historical phenomena are essentially the same thing that troubles us today.

We need a new school of prophets to restock our batteries of moral energy. We need the Puritans.

The Puritan was essentially the earnest man. The Greenwich Village legend that Puritanism is a lazy, comfortable, "bourgeois" way of taking life is glaringly the opposite of the truth. The Puritan's theology was not a traditional creed accepted from mere habit. He was a rebel against the traditional creeds; a persecuted exile because of this rebellion. His theology burned in him night and day like a consuming flame, and if it made him uncomfortable to himself, to his family and to his neighbors, it also enabled him to conquer a wilderness and to found a commonwealth. The spirit of creation dwelt in him; he felt he could not die until he had made the world other than he found it. So millions of contemporary Europeans worked and played away their lives and left no impress in history because they had no vital, original faith, while a few score Englishmen voyaging in the "Mayflower" made a new world.

It matters much what we believe; but it matters infinitely more how much we believe it. Whole generations of men regretted slavery, then came along a few fanatical abolitionists who would not let themselves or anyone else rest until it was abolished. Many a European nation grumbled at the misrule of its kings and nobles; grumbled and then turned its attention to the bull fight, the wool market or the village inn. But mighty empires were shaken to pieces when a few poor, hot-headed young students began to take seriously the new ideals of nationality and political democracy.

Even when the creed is an imperfect one it can work miracles if it wins the earnest conviction of determined men. Mormonism, with all its absurdities of doctrine and ecclesiastical discipline, succeeded in turning a desert into the prosperous and progressive commonwealth of Utah. Mohammed, in spite of his ignorance and errors, created a religion which spread from Spain to Java with the speed of a prairie fire. All the theoretical weaknesses of Marxian Socialism from the economic standpoint have not availed to check its spread, because the Socialists have been twice as energetic in spreading their propaganda as anyone else has been in counteracting it.

An indifferent America, content to plod in the beaten path and repeat the "maxims of the Fathers" with no living faith in their meaning, will make no more impression on the world than the teeming millions of China. We must again become what Jefferson and Lincoln and Roosevelt thought us—a chosen people, a people with a positive and creative faith in its institutions, the bearers of a message to the whole world. Without enthusiasm nothing worth while is ever done, and thus in the long run the idealist is the only practical man. The mood of cynicism, of indifference, of "don't care" is the mood of death; it is literally the work of Mephistopheles, the Spirit of Denial. We must lift it from America.

## The League of Nations

No question is ever settled until it is settled right.

## Minority Rights

ONE of the aims for which we entered the war was the defense of the rights of small nationalities. But we lost the war so far as that is concerned, for the natural consequence of dividing up Europe into small countries based upon unity of race, language, religion and national self-consciousness is to intensify sectional and sectarian sentiment. There is always a tendency to take revenge upon such unfortunate fragments of other nationalities as are caught within the new boundaries. The oppressed becomes in turn the oppressor and the net result is that there is less individual freedom than before the war. In a ramshackle monarchy like Austria-Hungary the numerous nationalities acquired a good deal of liberty. In fact it was the policy of the Hapsburgs to foster minor languages and factional movements in certain sections so as to prevent combination against their rule. The Germans being in a minority in Austria and the Magyars being in a minority in Hungary could not go too far in depriving the majority of educational and religious rights. A ruling minority is limited in power but there is nothing to restrain the ruthlessness of a majority.

The insistence of the Austro-Hungarian Government upon the use of German in army commands aroused furious resentment altho it would seem that a single language in military orders of a common army was not an unreasonable requirement. But whatever may be thought of that the little nations into which Austria-Hungary is split are showing themselves still more intolerant. Czecho-Slovakia contains nearly 4,000,000 Germans who by the treaty have the same rights as the 6,500,000 Czechs, yet German officers in the Czech army are severely punished if they even talk German in private conversations. A Czech captain who was overheard talking German to a lady was whipped by the Czech soldiers. The German and Polish miners are being excluded from work in the coal mines by the Czecho-Slovak miners' union. The Czech Minister of Education has closed up thirty-five German schools and 754 German classes in other schools, thus forcing over 50,000 German children to receive their education in the Bohemian language.

Under the old régime the Magyars did not treat the Rumanians fairly and now that the Rumanians are on top they are taking a terrible revenge. In Transylvania, which has been annexed by Rumania without consulting the population, the schools and churches other than Rumanian Orthodox have been suppressed, their funds confiscated, their buildings seized, their preachers and teachers imprisoned or flogged. The Calvinist, Roman Catholic and Unitarian bishops of Transylvania have joined in an appeal to Christendom for protection. The committee of the United Free Church of Scotland appointed to investigate the Rumanian atrocities in Hungary reported that one-third of the Reformed Church congregations in Transylvania "had been practically destroyed by Rumanian action in the course of the past year and that, unless the integrity and the freedom of the Church be secured, the Reformed Church in Transylvania will be extinct within a very few years. The whole future of Protestantism in Eastern Europe is at stake."

In antebellum days our hearts were wrung by the sufferings of the poor Polish children of Posen who were forbidden by their German rulers to recite or talk their native language in school. But now, that the Poles have been liberated they are treading down their subject nationalities with even greater severity than the Prussians showed. From the Lithuanians, the Jews, the White Russians, the Ruthenians and the Germans alike come complaints of



personal outrages, interference with religious freedom and suppression of languages by their Polish conquerors. Similar complaints are heard from the Slavic regions annexed by Italy, from Eupen and Malmedy annexed by Belgium, from Alsace-Lorraine annexed by France, from Smyrna annexed by Greece, Montenegro annexed by Serbia, Mesopotamia annexed by England and Shantung annexed by Japan. No matter how democratic or liberal a government may be there is always danger of overriding the rights of minorities. To afford them protection is the most necessary as well as the most difficult and delicate of the functions of the League of Nations.

## The Real British Monarch

The British public now understands the meaning of the rime about "Old King Coal."

## The Pink Republic

By Edwin E. Slosson

THE American mind, blindly following as usual the lead of Europe, has been devoting more attention to the border states of the Baltic than to the Siberian states, which are of vastly more importance to the world and of more vital interest to ourselves. Whether the boundary line of Lithuania shall be drawn a few miles this way or that does not matter much since Lithuania is at most a little country, but Siberia is as large as the United States and it makes a great deal of difference to us how it is carved up. Our interest in the fate of Fiume is purely altruistic, but the disposition of Vladivostok concerns us closely since it is next neighbor to our back door.

Asia is the mirror of America and in it all things are reversed. The Far East of Russia is the Far West of the United States, geographically and psychologically. Siberia is now in a state of development about like that of the western half of our country fifty years ago just after the Union Pacific railroad had been put across the continent. It is a vast expanse of unsettled territory with incalculable mineral wealth and agricultural possibilities, the population averaging about one to the square mile and largely concentrated in the cities that are strung along the railroad track. Vladivostok, the "Mistress of the East," faces San Francisco, the "Golden Gate," on the opposite shore of the Pacific.

The dividing line between east and west in the United States is not the Mississippi, for the land on both sides of the river is much the same. It is the eastern edge of the Rocky Mountains. The dividing line between east and west in Russia is not the Urals, for these mountains do not rise sharply from the plateau on both sides. It is Lake Baikal. This lake, whose surface is 1500 feet above sea level and whose bottom is 5000 feet below, stretches four hundred miles north and south and with the high mountains closely encompassing it forms an effective barrier which the Siberian railroad had difficulty in surpassing. This deep natural moat might easily be made a military frontier.

Here the Red wave from Russia came to a halt last year, not because it met with formidable opposition but because its momentum was exhausted. The Soviet was not strong enough to cover and control the fifteen hundred miles further to the sea. At Irkutsk, on the western side of Lake Baikal, the Bolsheviks overtook and killed the enemy they were after, Admiral Kolchak. To have gone beyond Baikal would have brought them into conflict with a more redoubtable foe, the Japanese, who held the Trans-Baikal region, or rather the railroad, with a force of more than a hundred thousand men. Siberian battlefields have only one dimension, that is along the transcontinental line, and the farther east the Bolsheviks went the longer would be the distance they would be from their base and the

shorter would be the distance of the Japanese from them.

It is commonly believed in China and Siberia that Soviet Russia and Japan concluded an agreement by which the Soviet consented not to penetrate Trans-Baikalia on condition that the Japanese protect them from any further attacks like Kolchak's on the Siberian side. Whether there was any formal treaty or not such an arrangement was obviously to the advantage of both parties so by common consent, if not by common agreement, a buffer state was set up between the Bolsheviks, who held western Siberia up to Lake Baikal, and the Japanese, who held Vladivostok and the Maritime Province. That is, there was a stretch of more than a thousand miles which neither party could effectively control, so it has been left in large measure to itself.

Last spring when the Bolsheviks and the Japanese came into contact it seemed that a conflict was inevitable. The Japanese put down the local government of Vladivostok by force and at Nikolaievsk the Reds massacred all the Japanese. But since then the Japanese and Soviet authorities have become increasingly friendly and the buffer state, in spite of its anomalous position, has gradually grown in definiteness if not in strength.

Under the skilful management of a Chicago lawyer, Mr. Krasnochev, the Far Eastern Republic, as it calls itself, has become an important factor in Asian affairs. His latest move has upset the calculations of French, Japanese and American diplomatists. He has sent an envoy, Mr. Yurin, to Peking with an offer of grain from Siberia to feed the starving millions of China. This may not amount to more than a generous gesture for, as Yurin confesses, the Siberian peasant has not much grain to spare, but it is bound to make a good impression since no other government has shown any such disposition to help in China's direst need. He also offers to return to China without compensation all the railroad and mining concessions and personal privileges that Imperial Russia had acquired and to remit the exorbitant indemnity which China had been compelled to pay for the Boxer outrages.

China is naturally disposed to accept all these favors without inquiring too closely into the authority of Yurin to speak for Russia. The American Government, regarding the Far Eastern Republic as a thinly disguised branch of the Moscow Soviet, has warned China against having anything to do with her northern neighbor bearing gifts. But the Chinese Government, after having sent a special mission to Siberia to study the situation, has sufficient confidence in Yurin to act upon his proposals by dismissing the Czar's envoy, Minister Kudashev, and taking over such Russian concessions and establishments as can be got hold of.

The Far Eastern Republic, with its headquarters in the unimportant railroad town of Verkhne Udinsk, seems to be gaining a certain authority over the local governments of the other Siberian cities, including even Vladivostok, altho this is still occupied by the Japanese. It claims to be independent of Soviet Russia, which formally recognized its independence six months ago. But it is semi-socialistic in character and is obviously operating in close concert with the Moscow Government if not under its complete control. The report that Washington Vanderlip and other California capitalists have secured by negotiations at Moscow the rights to exclusive mining concessions in 400,000 square miles in eastern Siberia adds to the puzzle of what is the position of the pink republic of Verkhne Udinsk. When General Graves returned last May with the American troops from Siberia he urged the sending of American representatives to Siberia for both political and commercial reasons. It is a pity his advice was not acted upon for our future relations with China, Japan and Russia are involved in the events that we dimly discern in the Siberian darkness.



# The Story of the Week

## The Greatest Landslide in History

ON March 4, 1921, Warren Gamaliel Harding will be President and Calvin Coolidge Vice-President of these United States. There will be a safe Republican majority in the Senate and a considerable increase in the Republican majority in the House of Representatives. In nearly every northern state the victory of the national Republican ticket carried with it the triumph of the state ticket, tho frequently by much smaller pluralities. The United States is now under single party rule and the entire responsibility for the conduct of affairs at home and abroad rests on the Republicans.

The popular plurality obtained by Senator Harding is about 6,000,000, which is greater than that won by any other President in American history. This is not wholly due, however, to the "landslide." The extension of woman suffrage to every state in the Union nearly doubled the electorate, and the exceptionally heavy registration of both men and women increased the total vote to unprecedented figures. Therefore a Republican plurality of twice the normal size might represent the same proportionate division of votes between the parties as in past elections. But even if due allowance is made for this factor, the dimensions of the Republican victory are astounding. The relation between the two major parties is again what it was after the victories of 1900, 1904 and 1908. The Democrats have once more been driven within the entrenchment lines of the "solid South." Even within these limits the heavy Republican vote in Tennessee and in some other states is an ominous sign that unless the Democratic party can regain the confidence of the nation it cannot count securely on any sectional support.

New York was the banner Republican state with respect to absolute size of the Republican plurality. Early reports placed Harding's plurality over Cox at more than a million votes. What is even more remarkable, New York City, the home of Tammany Hall and the center of Democratic sentiment in the eastern states, went for Harding in every borough and in nearly every Assembly district. Harding came down to the Bronx with a huge majority, but he could safely have rested his election on the verdict of the city alone, which gave him 440,000 plurality.

Illinois and Pennsylvania piled up Republican majorities only second to those in New York. Chicago went with the rest of the state. New England is solidly and securely Republican, Democratic hopes in Connecticut, New Hampshire and Massachusetts meeting with nothing but disappointment. Even Boston, which is normally Democratic, voted with the rest of Massachusetts. Indiana, which even Republican experts had counted as a doubtful state, went safely for Harding. Ohio, the home state of both candidates, was conceded to Harding from the earliest returns. New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, states of traditional Democratic sentiment and doubtful in many past elections, all rallied to the Republican cause. President Wilson's home district in Princeton, New Jersey, went for Harding by a majority of about five to one.

But, after all, Harding's victories in the eastern and central states only repeated in a more decisive fashion the victories of Justice Hughes four years ago. The states bounded by the Ohio, the Missouri and the Atlantic have, with but few exceptions, been so steadfastly Republican ever since the end of President Cleveland's administration as almost to deserve the title of the "solid North." It is the part of the Union lying between the Missouri and the Pacific which

holds the balance in American politics. The West gave Bryan all his political power, became almost unitedly Republican under the influence of Roosevelt and gave strong support to him as nominee of the Progressives, elected President Wilson in 1916, and wrecked the chances of Governor Cox in 1920 by returning to the Republican party. Some important western states were, indeed, conceded to Harding by both parties in spite of their support of President Wilson in 1916; for example, California and Kansas. But the Democrats counted on victory in Missouri, Montana, Colorado, Oklahoma, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada and Utah as an irreducible minimum, and many Republicans admitted that all of these states were doubtful. The Republican landslide, however, proved to be nation-wide. Outside the boundary of the old Confederacy, Governor Cox carried only Kentucky east of the Mississippi and west of it nothing with the possible exception of New Mexico.

## Election Topics

ALTHO the election of Harding and Coolidge much eclipsed in popular interest the Congressional, state and local elections there were some contests which attracted the attention of the nation at large. The "old guard" Senators, Wadsworth of New York, Brandegee of Connecticut and Moses of New Hampshire, were all reelected in spite of sharp opposition on the part of many progres-

## The Electoral College

	Harding	Cox	Estimated Plurality
Alabama		12	110,000 D
Arizona	3		5,000 R
Arkansas		9	100,000 D
California	13		350,000 R
Colorado	6		70,000 R
Connecticut	7		112,000 R
Delaware	3		11,672 R
Florida		6	30,000 D
Georgia		14	90,000 D
Idaho	4		25,000 R
Illinois	29		800,000 R
Indiana	15		186,000 R
Iowa	13		400,000 R
Kansas	10		200,000 R
Kentucky		13	30,000 D
Louisiana		10	20,000 D
Maine	6		75,000 R
Maryland	8		50,000 R
Massachusetts	18		400,000 R
Michigan	15		400,000 R
Minnesota	12		300,000 R
Mississippi		10	70,000 D
Missouri	18		70,000 D
Montana	4		40,000 R
Nebraska	8		125,000 R
Nevada	3		4,000 R
New Hampshire	4		30,000 R
New Jersey	14		280,000 R
New Mexico	3		Doubtful
New York	45		1,080,000 R
North Carolina		12	80,000 D
North Dakota	5		20,000 R
Ohio	24		362,000 R
Oklahoma	10		14,000 R
Oregon	5		50,000 R
Pennsylvania	38		800,000 R
Rhode Island	5		50,000 R
South Carolina		9	40,000 D
South Dakota	5		80,000 R
Tennessee	12		Doubtful
Texas		20	100,000 D
Utah	4		30,000 R
Vermont	4		45,000 R
Virginia		12	75,000 D
Washington	7		150,000 R
West Virginia	8		70,000 R
Wisconsin	13		250,000 R
Wyoming	3		20,000 R
	404	127	

Total electoral vote—531.  
Necessary to a choice—266



sive Republican voters. They did not keep step with Harding, but were swept into office in his train. Even Penrose ran behind his ticket, but of course his reelection was never in doubt. Senator Watson was victorious over Thomas Taggart in Indiana, Samuel Shortridge over Senator Phelan in California, Senator Spencer over Breckinridge Long in Missouri and Senator Smoot was reelected in Utah. These numerous triumphs for the conservative wing of the Republican party make it certain that the new Senate will be of the "stand pat" variety and little inclined to experiment and reform. Some radicals have been elected, however, such as Mr. Ladd in North Dakota, who has the endorsement of the Farmers' Non-Partizan League. Senator Cummins wins a personal triumph in Iowa, where union labor opposed him for his railroad policy, and Senator Lenroot of Wisconsin has to his credit a double victory over the Democratic candidate, Paul Reinsch, former Minister to China, and James Thompson, backed by Senator La Follette and the radically anti-League faction of the Republican party.

In New York state the most interesting feature of the local contest was the close race between Governor Alfred Smith and Judge Nathan L. Miller. New York City, which gave a plurality of 440,000 to Senator Harding, also gave a

plurality of about 320,000 to Governor Smith; a difference of three-fourths of a million votes between the national and state tickets. This amazing discrepancy was mainly due to the great personal popularity of the Governor of New York, tho it is also rumored that Tammany traded votes in order to secure the victory of the local ticket even at the expense of the national ticket. But the voters "up state" preferred Judge Miller and wiped out the New York City lead of Governor Smith, winning the election by a narrow margin. The Socialists managed to reelect two of the Assemblymen who had been twice expelled from the Legislature and also to win additional seats. The Socialists seem to have increased their vote heavily in many parts of the country and to be the "third party" of the nation, running ahead of the Farmer-Labor Party, the Prohibitionists and all other minor parties. Meyer London of New York was elected to Congress and will probably be the only third party man in the new House of Representatives. Victor Berger was defeated in Wisconsin.

The California law directed against Japanese ownership of land was successful on popular referendum. The law forbids any alien ineligible to citizenship from owning or leasing agricultural land. Japan may protest against the new law and take it up diplomatically.

## The New Senate

Republican		Democratic	Republican		Democratic
	Alabama	Oscar W. Underwood .. <i>J. Thomas Heflin</i>	George W. Norris	Nebraska	Gilbert M. Hitchcock
	Arizona		<i>Tasker L. Oddie</i>	Nevada	Key Pittman
<i>Ralph H. Cameron</i>	Arkansas	Henry F. Ashurst	Henry W. Keyes <i>George H. Moses</i>	New Hampshire	
	California	J. T. Robinson <i>T. H. Caraway</i>	Joseph S. Frelinghuysen Walter E. Edge	New Jersey	
Hiram Johnson <i>Samuel M. Shortridge</i>	Colorado		Albert B. Fall	New Mexico	Andrius A. Jones
L. C. Phipps <i>Samuel D. Nicholson</i>	Connecticut		William M. Calder <i>James W. Wadsworth, Jr.</i>	New York	
George P. McLean <i>F. B. Brandegee</i>	Delaware	Josiah O. Wolcott		North Carolina	Furnifold Simmons <i>Lee S. Overman</i>
L. H. Ball	Florida	Park Trammell <i>D. U. Fletcher</i>	Porter J. McCumber <i>E. F. Ladd</i>	North Dakota	
	Georgia	W. J. Harris <i>Thomas L. Watson</i>	Frank B. Willis	Ohio	Atlee Pomerene
	Idaho		<i>James W. Harrell</i>	Oklahoma	Robert L. Owen
William E. Borah <i>Frank R. Gooding</i>	Illinois		Charles L. McNary <i>Robert V. Stansfield</i>	Oregon	
Medill McCormick <i>William B. McKinley</i>	Indiana		Philander C. Knox <i>Boies Penrose</i>	Pennsylvania	
Harry S. New <i>James E. Watson</i>	Iowa		Le Baron Colt	Rhode Island	Peter G. Gerry
William S. Kenyon <i>A. B. Cummins</i>	Kansas			South Carolina	N. B. Dial <i>Ellison D. Smith</i>
Arthur Capper <i>Charles Curtis</i>	Kentucky	A. O. Stanley <i>J. C. W. Beckham</i>	Thomas Sterling <i>Peter Norbeck</i>	South Dakota	
	Louisiana	Joseph E. Ransdell <i>Jared Y. Sanders</i>		Tennessee	Kenneth D. McKellar John K. Shields
	Maine		<i>Reed Smoot</i>	Texas	Charles A. Culberson Morris Sheppard
Frederick Hale B. M. Fernald	Maryland		Carroll S. Page <i>W. P. Dillingham</i>	Utah	William H. King
Joseph I. France <i>Ovington E. Weller</i>	Massachusetts	D. I. Walsh		Vermont	
Henry Cabot Lodge	Michigan		Miles Poindexter <i>Wesley L. Jones</i>	Virginia	Claude A. Swanson <i>Carter Glass</i>
Charles E. Townsend T. H. Newberry	Minnesota		Howard Sutherland Davis Elkins	Washington	
Frank B. Kellogg Knut Nelson	Mississippi	John S. Williams B. P. Harrison	Robert M. La Follette <i>Irvine L. Lenroot</i>	West Virginia	
	Missouri	James A. Reed	Francis E. Warren	Wisconsin	
<i>S. P. Spencer</i>	Montana	Henry L. Myers Thomas J. Walsh	<i>Republicans—58</i>	Wyoming	John B. Kendrick <i>Democrats—38</i>

Italicized names are of Senators elected this year.



The most sensational result in the Congressional elections was the defeat of Champ Clark of Missouri, former Democratic Speaker of the House of Representatives. The Republicans will have a majority of about 140 in the new House.

The only serious election disorder reported from any part of the country was a race riot in Orlando, Florida, in which two white men and six negroes lost their lives.

## Tumulty Describes Wilson

**P**RESIDENT Wilson's personal secretary, Mr. Tumulty, confirmed the statements of the pro-League Republican delegation that the President, while still as clear and sound as ever in mind, is completely broken in health by his arduous labors. Mr. Tumulty made an eloquent appeal, based on years of intimacy with the President, for greater appreciation of his sacrifices and services on behalf of his country. He said:

Two pictures are in my mind. First, the House of Representatives crowded from floor to gallery with expectant throngs. Presently it is announced that the President of the United States will address congress. There steps out to the Speaker's desk a straight, vigorous, slender man, active and alert. He is sixty years of age, but he looks not more than forty-five, so lithe of limb, so alert of bearing, so virile. It is Woodrow Wilson reading his great war message.

The other picture is only three and a half years later. There is a parade of veterans of the Great War. They are to be reviewed by the President on the east terrace of the White House. In the chair sits a man, your President, broken in health but still alert in mind. His hair is white, his shoulders bowed, his figure bent. He is sixty-three years old, but he looks older. It is Woodrow Wilson.

Presently, in the procession, there appears an ambulance laden with wounded soldiers, the maimed, the halt and the blind. As they pass they salute, slowly, reverently. The President's right hand goes up in answering salute. I glanced at him. There were tears in his eyes. The wounded is greeting the wounded; those in the ambulance, he in the chair, are alike casualties of the Great War.

I don't believe that in his heart President Wilson regrets his wounds. I fancy he realizes no man could die in a greater cause, but I do sometimes wonder if it ever seems to him strange that when a man has been seriously wounded in his country's service he should be met with sneers and calumnies from his countrymen.

Woodrow Wilson will have his monuments; the future generations will see him clear-eyed and unprejudiced as one of America's immortals; but I want him to live to realize that he has a place in the warm hearts of his countrymen while he lives. I want him to realize that wish which he expressed several years ago when he said: "I want people to love me." I want him to realize that he was modestly mistaken when he said: "They never will."

## Uncle Sam's Big Budget

**C**OMMISSIONER Williams of the Internal Revenue places the internal revenue collections for the fiscal year 1919-1920 at \$5,408,075,468 as compared with \$3,850,150,078 for the previous year. This increase was due mainly to the greater yield of the income and excess profits taxes which amounted during the year to the enormous figure of \$3,957,699,870, or more than the yield of all the internal revenue receipts in the previous year.

Owing to the coming into effect of prohibition the revenue derived from distilled and fermented liquors was much decreased and amounted to less than four per cent of the internal revenues. On the other hand, the yield of the tobacco tax was vastly increased. The American public consumed more than 8,200,000,000 cigars and 50,400,000,000 cigarets during the year; a vast increase over any previous year in both instances. Transportation taxes, luxury taxes, and the special corporation tax all yielded big revenues.

The cost of operating the internal revenue service was 55 cents on each \$100 collected. This was a slight relative increase over the figures for 1919, but this is fully accounted for by the extra expense involved in the enforcement of the prohibition law. Altho the new direct taxes which were the product of wartime necessity have thus shown themselves enormously productive, they are unpopular, and it is almost a foregone conclusion that the next Congress will greatly modify the excess profits tax as well as drop some of the special luxury taxes.

## President Wilson to America

**C**ONSCIOUS that the election of 1920 would close a chapter in his public career and that his administration would in a few days pass from politics to history, President Wilson made shortly before election a farewell statement to his fellow-countrymen. The occasion which called forth his address was the visit to Washington of a delegation of pro-League Republicans who are supporting the Democratic national ticket this year on the League issue. In his address the President reaffirmed his faith in the unamended Covenant, saying in part:

The League of Nations is the well-considered effort of the whole group of nations who were opposed to Germany to secure themselves and the rest of mankind against a repetition of the war. It will have back of it the watchfulness and material force of all these nations, and is such a guarantee of a peaceful future as no well-informed man can question who does not doubt the whole spirit with which the war was conducted against



International

Manuel C. Tellez, Mexico's new representative to the United States; he will take up many negotiations started by his predecessor—Fernando Calderon, who has returned to Mexico as Senator



THREE NEW AMBASSADORS TO THIS COUNTRY

The new Ambassador from China is Dr. Alfred Sze, formerly Chinese Minister to London. He is a graduate of Cornell and said to be unusually familiar with affairs in this country



Italy is sending as Ambassador to Washington Baron Aliotti. He is known well and favorably in official circles, having been connected with the embassy here some years ago



Germany. The great moral influence of the United States will be absolutely thrown away if we do not complete the task which our soldiers and sailors so heroically undertook to execute.

One thing ought to be said, and said very clearly, about Article X of the Covenant of the League of Nations. It is the specific pledge of the members of the League that they will unite to resist exactly the things which Germany attempted, no matter who attempts them in the future. It is as exact a definition as could be given in general terms of the outrage which Germany would have committed if it could.

Germany violated the territorial integrity of her neighbors and flouted their political independence in order to aggrandize herself, and almost every war in history has originated in such designs. It is significant that the nations of the world should have at last combined to define the general cause of war and to exercise such concert as may be necessary to prevent such methods. Article X, therefore, is the specific redemption of the pledge which the free governments of the world gave to their people when they entered the war. They promised their people not only that Germany would be prevented from carrying out her plot, but that the world would be safeguarded in the future from similar designs.

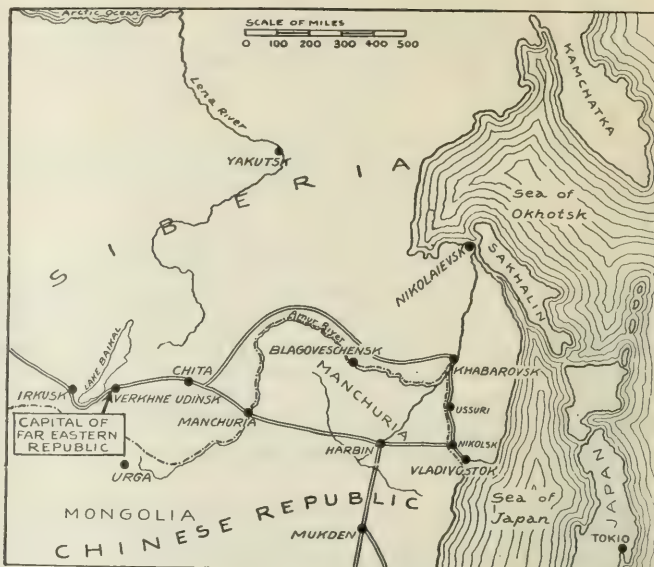
In his statement President Wilson did not directly mention the Democratic candidate, nor did he speak of such reservations to Article X as Governor Cox has announced his willingness to accept. This gave rise to the report that the President was not pleased with the way in which the Democratic national campaign was being conducted. To put an end to this rumor, President Wilson sent a personal telegram to Governor Cox, congratulating him on having "spoken truly and fearlessly about the great issues at stake" and signing the telegram "your gratified and loyal supporter."

## The Siberian Buffer State

THE fall of Admiral Kolchak left Siberia without even the semblance of authority. The American and Czechoslovak troops who had guarded the railroad were withdrawn. Only the Japanese remained in force and they were regarded by the mass of the Russians as invaders to be expelled. The armies of Soviet Russia did not advance beyond Irkutsk, just west of Lake Baikal. The best of these forces were later called back to Russia to meet the attack of the Poles, leaving only a rabble of Reds in western Siberia. Vladivostok and the Pacific end of the Trans-Siberian railroad remained in the possession of the Japanese. A section of the road in between at Chita was held by Semionov, a young Cossack chief, brutal, ambitious and reckless, supposed to be in the pay of the Japanese and at any rate playing into their hands. He has recently telegraphed to Sevastopol recognizing the authority of Baron Wrangel and asking him for orders. Armed bands of irregulars known as "Partizans" roamed over the country committing reprisals and preying upon the cities. Some of these were peasants rising against Cossack tyranny or Japanese rule. Some were fanatical Bolsheviks. Some were plain bandits. German, Austrian and Hungarian prisoners, released from internment and deprived of provisions, added to the confusion. Some of them joined the Red bands; others assisted in the restoration of order.

On the collapse of the Kolchak régime the Siberian cities set up their own government, several of which claimed but none of which would exert authority over all Siberia. These local governments ranged from Red and ruthless to mild and moderate. At Nikolaievsk, for one example, a band of young Bolsheviks massacred the Japanese and terrorized over the city. At Vladivostok on the contrary the new government comprized various factions and has shown itself fair even to its opponents.

The government that was set up at Verkhne Udinsk, the first railroad town east of Lake Baikal and therefore next to the Soviet frontier, is intermediate between these extremes. It is communistic in character and works in close coöperation with the Moscow Soviet. But it has avoided some of the mistakes of the Russian Bolsheviks and in particular has been more successful in conciliating the



MAP OF SIBERIAN CHAOS

The Soviet power reaches to Irkutsk. East of Lake Baikal there is no general government. Each city has its own, but that of Verkhne Udinsk is gaining a certain authority over the others and is now negotiating with Japan and China on equal terms. The Chinese Eastern Railroad which runs across Manchuria from Manchuria station to Vladivostok and which was formerly under Russian control, has been offered to China by the Soviet Government. Semionov's Cossacks control a stretch of the railroad about Chita. The Japanese hold Vladivostok, Harbin and Ussuri. It is rumored that Japan has been offered the island of Sakhalin and the peninsula of Kamchatka on condition of retiring from the mainland

peasantry. It has got along well with the Japanese. Apparently there is a secret treaty between Japan and the buffer state of Verkhne Udinsk, for both parties appeal to such a document in their recent controversy over Semionov. The Cossack commander is trying to thwart the efforts of the Verkhne Udinsk Government to effect a union of all Eastern Siberia and his lieutenant, Baron Ungern, has started a drive from the Mongolian border directed against Verkhne Udinsk. That Government has demanded that the Japanese suppress Semionov and claims that Japan had promised to prevent any such hostile movements.

It is rumored the Verkhne Udinsk Government has come to an agreement with Japan by which the Japanese shall withdraw from Siberia on condition of securing the cession of the whole island of Sakhalin and possibly also the peninsula of Kamchatka. The American Government has protested to Japan against the acquisition of Sakhalin on the ground that it is a violation of the Treaty of Portsmouth, which concluded the Russo-Japanese war and assigned the northern half of the island to Russia.

But, whether as a result of these negotiations or because of the anti-militarist movement at home, the Japanese forces are being drawn in from outlying points and concentrated about Vladivostok, the Japanese garrisons have been withdrawn from Nikolaievsk, Khabarovsk and Blagoveshchensk before winter sets in, when they would be isolated. These cities will now fall into Russian and more or less Soviet control. The Japanese troops continue to hold the important railroad junctions of Nikolsk, Harbin and Ussuri.

## Siberia and China

THE unknown Siberian town of Verkhne Udinsk, 15,000 population by the last census, 8000 by the census of 1897, has suddenly become of international importance for it has sent an envoy to the largest republic in the world making proposals that threaten to upset the relations of all the great powers with the four hundred million Chinese. The identity of the envoy is doubtful and his authority is



dubious, but it seems likely that he will make a breach in the blockade of Soviet Russia and give China a chance to recover some of her lost rights. According to the London *Times*, the name of Yurin, which the envoy bears, is an alias and that he really is Dzevaltovsky, a prominent official in the Kerensky Government and later head of the Department of Military Education under the Soviet.

Yurin entered China, September 3, by the back door, traveling with his staff across the Mongolian desert from Urga to Peking in two motor cars once belonging to French military mission to Kolchak, but captured by the Bolsheviki in Siberia. This is the old caravan route and may again become the connecting link between Asia and Europe as the automobile becomes the "ship of the desert" in place of the camel. Before the war the Imperial Government of Russia was dominant in Urga and rapidly displacing Chinese authority over Mongolia, which would probably have become a Russian province. But the Soviet Government of Russia, while ambitious to convert the world to its views, betrays no desire for territorial expansion. All its fighting so far has been within the limits of old Russia and it has acquiesced in liberal secessions on all frontiers. Last April the Soviet Government notified China that it renounced all the claims, concessions and privileges that Imperial Russia had wrested from China.

Yurin confirmed this in behalf of his Government, the Far Eastern Republic of Verkhne Udinsk, which professes to be independent of Soviet Russia. President Medvedev of the Provisional Government of Vladivostok, also professing independence, has likewise repudiated "in entirety the imperialistic aims of the former Czarist Government in the matter of the Chinese Eastern Railway." This assurance was given to the Special Commission of Advisers which the Chinese Government sent to Siberia to investigate the various governments in their relation to China. The commission returned convinced that it would be safe to enter into relations with these governments and to accept the concessions they offered.

This meant in the first place a saving of \$3,325,000 a year that China had been paying to Russia as indemnity for the Boxer riots. Russia claimed 29 per cent of the total Boxer indemnity, a larger amount than any other nation. The United States claimed only 7 per cent and had remitted half of that. During the past two years the other powers have let China off on these payments, but the Russian minister at Peking, Prince Kudachev, has insisted that the Russian share be paid over to him, altho since he had been appointed by the Czar he could hardly be considered a representative of Russia. Needless to say, none of this money went into Russia. It was used for paying the expenses of the representatives of the old régime in other countries, including Ambassador Bakhmetiev in the United States.

The Chinese Government notified Prince Kudachev and the Russian consuls that they were no longer accepted as Russian representatives. But Prince Kudachev refused to vacate the Russian ministry and since this building is situated in the Legation Quarter, which enjoys the privilege of extra-territoriality, he could not be evicted. But the Chinese Government shut off the delivery to him of code despatches. The Chinese lowered the Russian flags and hoisted their own over most of the former Russian building and concessions, but the Russo-Asiatic bank, which is the financial agent of the Chinese Eastern Railroad, dis-

played the French flag instead, claiming that 80 per cent of the capital is French and that the headquarters have been moved to Paris.

Russia formerly forced China to give her a preferential reduction of two-thirds of the tariff duties on Russian goods, but this privilege is now also renounced with the rest.

The American Government, consistent with its policy of denying the validity of any of the acts of revolutionary Russia, has warned China against accepting Russian favors and has asked the coöperation of the other powers in maintaining the *status quo ante*. But the Chinese, who see in the Soviet offer their only chance to regain their lost property and rights, are indignant at the United States for intervening and preventing them from taking advantage of the occasion.

## Defeat of Wrangel

THE appearance of Trotzky on the southern front with some of the best of the communist troops from the Polish front has turned the tide against Baron Wrangel. The Bolsheviki have now the advantage both in numbers and artillery, and by skilfully converging their forces they have practically regained Taurida within two weeks. This province lies between the Dnieper River on the west and the Sea of Azov on the east. The Soviet plan of attack was to smash in both wings and then drive at the center. This plan was carried. While one section of the Soviet army crossed the Dnieper from Kherson to Perekop, the other came down the railroad from Alexandrovsk to Melitopol and the Sea of Azov. Wrangel will now be forced to retire again into the Crimea. Here he may be protected by the French fleet, altho the British will not be so much inclined to come to his defense as formerly, since the British Government warned him against undertaking this drive into Soviet Russia. The French broke with the British on this question and Premier Millerand granted official recognition and support to the South Russia Government of General Wrangel without the knowledge and contrary to the wish of

Premier Lloyd George. The American Government has been approached by one of the powers, presumably France, to see if the United States would come to the aid of Wrangel by participating in a blockade of the Black Sea. Our Government has not yet complied, but the State Department still expresses confidence in Wrangel's victory and the speedy collapse of the Soviet power. John A. Embry, of the American consular service, has been ordered to go from Finland to Constantinople to investigate the situation in the Crimea, but he is not commissioned as plenipotentiary to the South Russian Government. The French, however, have a High Commissioner at Sevastopol.

What purports to be a treaty between France and Baron Wrangel has been published, according to which he agrees if victorious to pay all the debts due to France with compound interest, to renew the alliance between Russia and France, to restore compulsory military service, to grant France the surplus grain of southern Russia, two-thirds of the oil and one-



Wide World

General Mangin, who was Commander Foch's right hand man during the Great War, has been chosen to head a mission to South Russia in order to report to the French Government the exact situation in the war against the Bolsheviki. But these eight Mangin youngsters think it's more important that their father stay and play with them



fourth of the coal, and to hand over to France all the railroads in European Russia, and to put Frenchmen in the financial and commercial ministries. The correctness of this document has been officially denied, but M. Struve, Wrangel's representative at Paris, says: "We shall pledge as security for a loan the conquests, the booty and the quantity of grain that our offensive will allow us to capture."

Besides the aid received from France, the American Red Cross has spent more than two million dollars in relief work in the Crimea.

## Rumania Gets Bessarabia

BY a treaty signed in the French Foreign Office on the Quai d'Orsay, Paris, Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan cede to Rumania the Russian province of Bessarabia. Russia has nothing to say about this transfer of territory, either now or hereafter, since it is specially stipulated in the document that Russia may not raise the question of sovereignty, altho she may, after she has a government recognized by the Allies, bring other questions before the League of Nations. The treaty contains a clause for the protection of minorities in spite of the protest of Rumania against its insertion. It is, however, particularly necessary in the case of Rumania, for the Congress of Berlin, which in 1878 established the independence of Rumania, insisted upon the insertion of a clause in the constitution guaranteeing equal rights without regard to race or religion. Nevertheless, the Jews in Rumania have been discriminated against, deprived of political and financial rights and occasionally massacred.

The Jews, who constitute more than a third of the city population of Bessarabia, are naturally averse to coming under Rumanian rule. So

also are the Ukrainians (Little Russians), who form a still larger element in Bessarabia. In fact, the Rumanians (Moldavians) number less than half of the population, and it is by no means certain that all of them would vote for annexation to Rumania. Probably a plebiscite would result in a division of the country between Russia and Rumania, but the people are not to be consulted.

Bessarabia was taken from the Turks by the Russians in 1812, but after Russia was defeated in the Crimean War by the British, French and Turks, she was forced to relinquish most of Bessarabia. But by her victory over the Turks in 1878 she recovered the province. Bessarabia is about twice the size of Massachusetts and has a population of about 2,500,000.

## MacSwiney's Funeral

THE coroner's jury called in the case of the Lord Mayor of Cork, after hearing the testimony of the prison physician and the Lady Mayoress, returned a verdict of "death from heart failure due to refusal of food." In the similar case of Joseph Murphy, one of the hunger strikers in the Cork prison, the verdict was that "he feloniously killed himself by refusing all forms of nourishment."

The body of MacSwiney was dressed in the uniform of an officer of the Irish Republican army. A republican flag draped the coffin and the inscription on the lid read:

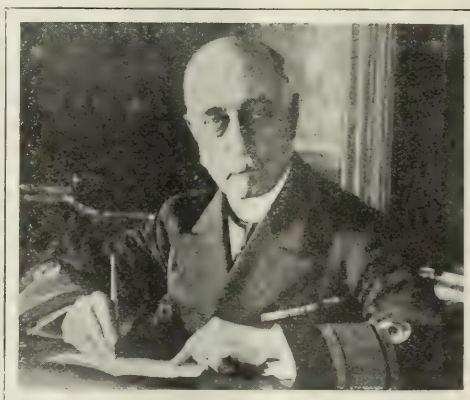
Traylor MacSwiney, Brigade Commandant, Cork First Brigade, Irish Republican Army, Lord Mayor of Cork, Member of Dail Eireann for mid-Cork, Murdered by the Foreigner in Brixton Prison, London, England, on the 25th October, 1920, the Fourth Year of the Republic, Aged 40 Years. God Have Mercy on His Soul. Requiescat in Pace.

The funeral took place at Cork. The procession that marched from the cathedral to the cemetery was headed by three archbishops, thirty bishops and nearly three hundred priests. Next came the members of the Irish Republican Parliament (Dail Eireann) with Arthur Griffith, Acting President of the Republic. Then followed fifteen hundred Sinn Fein volunteers and mourners. A squad of Irish Republican Volunteers fired a salute over the grave. The streets were lined with British soldiers, who saluted as the procession passed.

Memorial mass meetings attended by thousands were held in all the large American cities. In New York some 35,000 assembled on the Polo Grounds and were addressed by Eamonn de Valera, President of the Irish Republic, Governor Smith and other prominent citizens and clergymen. Hindu Nationalists took part in the anti-British demonstration. Resolutions were passed comparing the Irish martyrs to the American patriots of 1776 and demanding that the President recognize the Irish Republic.

Notwithstanding the great murders that have been committed in Ireland in the last four years very few of the murderers have been caught and none has hitherto been hanged. The first execution since the rebellion of Easter, 1916, was the hanging of Kevin Barry, a Dublin medical student of eighteen years, who was convicted of complicity in an attack upon a military raiding party last September in which a soldier was killed. A crowd of two thousand gathered outside the Mountjoy jail and knelt in prayer in the muddy road as the tolling bell announced the execution.

The Sunday following the death of MacSwiney was marked by unusually numerous outbreaks of violence.



© International

The regent of Greece now is Admiral P. Coundouriotis, former Greek Minister of Marine. He was friendly to the Allies when the former King Constantine was dallying with his sympathy for the German side in the Great War



© Keystone View

PUZZLE PICTURE: FIND THE KING

Prince Paul (standing in the middle background between his two sisters) has been offered the throne of Greece left vacant by the death of his brother, King Alexander. But Paul refuses on the ground that the Greek throne belongs to his father, the former King Constantine (seated at the right of this photograph with his youngest daughter on his knee). King Constantine was deposed for intriguing with Germany when the Greek people wanted to join in the war on the side of the Allies. His eldest son, Prince George (seated at the left), was refused the throne at that time also because of German sympathies, and Prince Alexander, the second son, was made king. The cause of the Greek royalty's pro-Germanism lies in the fact that Constantine's wife, the former Queen Sophia (center) is a sister of the ex-Emperor of Germany.



## President Harding

(Continued from page 219)

Harding, as President, may be depended upon, in the interest of quick consideration for his domestic policies, to take every precaution against a new and protracted treaty wrangle in the Senate.

What his domestic policies will be, the voters would have had better material upon which to judge had Senator Harding responded to the suggestion that he give out in advance of the election the names of the men he will appoint to his cabinet. The kind of administration Harding will give will depend in no inconsiderable degree upon the kind of men he appoints to Cabinet places, for Cabinet meetings during the next four years are to be more than "mere formalities." The President will be prepared to accept as his own the judgment of his Cabinet members, plus that of his Republican friends in the Senate, when the two groups are in approximate agreement.

Only a very self-effacing man, a man by no means a partizan of his own opinions when they are in conflict with those of his party, could have said what Senator Harding, the President-elect, said on a great public question as Senator:

"Believing as I do in political parties and government thru political parties, I had much rather that the party to which I belong should, in its conferences, make a declaration, than to assume a leadership or take an individual position on the question."

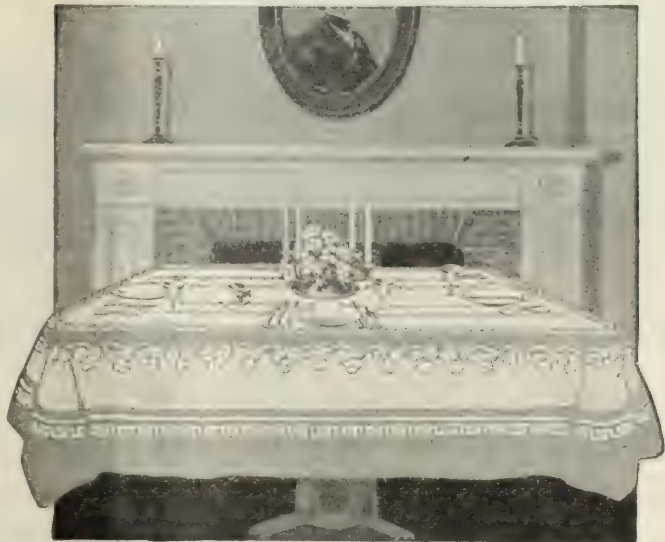
Senator Harding has told the country that he will surround himself with the ablest men he can find in the Republican party—and his press agents, who cannot possibly know, have added that they will be "young men," that is, men with the ideas of young men, whatever their age in years. Uncle Warren, himself, is not a young man, tho the birthday he celebrated on the day of his election was only his fifty-fifth.

He long has known the type of man he wants for each Cabinet place. Soon he will be sending out the formal invitations to be members of his official family to the men he has selected, tho it is said on his behalf that the lists have not yet closed. He began drawing up his Cabinet specifications at a time when Johnson and Wood and Lowden were piling up strength in the preferential primaries and he was being left far in the rear.

"That . . ." he used to say to those who traveled with him in the pre-convention campaign, when pointing out some distinguished citizen, ". . . that is the kind of man I want for Secretary of — in my Cabinet." He said it many times, but always he said "that is the kind of man" and never "that is the man." Marion may know the names of some of the men who will sit in the Harding Cabinet, but Washington still is in the dark. Washington feels, nevertheless, under the necessity of pretending to know the full list.

John Weeks, Massachusetts, gradu-

## McCutcheon's



(Rose Band and Key Pattern)

## Linens for Thanksgiving

THE Thanksgiving hostess who wishes her table to be in perfect keeping with the festive spirit of the holiday will find at McCutcheon's that first essential—the snowy cloth of damask.

Exclusive patterns in Cloths  $3\frac{1}{2}$ , 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 yards long, as well as those up to 5 yards square, with Dinner Napkins to match.

Now is a particularly good time to fill the linen-closet, for at McCutcheon's prices pure linens are indeed a satisfying investment.

### In General

Orders for monogramming should be in our hands a month before delivery.

Orders by mail receive  
our careful attention.

Registered  
Trade-Mark



Established  
1855

James McCutcheon & Co.  
Fifth Avenue, 34th & 33d Sts., New York





# Even among the rich children are starving

*Dr. Wm. R. P. Emerson says: "A careful study of children in private schools and the families of the rich shows almost equal prevalence of malnutrition with the families of the poor." One child in every three is undernourished.*

**G**HAT one child in every three here in America, the world's greatest food-producing nation, should be underfed, undernourished, seems almost unbelievable.

Yet experts in nutrition have made that statement after study of thousands of American boys and girls of all classes.

It is not that our children get too little to eat. Children of the well-to-do and of the rich, Dr. Emerson says, show undeniable evidence of malnutrition.

The condition, in most cases, is traced rather to lack of food of the right kind, to an insufficient supply of certain food elements.

## Food Essentials

The body requires sixteen food elements if it is to attain its full development and carry on its natural functions in health.

Each of these elements is essential to life; we must have them all.

In the whole wheat grain Nature provides the sixteen vital food elements in more nearly the proper proportion than in any other food, save possibly milk.

But man, in the modern methods of wheat preparation, removes and rejects the six outer layers of the wheat kernels, commonly called the bran. Many of these vital elements are found almost wholly in those outer layers. They're thrown away.

In the whole wheat grain all of them can be secured.

## Nature provides flavor

In Nature's larder health and energy are not separate from delightful tastes and flavors.

Thousands have found this to be so—in Pettijohn's, a whole wheat breakfast food of rich and gratifying taste.

Served with cream and a little sugar, if you wish, it makes a vital energy ration that old and young delight to eat.

Look at the table shown here. If your child is below his or her normal weight—try Pettijohn's.

If the child is irritable, nervous, pale-checked and generally tired, don't just say "it's his nature." Those are signs of malnutrition. Give him Pettijohn's.

If you yourself are feeling below par, lacking in energy and vim—try this whole wheat

health food. Many grown-ups who suffer from congestion of the intestinal tract need only its natural bran laxative to set them right.

Your grocer has Pettijohn's—or will gladly get it for you. Make tomorrow's breakfast of this appetizing, sixteen-vital-elements food.

Made by the Quaker Oats Co., 1625N Railway Exchange Bldg., Chicago, U. S. A.

Are your children under the weight shown by this standard table? If so they need more of the 16-vital elements food					
Boys			Girls		
Height	Average	Weight	Height	Average	Weight
Inches	Pounds	Pounds	Inches	Pounds	Pounds
35*	28.7	28.6	49	55.4	55.8
36*	30.0	30.0	50	59.6	58.3
37*	31.6	31.5	51	62.5	61.1
38*	33.2	32.7	52	65.8	63.8
39	36.3	35.7	53	68.9	66.8
40	38.1	37.4	54	72.0	70.3
41	39.8	39.2	55	75.4	74.5
42	41.7	41.2	56	79.2	78.4
43	43.5	43.1	57	82.8	82.5
44	45.4	44.8	58	87.0	86.6
45	47.1	46.3	59	91.1	91.1
46	49.5	48.5	60	95.2	96.7
47	51.4	50.9	61	99.3	102.5
48	53.0	53.3	62	103.8	110.4
*Without clothes.			63	108.0	118.0

The figures for the younger children are taken from "Holt's Diseases of Infancy and Childhood" (1919); for heights from 39 inches on, principally from the studies of Boas, Burk, Bowditch and Smedley. These latter heights and weights are with indoor clothes but without shoes. Table of weights furnished by Dr. Wm. R. P. Emerson.

ate of Annapolis, for Secretary of the Navy—that appointment Washington will tell you is a certainty. For Secretary of State, Senator Harding naturally wants a man who will be in agreement with him on foreign policy and will have prestige abroad. He agrees with much that David Jayne Hill has written on the Treaty, therefore David Jayne Hill for Secretary of State, if Elihu Root will not accept. Neither Leonard Wood nor General Pershing will be Secretary of War. For this office Senator Harding will select a man who has had large experience as an organizer and administrator, not a military man but a civilian, one who will be able to translate the civilian mind for his military advisers. Make your own selection.

For Secretary of the Treasury, such a man as Frank A. Vanderlip, and for Commerce, a former president of the United States Chamber of Commerce, probably Harry A. Wheeler. These, at least, are Washington's guesses. The Post Office Department has been a point of especial weakness in the Wilson administration. For Postmaster General, then, a big business man, one who knows what the Post Office Department is for and will be able to put it on its feet again. A merchant, John Wanamaker, was one of the best postmasters the country ever had. What about Julius Rosenwald, the head of the largest mail order house in the world?

And so it goes on down thru the list as Washington, with due regard for geography and political debts that should be paid, makes up its speculative Cabinet for the new President. Herbert Hoover, Republican, California? Hoover should have something. He would look well in a super-Cabinet. Herbert Hoover for Secretary of the Interior, that department later to be converted into a Department of Public Works, with jurisdiction over all the engineering and developmental activities of the Government.

Senator Harding heartily approves the Department of Public Works project, and its sister project for a Department of Public Welfare, tho the necessity for the latter is not quite so pressing. When it is created, if it is created, this department would take over all the Government's present educational and health activities. Senator Harding would oppose giving it any additional work to do. He stands for deflation of the Government. It is already carrying on too many activities in fields that should be left to the states.

Would Senator Harding feel moved to appoint a woman to be Secretary of Public Welfare? He has hinted that he might, but upon further reflection he probably would not. Women will have other responsible positions in the Government, certainly, but they have not yet had the experience necessary to qualify them for Cabinet appointment. They do not know the technique of public life. They have not much more than begun their apprenticeship. The time will come when such recognition will be possible, Senator Harding will



feel, but not during his administration.

The Harding Cabinet will be a well oiled machine, with every bearing adjusted, ready to be set in motion the minute the Senate turns on the power with its confirmations. It will work as a team. The entire Government will work as a team. Every bureau chief will be taught to feel that he is an important part of the Government—and of the party doing the governing—and will be held responsible for producing the results desired.

No decision on major policy will be made by Senator Harding without consulting his Cabinet, and the men who later will become known as the "bosses" in the House and Senate. He will want all the facts and all the opinions he can get so that the announced result will approximate what the Republican party as a whole would have done in the circumstances.

He has the newspaperman's thirst for information. Facts, facts, facts, he demanded of the witnesses appearing before the Senate committees of which he was a member. His speeches were infrequent. Usually the information he secured was reflected only in his votes in the Senate—which were always "regular."

SENATOR Harding is slow to make up his mind. He finds it hard work. He would rather do nothing at all than take an action of whose soundness he was not thoroly convinced. It may happen many times during his administration that before he has made up his mind on a particular subject, the necessity for doing so will have passed.

But once having made a decision he will stick to it. Only one form of argument will move him—the very persuasive argument of an adverse public reaction. Widespread disapproval of his policies he will seek to avoid by taking the public more or less into his confidence before making an unalterable decision on any question. He will take added counsel from the comment of the press when it learns how his mind is running. He will be tolerant of the opposing opinion of minorities, thereafter, but having made his decision and convinced himself he is right, he will stick.

The latch string will be out at the White House, particularly to members of Congress—and the President's room at the Capitol will see more use than it has for many a session. Calvin Coolidge, as Vice-President, will sit in at all Cabinet meetings. He will be the Senate's direct representative at the White House, and the President's personal representative at the Senate. Two members of the Cabinet will probably be selected from the membership of the House.

These are some of the means by which Senator Harding hopes to be able to establish that coöperation with the legislative branch that is essential to the success of party government. Real coöperation with Congress, if he gets it on a wide scale, will add to the force of the contrast his administra-

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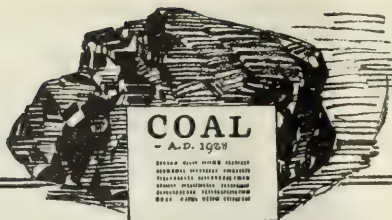
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## There was once a substance called coal

It doesn't take a Jules Verne to imagine the time when our present-day fuel will be gone.

But there is nothing frightful in the prospect. Already the world's engineering brains have cast ahead and discovered a new fuel in rain drops and dew fall—water power.

Nor is this source of power a hazy dream of the future. It's here.

In California, for example, 942,000 hydro-electric horsepower are right now turning wheels, lighting cities and harvesting crops.

In the United States as a whole there are 9,000,000 hydro-electric horsepower actually at work—and this is but fifteen per cent of our available supply.

It is to the other eighty-five per cent we must look against the day when coal and oil are museum curiosities.

Just how soon hydro-electric development will come to any community must depend on local conditions—such as how long the coal supply there can advantageously compete with water power.

But in the many places where coal is scarcely to be had, sane common-sense thinking about the relative economy of water power will hasten its coming—to the common good.

We should all understand that water power is not the interest of any particular business—that it is not a political issue, but a great economic one which affects us all.

So its support must come from the people, whose money will be needed to finance it. And rightly so.

Conservation of our national resources is one of the first benefits of water power development. The preservation of forests, the avoidance of floods, the irrigation of arid lands are part and parcel of this program.

Truly, unharnessed water is a national possession which goes to waste as long as we do not use it—and in this day of inadequate production and the high cost of living, any waste is an economic crime.

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the interest of Elec-  
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**No. 11** The Western Electric branch in your city is one of more than forty similar organizations distributing electrical products of all kinds, through retailers to the general public and direct to industrial users. Western Electric service is within your reach wherever you may be situated.

tion will provide with that of President Wilson.

Whether it likes his policies or not, the country is going to like Harding personally. Everyone who knows him likes him as a person. He will go into the White House with fewer real enemies than any previous President. He has been called the perfect example of the professional spell-binding politician, but he is something more than that. He has been a politician for twenty-one years. For sixteen years before he ever thought of becoming one, he was a business man, engaged in the business of publishing the *Marion Daily Star*. He has remained in business since. The average successful American business man is apt to see in the new President a great deal of himself. The thing in Marion in which the Senator takes the greatest pride is not the success of his newspaper, but the success of the Marion Steam Shovel Company!

He thinks he knows the needs of American business—and additional regulation is not one of them. His principal mission he will believe to be to make conditions right for material prosperity in the United States—and his program for doing so probably will look very much like that of McKinley.

The country will get its first real glimpse of his policies in the message he will deliver—now that Wilson has set the precedent—to the special session of the Sixty-seventh Congress, to be summoned shortly after he assumes the Presidency. His first recommendation probably will be for the repeal of the excess profits taxes and the substitution of a flat tax of some kind, perhaps a sales tax, that will not be pyramided as it is passed on to the consumer. The amount of revenue to be returned by taxation cannot be materially reduced, but a sales tax would produce so large a yield as to permit the dropping of the bothersome taxes on soda water, theater tickets, club dues and luxuries.

Inevitably he will sooner or later recommend an upward revision of the tariff for protection of others besides those new industries set up during the war from the competition of bankrupt Europe. A tariff on lemons he pledged during the campaign.

For the high cost of living he will have no legislative remedies to suggest, except, of course, the repeal of the excess profits taxes. With the practice of thrift by the people, following the example of the Government, this problem will eventually work itself out—if the Government keeps its hands off and quits badgering business. The Federal Trade Commission will be plainly told that its function is not to persecute and investigate business, but to advise business what it may and may not do under the anti-trust laws.

Senator Harding hopes not to be compelled to deal harshly with labor, but the Government has the duty of protecting the public against the suffering occasioned by general strikes in essential industries and should a new



epidemic of such strikes develop he would feel compelled seriously to consider recommending to Congress the creation of a Federal board for industrial arbitration, whose awards would be binding upon both capital and labor.

He has made up his mind about the Esch-Cummins railroad act. It is a beneficent piece of legislation. Appeals to him to recommend changes in its labor sections are not likely to prove fruitful. He will, however, recommend that the sections governing railroad consolidations be liberalized to permit consolidations of smaller units, thus assisting in the restoration of railroad credits.

Senator Harding is a firm believer in military preparedness. He will not recommend a standing army larger than the present one. The country cannot afford it. But there may be another way. "I am a believer," he said in 1917, "in universal and compulsory military service, oftentimes alluded to as conscription." He believes also in a strong navy, but is against having the Government manufacture its own munitions on a wider scale than at present. This can well be left to private enterprise. The industrial preparedness project of the Council of National Defense is not likely to receive much encouragement as a substitute for military preparedness.

Senator Harding firmly believes in the right of every people, with the exception of the Filipinos, to determine for themselves what sort of government they will have. This applies to Haiti and Santo Domingo as well as to Mexico and Russia. What his Mexican policy will be depends upon what action the present administration takes on pending requests for recognition from the present Government of that republic, and the nature of his Russian policy depends upon whether the Bolshevik government falls this winter. He might not recognize the Soviet government, but neither would he blockade it.

He hopes it will be possible early in his administration to come to a clear understanding with the Government of Mexico. He would have Mexico understand that the United States does not question the right of the Mexican people to adopt any sort of constitution they please for the government of their internal affairs, but it does seriously question their right thru the adoption of new constitutions to confiscate property lawfully acquired by foreigners under previous constitutions. He does not want intervention, but would let Mexico understand that appropriate measures would be taken by the United States should that country fail to live up to an agreement once an agreement had been reached.

Four members of the United States Supreme Court have passed the age of retirement. Senator Harding is likely, therefore, to have the appointment of four supreme court justices during his administration. In making his selections for the bench and for places in the diplomatic corps, he will choose only such men as the Republican party as a whole might appoint.



Photo Snapped in the offices of the Minneapolis Journal, immediately after the election returns had been tabulated



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W. L. Douglas \$9.00 and \$10.00 shoes are absolutely the best shoe values for the money in this country. They are made of the best and finest leathers that money can buy. They combine quality, style, workmanship and wearing qualities equal to other makes selling at higher prices. They are the leaders in the fashion centers of America. The stamped price is W. L. Douglas personal guarantee that the shoes are always worth the price paid for them. The prices are the same everywhere; they cost no more in San Francisco than they do in New York.

W. L. Douglas shoes are made by the highest paid, skilled shoemakers, under the direction and supervision of experienced men, all working with an honest determination to make the best shoes for the price that money can buy.

W. L. Douglas shoes are for sale by over 9000 shoe dealers besides our own stores. If your local dealer cannot supply you, take no other make. Order direct from factory. Send for booklet telling how to order shoes by mail, postage free.

**CAUTION.**—Insist upon having W. L. Douglas shoes. The name and price is plainly stamped on the sole. Be careful to see that it has not been changed or mutilated.



Senator Harding will not enter the White House with his eye on a second term. It was his intention, had he failed to secure the Republican nomination, to retire from public life. "I'll buy a big farm back in Ohio," he told his friends. "And I'll do some of the things I've always wanted to do. I'll get out between crops and see something of the world."

If it all works out as he desires, and he is able to maintain party government unimpaired during the next four years, the overshadowing issue of the campaign of 1924 will not be "Hardingism." The question will be what kind of government has the Republican party given, not what sort of President has Warren Harding made.

Washington, D. C.

## Do You Want to Lose Your Parks?

(Continued from page 221)

she had sold \$85 worth of the fruit to tourists going to the park. This represented only one day's transactions at one place. And yet this woman strongly favored one of these irrigation projects, without seeing the effect it would have on the very profitable business she conducted at the roadside as a side line.

In the case of the Falls river project in the southwestern corner of the Yellowstone Park, a vast area of forested parks and meadow lands would be flooded, thus ruining what is probably the best range for moose in the park. Approximately 600 moose thrive in this region at the present time. It is not to be supposed that the wild life that now abounds in the park, and is so great an attraction to tourists, would remain there in the midst of the engineering activity that would attend the execution of any one of these projects.

Is there not some place in this great nation of ours where lakes can be preserved in their natural state; where we and all generations to follow us can enjoy the beauty and charm of mountain waters in the midst of primeval forests? The country is large enough to spare a few such lakes and beauty spots. The nation has wisely set apart a few national parks where a state of nature is to be preserved. Their total area, 10,859 square miles, is less than three-tenths of 1 per cent of the total area of the United States, including Alaska and the Hawaiian Islands, where there are national parks. If the lakes and forests of these parks cannot be spared from the hand of commercialism, what hope can we entertain for the preservation of any scenic features of the mountains in the interest of posterity?

If in the years to come it is necessary for the continued welfare of the nation and its people to permit the destruction of the beauty spots of our national parks, after other sources of power and other sources of water for irrigation have been exhausted, it will be time then to consider it, but the time is not yet.

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## MANUSCRIPT

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Let us first develop the power sites outside the parks. There are thousands of them as yet untouched and capable of developing enough hydro-electric power to satisfy the needs of the nation for many years to come. And if the nation needs additional supplies of food, let the work of irrigation go on in the regions where it will afford the highest returns. Let us first irrigate those rich lands of the southwest that will, with a little water, yield us figs and dates and raisins and great varieties of other food products, rather than those of the north where only a few important food products can be grown, during short seasons. The valley of the lower Colorado is a potential valley of the Nile, the exploitation of which is so enormous and so rich a project as to engage the attention of all our promoters and all our irrigation engineers for many years to come.

The purchase of private lands outside the parks for irrigation projects in the north would add only a few cents an acre to the cost of the completed project. Why then destroy the beauties of the limited areas that have been set aside as places in which our children's children may see the America our fathers' fathers saw, merely to give a few corporations and individuals a few additional pennies of profit?

Yellowstone Park has been established for nearly half a century. Every plan to exploit it for private gain has failed to receive the consideration of Congress. Mighty railroad projects have gone down to everlasting defeat. Must all the victories of the past become hollow memories by the granting of reservoir rights that will desecrate its biggest and most beautiful lakes and form the precedent for commercial exploitation of all its scenic resources—its waterfalls, its forests, its herds of wild animals, its mineral waters? I believe every lover of nature will join with me in hoping that the projects now being developed will meet the fate of the others that have come before Congress in the past.

Washington, D. C.

A man tells of an editor who started poor twenty years ago and has retired with the comfortable fortune of \$50,000. This money was acquired thru industry, economy, conscientious efforts to give full value, indomitable perseverance, and the death of an uncle who left the editor \$49,999.50.—*Rotary Magazine*.

[The two first signatures to a letter calling for funds to finance "The Liberty League" are those of Sir H. Rider Haggard and Mr. Rudyard Kipling.]

"Every Bolsh is a blackguard,"

Said Kipling to Haggard.

—"And given to tipling,"

Said Haggard to Kipling.

"And a blooming outsider,"

Said Rudyard to Rider.

—"Their domain is a blood-yard,"

Said Rider to Rudyard.

"That's just what I say,"

Said the author of "They."

—"I agree; I agree,"

Said the author of "She."

—*London Herald*.



## That's True

in a million homes

Suppose you read that breakfasts had dropped 85 per cent. Think what good news that would be in these high-cost times.

In countless homes breakfasts have come down. In late years millions of new users have adopted Quaker Oats. Those homes do save 85 per cent as compared with meat, eggs, fish, etc.

### To save \$125 a year

Quaker Oats costs one cent per large dish. It costs 6½¢ per 1,000 calories, the energy measure of nutriment.

It costs 12 times as much to serve one chop—9 times as much to serve two eggs. A bite of meat costs as much as a dish of oats.

In a family of five Quaker Oats breakfasts served in place of meat breakfasts saves some \$125 per year.

The oat is the food of foods. It supplies 16 elements needed for energy, repair and growth. For young folks it is almost the ideal food. As vim-food it has age-old fame. Each pound yields 1,810 calories of nutriment.

It is wise to start the day on oats, regardless of the cost. Yet it costs a trifle as compared with meat.

These figures are based on prices at this writing. Note them carefully.

They do not mean that one should live on Quaker Oats alone. But this premier food should be your basic breakfast. Serve the costlier foods at dinner.

### Cost Per Serving

Dish Quaker Oats	. . .	1c
4 ounces meat	. . .	8c
One chop	. . .	12c
Serving fish	. . .	8c
Bacon and eggs	. . .	15c

# Quaker Oats

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This brand is flaked from queen grains only—just the rich, plump, flavory oats. We get but ten pounds from a bushel.

These delicious flakes cost you no extra price. Get them for the children's sake. They make the dish doubly delightful.

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One pupil has received over \$5,000 for stories and articles written mostly in spare time—"play work," he calls it. Another pupil received over \$1,000 before completing her first course. Another, a busy wife and mother, is averaging over \$75 a week from photoplay writing alone.

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35c at your druggist's

**PISO'S**  
for Coughs & Colds

## The Birth of a New Religion

(Continued from page 217)

prehensile, but her disciples read into it or out of it messages of marvelous import. The writings of the Mother Founder form the bible of the new faith, and are known as O Fude Saki or the "Flourish of the Honorable Brush." In these she is said to have prophesied the wars of Japan with China in 1895, with Russia in 1905 and with Germany in 1914. But the Kyoto police claim that they compelled Deguchi, the high priest of the cult, to confess on cross-examination that most of the manuscript was written after these events instead of before.

It takes two persons of different type to launch a new sect successfully, one with a mystical mind and one with a business head, a seer and an overseer. Joseph Smith, the Prophet, would never have established Mormonism without the organizing genius of Brigham Young. Old Widow Baasan found her business manager in Wani-saburo Deguchi, a horse driver, who married her second daughter. He had in earlier life taken a short course in Shintoism at Kyoto and even entered the lower ranks of the priesthood. It is due to his ability in practical affairs that the socialistic colony has been a success. He has bought up real estate at a bargain and made it profitable and he knows how to use the power of the press in propaganda.

A third type of mind is essential to the starting of a cult, that is the theologian. Since the visions of a prophet are apt to be left in a disordered and impractical form they must be taken in hand by a man of education and scientific mentality, who can bring them into a logical system and connect them with the current thought of the times. This function is performed by Dr. Asano, who was formerly instructor in English at the Naval Engineering School at Yokosuka and is said to have then professed Christianity. He had a sick child whose case was given up as hopeless by the doctors, but Mrs. Asano, without the knowledge of her husband, took the child to a faith healer who cured it. Mr. Asano, convinced by this miracle, threw up his position to devote his life to the new cult, of which he is now the head. His brother, Vice Admiral Asano, has joined him in the colony and brought with him many retired naval and military men.

The customary characteristics of a new religion are (1) faith healing, (2) speaking with tongues, (3) communism, (4) millenarianism, (5) perfectionism, (6) equality of women, (7) abstemious life, (8) simplicity of service, (9) mysticism. Some or all of these have appeared at the beginning of most religious great movements, though in the course of years they are likely to be largely eliminated. Judged by this standard Omoto Kyo starts out under most favorable auspices for it has all these qualifications and if the Japanese Government will only persecute it long enough to solidify the new sect in

common defense it may become a power in the world. Japan is ripe for a new religion. Two recent Shinto sects, Tenri and Remmon, both founded by women, are getting ahead of the older branches of the national faith. The Tenri Kyo, started by Omiki, a woman of humble origin and distinguished by its prayer cures and communism, has grown in a few decades to 4,000,000 members.

The newest of the offshoots of Shintoism, the Omoto cult, regards money as the root of all evil and denies the right of private property. Like the early Christians they hold all things in common. Land is divided up between the families somewhat as was done by the Mormons at Salt Lake. The villages are neatly kept and the hills are adorned with tasteful temples surrounded by trees and flowers that promise to make Ayabe a rival in beauty to the theosophical community of the Purple Mother at Point Loma. Every day is Friday for the followers of Omoto Kyo, since they never eat flesh, but only fish. Prayer is substituted for medicine. Disease is believed to be caused by evil spirits in the form of animals, generally a fox, a serpent or a dog, but the malignant obsession may be expelled by divine power.

Like the early Christians, the Millerites and the Mormons, the disciples of Omoto Kyo believe the day of Judgment is at hand. The world has grown so evil that it cannot long endure and soon a great catastrophe will sweep away this wicked generation and clear the way to a new era of universal peace and good will, such as is described so eloquently in the pre-Christian Book of Enoch. This cosmic cataclysm, according to the Honorable Brush of O Nao, is due in 1922, but probably she, like all previous millenarian prophets, has made a mistake in fixing such an early date. But whenever the Great Day comes only the rock that supports the sacred district of Tamba shall stand secure and the chosen remnant who have gathered in this city of refuge will repopulate and regenerate the world. Since these will presumably be all Japanese this doctrine connects the new cult with the parental Shintoism, which is essentially a religion of patriotism. Omoto Kyo then appears as an imperialistic socialism and as such appeals both to the soldier and the workman. The Japanese Government is much alarmed over the spread of these doctrines in the army and is taking stringent measures to suppress the propaganda. General Nagasaka, commander of the military police, says: "It appears true that the number is growing among both the men and the officers, mostly those upon the reserve list, who are becoming tainted with the hideous doctrine of the Omoto Kyo."

No part of the sacred books, O Fude Saki, has, so far as I know, been yet translated into English, but piecing to-



gether such fragments of the teaching as I have been able to find, its doctrine is something like this:

The world is on the eve of blossoming like the plum-flower. One of the great gods shall soon appear in person, welcomed by blooming flowers and evergreen pines, and he shall reign over the whole earth and bring it peace. Japan is a divine country and must be divinely ruled. Foreign countries are under the control of beastly devils in human form. Even Japan has now become a land of beasts. This dirty world must be cleansed and made fit to be the abode of the gods. Occidental civilization is based upon individualism, that is to say, selfishness. All its literature and moral codes are inspired by selfishness. It has stolen society and stolen the state and would steal the world and the universe itself. All this must be destroyed by the abolition of individualism. The people of the world are clamoring for reform but their reform is only the reform of formality. Such reform is like a house built on the sand. The reform designed by our gods is the reform of man himself.

Like the Perfectionists of the Oneida Community the disciples of Omoto Kyo hold that one may attain to a sinless state even in this life and like mystics of all faiths they believe that those who are sufficiently pure and devout may in a state of trance gain the power to see and hear divine beings. The gods reveal themselves to the seers of Omoto Kyo in the grotesque form with which they have been clothed by the oriental imagination. These are the Gods of the Dragon because they are nearest to the earth of all the gods. The dragon gods are five thousand feet long, horned and flexible as rubber, and they dive with incredible swiftness from highest heaven to the depths of the ocean.

The new sect is making effective use of printing. Besides books and its monthly religious organ, *Omoto Jiho*, the publication department issues in Osaka an evening paper, the *Taisho Nichi Nichi*, which, if it keeps to its promise, will rival the *Christian Science Monitor* in the extent and completeness of its news. Three hundred thousand dollars was paid for the plant for this daily, which aims to become "a model of journalism" and "a mirror of the world," giving the spiritual interpretation of current events, bringing the best thought of the age to bear upon the darkest problems of the day, furnishing the latest financial news and making it all suitable for family reading. These quotations from its prospectus indicate that the new religion has also one of the most important qualifications for success in the modern world, a good press agent.

A bashful curate found the young ladies in the parish too helpful. At last it became so embarrassing that he left.

Not long afterwards he met the curate who had succeeded him.

"Well," he asked, "how do you get on with the ladies?"

"Oh, very well, indeed," said the other "There is safety in numbers, you know."

"Ah!" was the instant reply. "I only found it in Exodus."—*London Opinion*.

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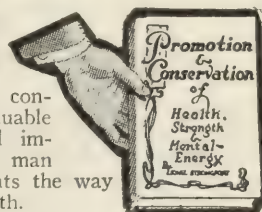
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..... Asthma	..... Vital Depletion	..... Gastritis	..... Blackheads
..... Obesity	..... Short Wind	..... Heart Weakness	..... Round Shoulder
..... Headache	..... Flat Feet	..... Poor Circulation	..... Lung Troubles
..... Thinness	..... Stomach Disorders	..... Easy Childbirth	..... Female Disorders
..... Rupture	..... Constipation	..... Despondency	..... Weak Back
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..... Neuritis	..... Torpid Liver	..... Impotency	..... Advanced Course
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# Here Are Books—and Books

1620-1920

It was very foresighted of the Pilgrims to land on Plymouth Rock—or wherever they did land—in 1620, because this, their tercentenary, is the exact psychological moment for the re-writing of our history books. The rising generation shall no longer think of England as the brutal oppressor of the little colonies, but as the mother who gave us our most cherished ideals of freedom. That is the dominant note in the celebrations of the anniversary and the dominant note in the books which are being written about and because of it. Most of them are written for young people.

*The Argonauts of Faith*, by Basil Mathews, puts the story in dramatic form, focusing it about exciting and interesting incidents of the persecutions in England, the life in Holland, the "Mayflower" voyage and the dangers and hardships in America. It is a very readable account and the impression it leaves is an accurate one.

William Elliot Griffis' *Young People's History of the Pilgrims* is packed with interesting information, not only facts and events but the sort of things about manners and customs, clothes and games and cooking utensils, which delight the youthful, not to mention the adult, mind and give a vivid picture of the life of the past. The author has, however, an annoyingly priggish manner and he tends to paint the Pilgrims as rather unpleasantly noble, compared to the rest of mankind in the seventeenth century.

*The Founding of a Nation*, by Frank M. Gregg, tells the tale in the form of an historical novel, its hero and narrator a cavalier who stows away on the "Mayflower" and falls in love with a Pilgrim maiden. At fifteen, especially if feminine, one is apt to be partial to history in this form.

*Old Cape Cod, the Land, the Men, the Sea*, by Mary Rogers Bangs, takes a more scholarly viewpoint toward the Pilgrims and tells with historical ac-

curacy and in charmingly informal style of their adventures in settling the New World. It is a book well worth reading even if you have no predetermination to learn more about the Pilgrim colonists.

If you are going to make the pilgrimage to Plymouth this year you will find it worth while to read Agnes Edwards' *Old Coast Road, From Boston to Plymouth*, a pleasant, friendly guide book to Weymouth, Kingston, Duxbury and the other old towns along the route. It is charmingly illustrated with drawings by Louis H. Ruyl.

*The Argonauts of Faith*, by Basil Mathews. George H. Doran Co. *Young People's History of the Pilgrims*, by William Elliot Griffis. Houghton, Mifflin Co. *The Founding of a Nation*, by Frank M. Gregg. George H. Doran Co. *The Old Coast Road*, by Agnes Edwards. Houghton, Mifflin Co. *Old Cape Cod*, by Mary Rogers Bangs. Houghton, Mifflin Co.

## Traveling by Proxy

It requires a peculiarly exemplary character to read a book of travel with emotions of unmixed pleasure; the average mortal is bound to feel a certain gnawing envy of the writer. However, if it is a really good book of travel the pleasures of reading it outweigh the pains. The best thing a returned traveler can do is to give you not facts but atmosphere. Facts, when you start on the trip yourself, can be gathered from maps and timetables; what you want now is some of the sensations, feelings, emotions, of having been in Morocco or Bulgaria or China, as the case may be. Edith Wharton in *In Morocco* does this for you excellently well, partly because she is so impersonal, never intruding her own reactions, simply bringing up the scene around you with all its blinding sunlight, desert heat and vivid colors. There are facts enough, fascinating facts of history and art and architecture, but they are mingled with the atmosphere; not offered in place of it. Mrs. Wharton's trip was made in 1917 and as the guest of the French resident general and his wife she visited

places not always open to visitors, assisted at native ceremonies and had opportunities for coming into touch with the life of the country which do not fall to the lot of the casual tourist.

It is a curious fact that Americans who voyage to distant lands and write about them do it for the enlightenment of their fellow countrymen, but when a citizen of those distant lands comes to the United States and writes a book about us he expects to be read mainly by Americans. We have an insatiable curiosity concerning what other people think of us. One of the kindest of our recent critics is Philip Gibbs, whose *People of Destiny* might just as well be called, like its third chapter, "Things I Like in the United States." He writes delightfully of the adventure of life in New York, of different types of Americans, of England and America, of the American over seas. He looks determinedly on the bright side of the picture, but once in a while a sentence like this creeps in: "If I were a citizen of the United States I should be afraid—afraid lest my country should by passion, or by ignorance, or by sheer carelessness take the wrong way." It makes one wish that he would write a *Now It Can Be Told* about the United States.

*In Morocco*, by Edith Wharton. Charles Scribner's Sons. *People of Destiny*, by Philip Gibbs. Harper & Brothers.

## Talks with T. R.

John J. Leary, Jr., was a member of Roosevelt's "newspaper cabinet." For years he had opportunities of talking with Roosevelt intimately on every variety of subject, personal, political and international. For years he kept a series of notebooks in which he jotted down those conversations verbatim, with all their force and flavor and originality. Now, under the title *Talks With T. R.* he has published the contents of those notebooks. They are intensely interesting for the illuminating information they contain concerning Roosevelt's opinions on certain obscure or vexed topics, and particularly for their vivid picture of an extraordinary personality. Better than any photograph or any biography I know, they give you the feeling of having talked with the man in the flesh.

*Talks with T. R.*, by John J. Leary, Jr. Houghton, Mifflin Co.

## Another Ireland

The novelist is often more enlightening than the propagandist, chiefly for the reason that he isn't arguing, he's just telling you. No one at present is really enlightening on Ireland, but Patrick MacGill tells you more of what it is like than anyone we have met in a long time.

*Maureen* is the story of a peasant girl in Donegal, a terrible story in many ways and a curiously fascinating one. Mr. MacGill knows how to flash a scene so vividly before your mind that it haunts your visual memory for days



Underwood & Underwood

There is much of T. R.'s forceful personality in this sketch by Vincenzo Miserendino for a new statue of "the foremost American"





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afterward in something the manner of a dramatic bit of stage setting, and yet it is difficult to point to individual phrases and say, it is this and this that make the picture.

Another recent Irish novel, *The Wasted Island*, by Eimar O'Duffy, is less effective propaganda on two counts. In the first place it is not nearly so well written as *Maureen*, which is worth reading for its own sake even if you had never heard of Ireland; and in the second place it is definitely an argument, its characters indulging in much discussion and its action centers round the various Irish rebellions during and after the war. It is one-sided and its heroes are not very attractive characters, but it is interesting and informing.

Another Ireland altogether is Lady Gregory's, an Ireland of banshees and fairies, of charms and herbs and hidden treasure. "There's no doubt at all but that there's the same sort of things in other countries; but you hear more about them in these parts because the Irish do be more familiar in talking of them." Lady Gregory has talked with the people and collected a wealth of information on these strange and fascinating subjects. In *Visions and Beliefs in the West of Ireland* she has set it down in interesting, and alarmingly convincing fashion, most of it in the very words of the tellers.

Compounded of the same ingredients but very differently mixed is her latest play, *The Dragon*, an original combination of the very ancient with the very modern, of nonsense with allegory. It is highly entertaining and actable, readable too.

*Maureen*, by Patrick MacGill. Robert M. McBride & Co. *The Wasted Island*, by Eimar O'Duffy. Dodd, Mead & Co. *Visions and Beliefs in the West of Ireland* (First and Second Series) by Lady Gregory. G. P. Putnam's Sons. *The Dragon*, by Lady Gregory. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

## Between the Diplomats and the Deep Sea

Mrs. Norman de R. Whitehouse's account of her *Year as a Government Agent* is good reading for a number of different reasons. If you are a suffragist or a feminist, or just feminine enough to like to see a woman getting away with a man's job, then it will please you. If you like to watch any one, man or woman, successfully tackle a difficult proposition, then it will please you. If you are always glad of one more reason for "cussing the administration," then it will please you.

Mrs. Whitehouse was appointed Director for Switzerland of the Committee on Public Information in the winter of 1917-18 with comprehensive instructions to explain to the Swiss why America was in the war and what she was doing about it. The Director had to struggle with German spies and American diplomats, with a superfluity of languages and a shortage of gasoline, with suspicion and ridicule and hopelessly bad cable connections. She writes of important international work from an agreeably personal angle. The book has

the combined interest and charm that attaches to letters home written "without a thought of publication."

*A Year as a Government Agent*, by Vira B. Whitehouse. Harper Bros.

## In Darkest Mexico

Blasco Ibañez, whatever one may think of his novels, is certainly one of the greatest popular journalists alive. His shrewd, quick-glancing political insight, his wit, his sense of the picturesque, his fundamental common sense views of life, and the smooth, even flow of his style are all illustrated at their best in his little book on *Mexico in Revolution*. He is unsparing in his criticisms and has greatly offended many Latin-Americans by his remarks on Mexico; but, as he himself puts it, "Latin America is one thing. But the crowd of gunmen which is exploiting and dishonoring the poor people of Mexico is quite another." The fundamental trouble with Mexico is militarism, of a type just opposite to that of the late German monarchy:

"German militarism was based on tradition, on hierarchy, on order, and besides, it originated in the victories of 1871 and in the conquests of territory those victories resulted in. Mexican militarism is based on disorder, on the sudden attack boldly conceived, on the insurrection considered as a means of advancement.

This amateurish, swaggering, almost boyish militarism is well summarized in one descriptive sentence: "This time it is a pistol taking a general out to walk!"

There are vivid personal touches in the descriptions of Carranza, Obregon and other "liberators" whom Ibañez chanced to meet. Here, for example, is an anecdote which General Obregon tells against himself:

"You know I lost my arm in battle. After giving me the first treatments, my men set out to find my arm on the ground. They looked about in all directions, but couldn't find it anywhere. 'I'll find it for you,' said one of my aids, 'It will come back of itself. Watch me!'"

He took out of his purse a ten-dollar gold piece, an aztec, as we call it, and raised it above his head. At once a sort of bird, with five wings rose from the ground. It was my missing hand, which had not been able to resist the temptation to fly from its hiding place and seize a gold coin.

*Mexico in Revolution*, by Blasco Ibañez. Dutton Co.

## Swords Into Ploughshares

We heard much during the war, chiefly from the men serving as chaplains with the troops in France, about the necessity for a change in the attitude and methods of the Church if it is to appeal to the fighting man when he returns to civil life. We have had very few attempts, in book form, to put those principles into practise, which makes Thomas Tiplady's *Social Christianity in the New Era* particularly interesting. The author served for three years as a chaplain with the British forces in France. "I know," he says, "to some extent what the returning soldiers expect of the Church and the State. In the light of the New Testa-



ment and the revelations made by the war, I have tried to show what the attitude of the Church ought to be toward the social problems of our time and appeal to the Church to give a message to the community as well as to the individual." He discusses a league of churches, the Church and industry, the Church and the children. Here is the type of thought the book contains:

The Church will never bring peace to the industrial world by meddling with rates and wages and hours of labor. This is merely lopping off the branches. It must strike at the root of the evil. It must take away gold as the main objective of masters and men and put in its place an ideal. It must give business men a nobler target to fire at, and the rifle will be adjusted by those who use it. An artist needs money as much as a business man, but he would be ruined if he made it his chief aim. It must ever be to him a by-product.

You may not agree with the writer; you may consider him impractical and a dreamer; you may think his method of attack wrong, but if you are interested at all in the problem which faces the Church today you cannot but be interested in the fact that this is a man attacking the problem with some very definite suggestions for its solution.

*Social Christianity in the New Era*, by Chaplain Thomas Tiplady. F. H. Revell Co.

### Good Enough to Be Better

There is nothing in *The Explorer*, except the title page, to indicate that it is "by the author of *The Moon and Sixpence*." There are pages of rapid, clever dialog which are obviously the work of Somerset Maugham, writer of successful comedies, and which would be even more entertaining on the stage than they are in print; there are plenty of dramatic situations, some of them well carried thru; but the spaces between are arid, crossing them is heavy work. On the whole, the book gives the impression of an early effort hauled hopefully from the bottom of a desk drawer. Despite its faults it is an interesting story, tho the moral is quite unsound. You may possibly begin a marriage on the "I cannot explain, but you must have faith in me" basis, but can you carry it thru?

*The Explorer*, by W. Somerset Maugham. George H. Doran Co.

### Lest We Forget

It is not unlikely that future generations, looking back on the world war, will fix on Cardinal Mercier as the greatest of its dominant figures. Brand Whitlock in his *Belgium* has drawn a portrait which should last for all time, and now to supplement it comes a volume of letters under the title *Cardinal Mercier's Own Story*. The Archbishop's correspondence with German governors and officials from 1914 to 1918 makes, with very brief explanatory notes by Professor Mayence, of Louvain, a comprehensive history of the occupation, for there was no phase of his people's suffering which the cardinal did not feel it his business to alleviate if possi-

## READ A GOOD BOOK TONIGHT

### THE AGE OF INNOCENCE

By Edith Wharton

A brilliant picture of New York society in its heyday—the original "Four Hundred" in all its glory; its gala nights at the opera, its dinners, dances, fetes; its foibles, frailties, whims and virtues portrayed with unerring fidelity and sympathetic understanding. William Lyon Phelps says in the *New York Times*: "Edith Wharton is a writer who brings glory on the name America . . . the style is a thing of beauty from first page to last. 'The Age of Innocence' is one of the best novels of the twentieth century." \$2.00 net.

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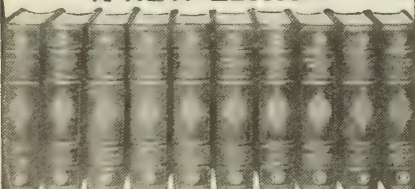
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Along the path tall dusky dahlias grew.  
Any shadowy hydrangeas reached and swung  
Ferociously; and over me, among  
The moths and mysteries, a blurred bat  
flew.

Clement Wood, likewise, did not write his long dramatic poem *Jehovah* for the pure joy of it, in fact it is a little difficult to know just why he did write it. It deals with a dispute in David's time, between the Israelites and Kenites, as to which of them worshiped the true Jehovah, and it has, curiously, a flavor of *Beowulf* rather than of the Hebrew poets and prophets. It is written in a variety of verse forms, many of them interesting.

To change the subject abruptly:

I would make a list against the evil days  
Of lovely things to hold in memory:  
First, I set down my lady's lovely face.  
For earth has no such lovely thing as she;  
And next I add, to bear her company,  
The great-eyed virgin star that morning  
brings;  
Then the wild-rose upon its little tree—  
So runs my catalog of lovely things.

That is Richard Le Gallienne who tosses off ballades as easily and sweetly as if no one had ever invented free verse. Of course it is wrong to quote a single verse of a ballade, but this single verse cries for quotation because it epitomizes so well the poet's shining gifts, his joy, his tenderness, his love of beauty, and his ability to create beauty. It does not express, tho, that other quality which makes the poems in *The Junkman* such a delight to read, his sense of humor.

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An old woman dusted the paper shutter  
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That the shadow of the pine-tree  
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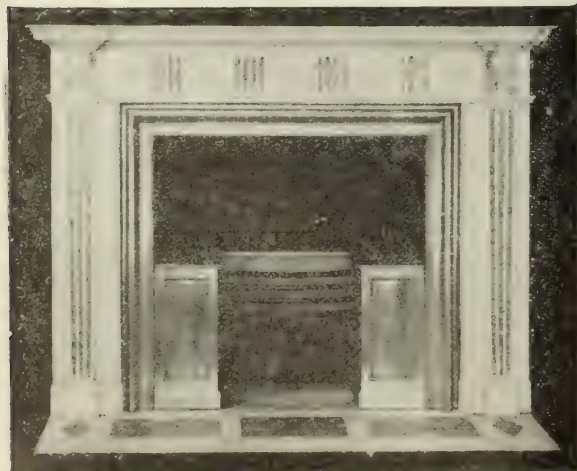
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LE PETIT NORD, by Anne Grenfell and Katie Spalding (Houghton, Mifflin Co.). Informal and entertaining letters from the wife of the Labrador Doctor, describing the job of mothering an orphan asylum in Newfoundland. There is no picture of the work of the Labrador Mission as a whole, but the book is delightful reading and adds interesting sidelights to her husband's accounts.

THE COLLEGE GATEWAY, by Charles F. Thwing (The Pilgrim Press). Baccalaureate addresses by the President of Western Reserve University, who knows how to speak to young men and women, how to make them aware of their privileges, how to hold up before them ideals and opportunities in a guise that makes them infinitely desirable.

## Plays

**SALOME AND OTHER PLAYS**, by Oscar Wilde. A MODERN BOOK OF CRITICISMS, edited by Ludwig Lewisohn (Boni & Liveright). The latest additions to the admirable Modern Library, which is putting more and more worth while books into inexpensive pocket form. The first volume contains, beside "Salomé," "The Importance of Being Earnest" and "Lady Windermere's Fan"; the second, selections from French, German, English and American critics, a diverse group ranging from Francis Hackett to Anatole France.

THE CRAFT OF THE TORTOISE, by Algernon Tassin (Boni & Liveright). An ingenious and sometimes witty satire in the form of a play in four acts with the same characters; the first act set in prehistoric times, the second in the patriarchal period, the third in medieval times and the fourth in the present. The theme of all of them is how the woman with the aid of the priest circumvents the man; the triumph of shrewdness over strength, of femininity over masculinity.

## Sport

WINNING FOOTBALL, by William W. Roper (Dodd, Mead). A readable unusually valuable book for anyone who is coaching football, from varsity material to the gang in the backyard. Mr. Roper has been football player, fan and coach for twenty-five years; it was he who turned out Princeton's winning team in 1919.

FOOTBALL WITHOUT A COACH, by Walter Camp (D. Appleton & Co.). Practical advice that tells boys who want to play football how to get in training, to organize the team, to practice effectively, to work up important plays, to take proper care of themselves, to win the game. The book comes as near to taking the place of an expert coach as printed words can.

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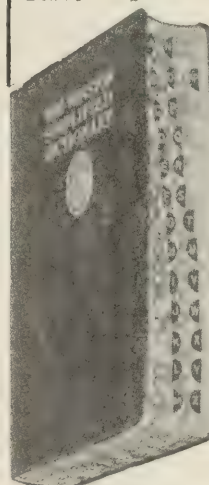
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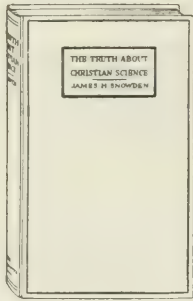
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## What British Labor Wants

(Continued from page 216)

on all fours with a girdle around their waists and harnessed with a chain between their legs to the cart they drew.

Women and children were also employed in great numbers in the cotton mills; the children were "apprenticed"—that was the term with which this gross and cruel slavery was glossed over. Many of these little ones were collected from the workhouses of the country; the mill owners systematically kept in touch with the overseers of the poor. Boys and girls together, they were worked for sixteen hours a day, day shifts and night shifts; they were housed in pent-up buildings adjoining the factories and the beds in which they slept were said never to become cold, for as one batch of these tiny workers went to rest the other batch went to the looms and only half the requisite number of beds were used and as there was often no discrimination of the sexes, disease, misery and vice grew like a fungus.

Lord Shaftesbury, speaking in the House of Lords in 1873, recalled how in the earlier period of the factory movement he waited at the factory gates to see the children come out—a set of sad, dejected, cadaverous creatures. In Bradford, he said, "the proofs of long and cruel toil were most remarkable. The crippled and distorted forms might be numbered by hundreds, perhaps by thousands. They seemed to me, such were their crooked shapes, like a mass of crooked alphabets."

The Cotton Mills Act, passed in 1819, limited the age at which children might work in factories; the time of their labor was also limited—to seventy-two hours a week! Some years later these hours were reduced to sixty-nine per week and in 1833 a law was passed fixing a maximum of forty-eight hours for children and sixty-nine for young persons, whilst night work for children under eighteen was prohibited. Provision was made for daily school attendance.

In 1840 the first Mining Act prohibiting underground work by women and boys under ten years of age was passed and four years later child labor was restricted to six and a half hours a day. As a counterpoise to this half time system the employable age was reduced to eight and in 1847, after a bitter struggle, a Ten Hours Bill was passed restricting women and young persons to ten hours' work a day.

Between 1845 and 1861 industries allied to textile manufactures were brought within the scope of factory legislation, which was extended so that it applied to small workshops as well as the great mills. Not until the Factory and Workshops Acts of 1901 and 1907, however, was the age at which children could be employed as half-timers raised to twelve, and we had to wait until the great Education Act of 1918 before the employment of children under the age of fourteen was abolished.

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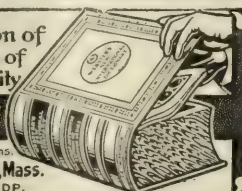
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These big strides were not made until labor had become a power in the land; let us go back for a moment and follow the progress of trade unionism from the repeal of the Combination Laws. This concession was succeeded by a mighty struggle. A movement under the title of The Grand National Consolidated Trades' Union was started by Robert Owen and in a few months had a membership of half a million, but this union was eventually disbanded in consequence of not only private employers but also the Government in its workshops compelling the workers to resign all connections with the unions and to sign the "document" to that effect. Trade unionists were prosecuted in great numbers under the Master and Servant Act and were often summarily arrested and condemned upon a mere complaint of misbehavior lodged by the employer. Strike riots were suppressed by the military and men were punished solely for having announced a strike or for having acted as a delegate to it.

Even up to 1869 the agreement to strike and the announcement of a strike by placards was frequently punished as intimidation, and the Master and Servant Act was not repealed until 1875 when peaceful picketing was permitted and "violence and intimidation" became a matter of common law.

Despite all these efforts to kill trade unionism, however, the unions steadily grew and by 1902 about one million five hundred thousand workers belonged to unions.

It was at the Trade Union Congress of 1899 that a resolution was first passed in favor of the establishment of a joint committee of trade union and Socialist bodies with the object of promoting direct representation in Parliament, but only two candidates out of fifteen who went to the polls—Keir Hardie and Richard Bell—were returned at the election of 1901. In that year, however, the House of Lords delivered a judgment in relation to a strike of miners at Taff Vale the preceding year and that judgment threw down the belief that an act of 1871 afforded absolute protection to trade unions in their collective capacity for a tortious act committed by any one of its officials or members, and this aroused so much indignation that the unions awoke to new political life with the result that in the election of 1908 no fewer than twenty-nine candidates of the Labor Representation Committee were returned to the House of Commons and in 1910, with the accession of the miners to the Labor party, the number of Labor members was increased to forty.

(To be continued)

The road was shady, the engine had stopped.

"Tell me," she said, gently taking her head from his necktie, "Why is it the moon always seems so much bigger in the summer than in the winter?"

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# How to Study This Number

## THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

### English, Literature and Composition

### History, Civics and Economics

#### I. What British Labor Wants.

1. Mr. Thomas makes this first chapter all about British labor in the last century. Why does he give so much space to the past? Make a plan for a series of three chapters on American labor, beginning with an historical chapter, and then, when Mr. Thomas' other two chapters come out, see how nearly your outline parallels his.

#### II. Do You Want to Lose Your Parks?

1. If you have ever been in any great national park or playground, write something about it that allies you with Mr. Mather in defense of the parks. If you saw an instance of some one's being helped in any way by the park, make a story of it. Or, if you can, you might make a poem or a description that would show what you yourself got out of the experience.
2. Mr. Mather is talking mainly about the great western parks, remote from cities and city problems. Get up a debate of your own on the question of city parks. For instance: Resolved, that Central Park (or Lincoln Park, or Prospect Park, etc.) be retained as a city playground; or, Resolved, that the park be built up with model tenements, to relieve congestion and improve housing conditions thruout the city.

#### III. The Birth of a New Religion.

1. Get together all the material you can find about the people that have started religions; there are a number of things that you can do with it. Write a discussion based on Dr. Slosson's statement that many religious movements have owed their origin to women. Or write an essay that shall be a sympathetic study of a number of such originators.
2. There has been, since the war, a striking growth of belief in mystic creeds and claims. Write a comparative study of any recent religion you know about and this new Japanese cult, considering as many aspects as possible—origin, doctrine, method, etc.—as basis for comparison.

#### IV. A Penitential Office.

1. Read Miss Wilkinson's poem and understand it. Can you find, looking anywhere into our national life, some fact or incident to illustrate concretely the meaning of each stanza? Write a paraphrase of the poem, substituting for the symbolic verse your own prose fact.
2. Pick out five or six modern American poets who, like Miss Wilkinson, write of America, her national life and temper and ideals. For instance, there is Carl Sandburg, or Louis Untermeyer. Can you find a common attitude of mind among them, or a common mood? Write a discussion of them as socially-minded poets.
3. Choose two from your poets, one of whom you admire as a poet, the other as a reformer, and write a paper comparing them which will make clear your distinction.

#### V. Books—and Books.

1. Pick out and read one of the books reviewed in this number, and write your review of that book. In a separate paragraph, explain just as convincingly as possible why your review differs, however it does, from the one in The Independent.
2. "A novelist is often more enlightening than the propagandist, chiefly for the reason that he isn't arguing, he's telling you." What do you think about this statement? Expand it, bringing out its meaning, and then discuss it in an essay, or an oral debate.

#### VI. President Harding and Election Week.

1. Go carefully thru everything in this number that relates in any way to the coming administration. Then read "Why We Need the Puritan." Do you think that the Puritan spirit, as Mr. Slosson defines it, is going to find expression in government in these next four years? Write an essay on the subject, characterizing the new administration as fairly as you can.
2. Suppose that Debs, securely locked in prison, had accidentally been elected President. What would have happened? If the idea sets you wondering, humorously or not, write a sketch in which you imagine out some of the queer complications that would surely have resulted.
3. Think of all the election days that you can remember, and make some good description or narrative out of the day that excited you most.

#### I. The Election—President Harding, Harding's Election. The Greatest Landslide in History. Election Topics. President Wilson to America.

1. Explain Senator Harding's idea of party government as stated by Mr. Boeckel. What are the advantages and disadvantages of relying on the party organization to administer the affairs of the nation? Compare it with President Wilson's idea of personal leadership and responsibility.
2. Supposing that you were chosen President what men would you select to fill each cabinet post? Bear in mind that a President must not only find able men for a good cabinet but must consider whether the men chosen will work in harmony with each other and with the Administration generally, and also that a man very successful in one cabinet position might be a failure at the head of some other department.
3. In what way does Mr. Boeckel think that Senator Harding will handle the question of reorganizing the League of Nations so that America can enter it? What does Dr. Williams say on this point?
4. To what extent would the omission of Article X change the League of Nations? Under what provisions and in what ways could the League still enforce any of its decisions?
5. What is the cause of the "solid South"? Which states would you include in it? From about what year would you date it?
6. Can you suggest any reasons why the states west of the Missouri are more apt to change their political allegiance from one election to another than the eastern, central and southern states? Is this freedom from party tradition a good thing or not?
7. Why does a national "landslide" tend to affect state and local elections? Is it a good thing or not that party names and organizations in national politics are the same as those in state and city politics?

#### II. Russia—The Pink Republic. British Trade with Russia. The Siberian Buffer State. Siberia and China. The Defeat of Wrangel. Rumania Gets Bessarabia.

1. Compare Siberia and the United States with respect to (a) area, (b) population, (c) resources, (d) climate. Do you think that Siberia will become a prosperous country like Canada and our northwestern states?
2. Locate on the map the places mentioned in Dr. Slosson's article and in "The Siberian Buffer State." Show the approximate boundaries of the Far Eastern Republic. Discuss the importance of its geographical situation with reference to China and Japan.
3. Compare the Russian Empire of 1914 with the extent of Soviet Russia in 1920. What lands has Russia lost and to whom?

#### III. Labor Politics—What British Labor Wants.

1. What conditions brought about the rise of the Labor party in Great Britain? What are its present policies and aims?
2. Why has not a great Labor party arisen in the United States? Compare the British Labor party with the Socialist party, the Populist party and the Farmer-Labor party. What is the attitude of the American Federation of Labor to separate party organization?
3. Prepare a brief for either the affirmative or the negative on the question: Resolved, that the interests of American labor would be furthered by the organization of a Labor party to which the existing trades unions should pledge their support.

#### IV. Conservation—Do You Want to Lose Your Parks?

1. What is conservation? Do you think the term rightly applied to saving scenic beauty as well as saving timber and water power?
2. What are the economic advantages to a country of scenic conservation? How have such countries as Italy and Switzerland profited by preserving the natural beauties of the nation?
3. To what Department of the Federal Government is the care of the national parks entrusted?
4. Locate on a map of the United States the principal national parks. Have you ever visited one of them?



# The Independent

FOUNDED 1848

## The Cover

The photograph of an Indian mother with her papoose, published on the cover of The Independent this week, is from an exhibition by Lewis D. Hine which has been shown at the National Arts Club, the Civics Club, and the Y. W. C. A. Training School in New York, and is later to go to other cities in the United States. Mr. Hines is an artist who uses a camera instead of a pencil or brush; a majority of his photographs are portrait studies of American types—"an endeavor," he says, "to interpret the worker to himself and to the world."

## Opening Nights

*French Leave.* Humorous light comedy of the British army at the war front. Entertaining, heart-warming and well sustained. (Belmont Theater.)

*Kissing Time.* a musical comedy with a French plot, featuring Edith Taliaferro and William Norris. Smart costumes and fairly good music. (Lyric Theater.)

*The Prince and the Pauper.* Mark Twain's immortal story dramatized by Amelie Rives. Charming and touching play for old and young. Exquisitely staged. (Booth Theater.)

*Just Suppose.* by A. E. Thomas, supposes the Prince of Wales while touring America falls in love with a belle of old Virginia. A wholesome, pretty and romantic love story admirably staged and acted. (Henry Miller's Theater.)

## Remarkable Remarks

SAMUEL GOMPERS—We are not Bolsheviks.

W. J. BRYAN—President Wilson should resign.

REV. J. H. OLMSTEAD—The early bird catches the work.

MRS. WARREN G. HARDING—I pin my faith on the women of America.

JAMES H. WILLIAMS—The pig that keeps still sucks the most swill.

MRS. VINCENT ASTOR—I dislike very much to see a young girl smoking.

SENATOR HARDING—The Republican party is too big to trail any man.

ISHBEL M. ROTH—There isn't such a thing as an old lady in New York.

ED. HOWE—A doctor does as much guess work as does an automobile mechanic.

BISHOP OF SHEFFIELD—The Christian who is a killjoy is a caricature of Christianity.

ANNE RITTENHOUSE—The squirrel has done more to make gray fashionable than anything else.

AUGUSTUS L. MASON—Vote with the older and more experienced members of your own family.

REV. E. S. SYNOTT—With people of the new rich type a rector stands much on the level of a butler or head housemaid.

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I really believe the rector is expected to use the tradesman's entrance.

JUDGE ROSALSKY—The Governor of this great state is the product of a fish market.

THOMAS W. LAMONT—I want no more honest person to deal with than the Japanese business man.

HERBERT HOOVER—The women of America are to a great extent the treasurers of the United States.

W. L. GEORGE—American women are not more beautiful than other women; they are merely better groomed.

MRS. CALVIN COOLIDGE—I think the best way any woman can help her husband is to make his home life pleasant.

NOVELIST BERTHA RUCK—American sleeping cars have given me man in an aspect new and altogether hideous.

MAGISTRATE SYMMONS—The last right that an Englishman or Englishwoman gives up is the right to be disagreeable.

## Telegrams to the Great, and Near Great By John Citizen

President-elect Warren G. Harding,  
Congratulation on landslide tidal  
wave earthquake and murder stop now  
you have it what will you do with it  
stop  
JOHN CITIZEN

Vice-President-elect Calvin Coolidge,  
Congratulations to real head of Re-  
publican ticket stop  
JOHN CITIZEN

Governor James M. Cox,  
Cheer up it would have happened to  
any other Democrat this year stop  
JOHN CITIZEN

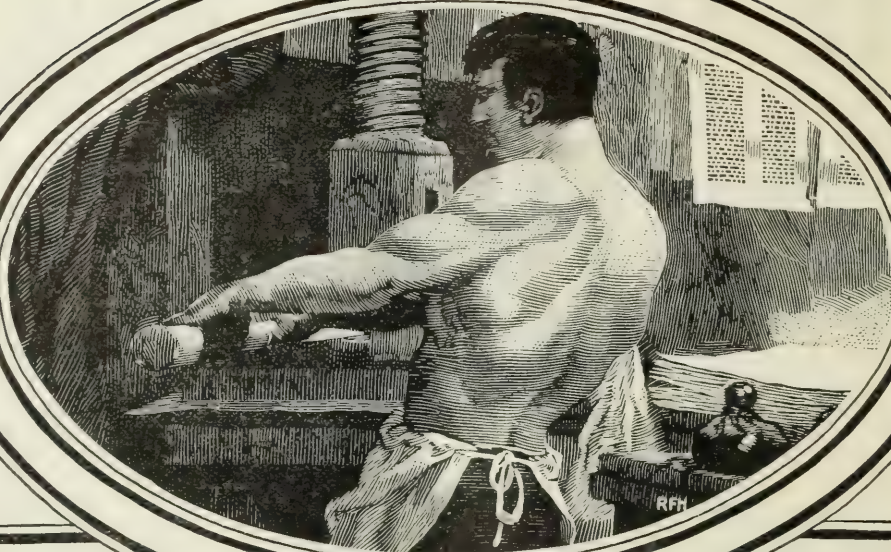
Mr. Elihu Root,  
If a Cabinet job is offered you take  
it stop  
JOHN CITIZEN

Congressman-Elect Meyer London,  
Socialist party caucus in next House  
of Representatives should show great  
harmony and unanimity stop  
JOHN CITIZEN

Governor Alfred Smith,  
Not every defeated candidate can  
boast of running a million votes better  
than his ticket eh Al stop  
JOHN CITIZEN

Eugene V. Debs,  
After all quote stone walls do not a  
prison make nor iron bars a cage end  
quote at least not if compared with  
that true prison the White House  
stop  
JOHN CITIZEN





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# The Independent

November 20 1920

## *The Mayflower*

MDCXX-MCMXX

By Alfred Noyes

### I

When that tall fleet of plate-ships, homeward bound,  
Sighted the Mayflower plunging tow'rds the West,  
They signalled her; they learned her desperate quest;  
And then, O then, what cynic smiles went round!  
They watched the black hull dwindling, well-nigh drowned  
In flurries of foam, by each Atlantic crest.  
They made the poor fanatic fools their jest  
All the way home, from Fastnets to the Sound.

Little they dreamed that, while the blind seas roll,  
No ship more famed would tread the sunset way.  
Than this be-mocked and insignificant keel;  
That this was Freedom's winged and conquering soul,  
The seedling glory of our English May,  
Sailing to found earth's mightiest Commonweal.

### II

Is there no sail on darker seas tonight,  
No war-bewildered Mayflower, bruised and blind,  
Leaving all fond familiar shores behind  
In quest of some strange light beyond our light?  
Have we not seen her, with no land in sight,  
Seeking the land that none could ever find,  
Fraught with the secret hope of all mankind,  
Their prayers for justice, and their dreams of right.

You that have watched her, with the hard old scorn,  
Masked in new modes, and mocked the last sad gleams  
Of earth's most tragic hope—before it dies,  
Our new and better world shall yet be born;  
And there, confronted by your own lost dreams,  
How shall you bear the radiance of their eyes.

### III

It was the soul of England christened her,  
Touched her black bows with April dew and flame,  
And wrote in light the flower's undying name,  
Whose dying glories all our hedgerows wear;  
So that our ship should thru the sunset bear  
No record of the transient wrong and shame,  
And only fragrant memories wreath her fame  
With thoughts of English meadows, year by year.

She shall bring back our dreams. She shall not fail.  
God helping us, that insignificant keel  
Shall yet return like Spring to this bleak shore,  
With blossoming clouds and singing towers of sail,  
White as the dawn of earth's one Commonweal,  
That realm of God, where war shall be no more







# Myself and Me

By Chester T. Crowell

Illustrations by W. C. Morris



ONE way and another I get a lot of fun out of life, and about the most dependable source of amusement is myself. I think most of us are conscious of the fact that we are not one person but two. There is a Me, afflicted by habits, pestered by prejudices, moved by unsuspected biases. And then there is another Me, the Olympian, who stands aloof and smiles at the funny things the other Me does. Sometimes I try to tell myself that the Olympian is me and that the headstrong, blundering clown is not. But it is not true. The clown is Me and the Olympian is hindsight.

A few weeks ago I stopped in front of a show window and admired some silk shirts. They were very pretty, pure white. The price was nine dollars. I have never owned a silk shirt. Somehow it is fastened in my mind that the value of a shirt is about two dollars and fifty cents. Recently they have cost me about five dollars. I don't like it. I can remember when I could get a good shirt for one dollar, but it was harder to get the dollar than it is now to get the five dollars. Which recalls the story of the fellow who remembered when meat was ten cents a pound but that he didn't have the ten cents. I walked into the store and selected a shirt and then I tried to get nine dollars out of my pocket. It simply would not come out. Habit is a powerful thing. By the eternal gods and little fishes, the value of a shirt is not more than five dollars and so far as I am concerned it shall remain not more than five dollars. I will go to five dollars if I must to save myself from nakedness, but I cannot pay nine dollars for a shirt. My arm was paralyzed, my fingers nerveless, an angry lump gathered in my throat, I turned on my heel and strode from the place, leaving an utterly astonished clerk behind.

At Broadway and 42nd Street, where you can meet everybody in the world, I met a Texan. Immediately I invited him to dinner. I did not greatly wish to go to

dinner with him. Our acquaintance back home was casual; he means nothing to me. The fact of the matter is, the moment I invited him, I regretted it, because I recalled that his conversation bores me. But it seemed the thing to do. And I did it. The check was eight dollars and seventy

cents. Somehow I don't mind that. That seemed to be all right; but why didn't I get the shirt? The shirt was what I wanted. I still want that shirt. But every time I walk past that place I become hysterically angry. It is beginning to dawn on me that I am angry with myself instead of the purveyor of shirts.

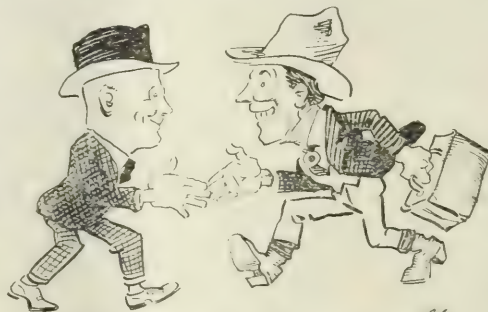
A few nights ago I walked into a theater, having in mind the purchase of a ticket. In the lobby I hesitated. I have been reading a great deal on the subject of economy. I believe in economy. It is imperatively necessary for the welfare of the nation. I have been enjoying an orgy of theaters ever since I have been in New York, so I took myself by the back of the neck and led myself out of that theater lobby. "Economy!" I exclaimed. I was exuding virtue from every pore. I marched myself bravely down to the club. I sat myself down brusquely and addressing myself, I said: "See here, young man, here is a nice club, with congenial friends, you shall spend the evening here." And the congenial friends gathered and we started a foolish card game which is

played for one cent a point by way of adding a trifle of spice and I lost three dollars. But I didn't mind that. I might have won three dollars. So the loss of three dollars is all right. Still, thinking it over, when did I ever win three dollars? Never that I recall. And I don't care to play cards. What I wanted was the theater. What I

got was the cards. The cards cost exactly twenty-five cents more than the theater would have cost.

Early this summer I decided to play tennis. I am very fond of tennis. I went to buy a tennis racquet. I selected the kind I like. It is the same kind I used when I was in High School. The price then was three dollars. They cost twelve dollars now. I wrestled with myself trying to separate myself from twelve dollars. The twelve simply would not come loose. I cannot pay twelve dollars for a tennis racquet! I lack the moral stamina. If my immortal soul depended upon a twelve dollar tennis racquet, I would simply go to hell in a hanging basket. Twelve dollars for a tennis racquet is inconceivable. No, sir, I cannot pay twelve dollars for a tennis racquet! So I suffered thru the summer without my accustomed outdoor exercise. And it damaged me at least twelve times twelve dollars, not to mention the price of amusement substituted for tennis. There were days and days when I felt groggy and could not work. If I had been playing tennis I would have felt well on those days.

I decided to go swimming. But in New York, when you go swimming you travel five to thirty miles. I never



At Broadway and 42nd Street I met a Texan



I tried to get nine dollars out of my pocket. My arm was paralyzed



heard of any such thing before. According to my traditions, when you go swimming, you travel not over two miles at the most and the party should consist of not over ten or twelve, preferably three or four. I will not swim in any ocean polluted by thousands of swimmers. I must have approximately a private ocean. There is no sense in any such exclusiveness, but I must have it or I will not swim.

Recently, I was on the way to keep an important engagement, when I observed that my collar was wilted. I dropped into a store to buy another one. Thirty-five cents! It's too much! I cannot pay thirty-five cents for a collar. Collars should be fifteen cents. If I had eight million, nine hundred fifty dollars and sixty-two cents in my pocket and needed just one collar, in order to be suitably arrayed for my inauguration as president, and that collar cost thirty-five cents, this great nation would have to go thru the humiliating experience of inaugurating a collarless president. I walked down the street and presently I decided that I was thirsty, so I bought a drink. Twenty-five cents. But that was all right. I am used to paying twenty-five cents for a drink. I used to get a more substantial drink for twenty-five cents than I can buy now, still twenty-five cents for a drink seems to be about right, so I pranced on to my important engagement with my twenty-five cent drink tucked under my belt and my wilted collar around my neck.

I like to read. Everything I am or hope to be I owe to the hours I have spent with books and it is astonishing how much one can accomplish with perhaps not more than three hours a week spent in the company of books. If I were advising a young man or a young woman about rules for success, I should rank the expenditure of one hour a day with books as about the most important of all. If you can induce a young person to spend one hour a day with the greatest minds the world has produced, you need not bother about admonitions on the subject of honesty or morality or anything else for that matter. But it seems to me I can never find time to read. I thoroly realize that there is nothing more important, that there never has been anything so important, and that there never will be anything of equal importance. In spite of that, the most trifling incident of the day can use up the time that I should devote to reading.

My blessed mother taught me a great many valuable things, among others to be courteous. I shall never forgive her for that. She drilled that into me until it is a fixed habit of my life. As a consequence I permit the most stupid, fatuous, driveling, hopeless, stuffed-shirts to impose upon me. They come into my office and utter bromides with which I courteously agree or disagree. They drag me off to places where I do not wish to go. I thank them when they admire what I have written, altho as a matter of fact, I have no more respect for their mentality than I have for that of a grub worm. I endeavor to please them, simply because

I cannot help it. And all the while there is a suspicion in my mind that if my blessed, foolish mother had not taught me to be courteous I would hit these people on the head with an axe and be much happier.

I do not believe in giving money for other persons to spend for the benefit of humanity. I am convinced that in the course of a twelvemonth I will come face to face with the opportunity to give away all the money I ought to give. I am convinced that any movement, whose purposes and aims win my sympathy, should claim my time also. But in spite of these fixed convictions I do give money. After I have given it, I look myself in the eye and say: "You poor, vain, crawling, miserable, spineless jelly-fish. You gave that money because you didn't have the manhood to say NO." And that's the plain truth about it.

I wonder what fool invented the idea that Americans are materialistic dollar-chasers, money-worshippers. Anybody with half an idea or half of a half-baked imitation of an idea can organize an association in the United States to alleviate the sufferings of the peanut during the period of roasting and raise money. The American ideal seems to be to prevent all suffering, free all peoples; in brief, to purchase the millennium. We give away more money in the U. S. than even sanity can condone. We are the most confirmed uplifters who ever blundered and staggered along the Milky Way of Idealism.

I know a great many millionaires. Nearly all of them are more interested in the particular hobby on which they waste their money, than they are in the extremely interesting sources of it. I know only one man, who has what I consider a sane conception of constructive charity. He is George McQuaid, Staff Correspondent of the *Dallas News*. He and I were sitting in a restaurant one morning about two o'clock, after our day's work on a morning paper, when a pitiful derelict in soiled clothes shuffled in and whimpered his appeal for food. McQuaid looked at him, with the utmost contempt. He rose in a threatening manner; I thought he was going to throw the man out. "Here, take this, you bum," he said, as he handed the

man fifty cents. "Now get out and go to work, you ought to be ashamed of yourself." That was not my conception at the time of the right way to bestow charity. I said so.

"Sympathy," said McQuaid, "is poison. That fellow is already feeling sorry for himself. There is nothing more [Continued on page 287



There ought to be a sting with every fifty cents obtained as that man obtained it



I took myself by the back of the neck and led myself out of that theater



I will not swim in any ocean polluted by thousands of swimmers



# Your Watchdog in Washington

A Message from the United States Government to the American People

By Herbert D. Brown

Chief of the United States Bureau of Efficiency

**B**EFORE the United States went to war with Germany the contribution of its average citizen to the maintenance of the general government was small. Not only that, but the tax was collected from him indirectly so that he scarcely realized that he was required to make the contribution. It followed that his interest in the operations of the Federal Government was rather languid and he seldom thought of criticizing seriously the conduct of departmental affairs at Washington.

The war has changed all that. For the first time the citizen has had to give and lend directly to the Government from his private store, and to do so in generous measure—"until it hurt." Two years after the cessation of hostilities he is still paying heavily. The Government has slowly demobilized its fighting forces, it is true, and still more slowly relinquished its control of problems of production, supply, transportation and finance but the heavy cost of Government continues and the people naturally are asking why.

Thoughtful people everywhere are turning an inquiring and often critical gaze upon the agencies that make up the Government. Is the heavy taxation the result of wasteful mismanagement in Government offices? It is well that they should be thus concerned and should want to understand the business details of the Government they are required to support. It is their right to demand that the aggregate of their contributions be economically administered by the Government's agents.

I am glad, therefore, to tell the inquiring citizen what the Bureau of Efficiency is trying to do toward putting into practice in Washington the business methods that have made the commercial institutions of America preëminent and successful. This Bureau is the only office of the Government created for the exclusive purpose of saving the people's money; all others are engaged in spending it.

The earliest inquiry into the administrative methods of the executive departments was made by the Cockrell Commission in 1887. Its report suggested as "the most feasible and practical remedy" the creation in each department of a committee of "competent, industrious, painstaking officers . . . not wedded to the idea that the age of existing methods . . . made them the only correct and proper ones." The members of this commission, I have been told, actually went into the Government offices, sat down beside clerks and watched what they were doing. It has seemed to me that this commission had the right idea of how efficiency work should be done.

In 1893 a joint commission, of which Congressman Alex M. Dockery was chairman, was appointed to examine the status of the laws organizing the executive

departments and twelve years later, in 1905, President Roosevelt appointed the committee of which C. H. Keep, assistant Secretary of the Treasury, was chairman, to consider departmental methods. Five years later, President Taft appointed a "Commission on Economy and Efficiency" with Frederick A. Cleveland as chairman, to acquire a knowledge of the conditions of business in the departments with a view to instituting reforms.

The present Bureau of Efficiency began on March 4, 1913, as a division in the Civil Service Commission with an appropriation of \$12,000 for the first year. It became an independent establishment February 28, 1916, and this year has an appropriation of \$125,000.

I had the honor of being connected with both the Keep and the Cleveland commissions and having observed their efforts to improve the departmental service and studied their reports, I came to the conclusion that the Commission on Economy and Efficiency had fallen short of rendering the great services it might have rendered because its members had not perceived that only by personal investigation of the offices themselves, tact and patience in dealing with the workers in those offices and absolute willingness to surrender all credit for their service could their ends be attained. Only by

winning the good will and coöperation of the administrators and employees in offices in which the work is done is it possible to achieve permanent results. These reflections led me to adopt the following six principles as fundamental to a successful conduct of the Bureau of Efficiency:

1—Coöperation, not coercion. No officer of the Government is happy to have an outsider come in and assume to dictate how many clerks he should have, what he should pay them and how their work should be done.

2—No publicity. The measure of coöperation required is not to be expected from a bureau chief, the discovered delinquencies of whose office are proclaimed in the daily press.

3—Advice, not supervision.

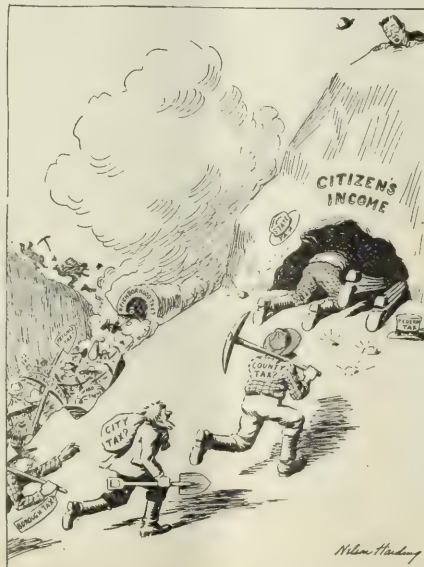
4—Laboratory tests, not academic treatises. There never has been time nor inclination in the

Bureau of Efficiency to write lengthy reports, but there is always time for careful and prolonged tests of proposed operations.

5—Team work. By developing an *esprit de corps* in the Bureau we have in a measure offset the small salaries paid by the Government for this kind of work compared with those paid by private firms.

6—Non-partizanship. To an efficiency organization it should be a matter of indifference what party is in power. Good government should be its only interest.

Generally speaking, the Bureau of Efficiency does two classes of work. First we [Continued on page 283]



Harding in Brooklyn Daily Eagle

The greatest gold discovery of this century?



# What British Labor Wants

By The Rt. Hon. J. H. Thomas, M. P.

The head of the British Federation of Railwaymen presents here the second of a series of three articles written to explain to the American people the significance of the recent strikes in England and the ultimate aim of the Triple Alliance which "makes possible a national strike by which the whole life of the country could be brought to a standstill." Mr. Thomas is one of the foremost leaders of the Labor Movement in Great Britain and he is a Labor Party member of the British Parliament

FULLY to appreciate the progress and development of the British Labor Movement it is not sufficient to point to the fact that it has a membership of six and a half million organized men and women, nor does it suffice to demonstrate how its membership of the House of Commons has grown until its representatives have come to form the second party in the State altho, of course, each of these factors is highly important and significant.

The most significant evidence of the progress of the British Labor Movement is to be found on the legislation book—year by year as the strength of Labor has grown so has its growth been recorded in the laws of the land. To the superficial observer this progress may seem to have been somewhat slow, but it must be remembered that the workers have had to fight their way up from complete subjection and in the face of every conceivable obstacle.

Today, as the result of organization, the worker is on a level with the employer, but it must not be forgotten that there was a time when the worker was a slave possessing no vestige of political or economical status. Then, with the awakening consciousness of the workers, came labor problems which took the form of concern not for the improvement of the lot of the workers, but for their better discipline and for the protection of the ruling classes against revolt.

As the centuries passed the British people showed an ever increasing unsettlement, and a growing mercantile activity began to break down the restrictions which existed on the free movement of labor. What was the result? The capitalists were filled with consternation. As the employers of today are inclined to be aghast at the idea of a worker thinking himself entitled to a reasonable amount of leisure time for recreation and private pursuits, so these earlier employers viewed with amazement the desire of the men to go from one place to another according to their inclination and the Law of Settlement of 1661, under which a man might be forcibly sent back to the place of his birth lest he should become a charge upon the parish to which he had moved, was strictly enforced.

Thus it has been right down to the present time—always an inclination to fetter and obstruct, even when



© Keystone View Co., Inc.

These are the men in Parliament who are helping British labor to its extraordinary place in national affairs. This photograph, taken at the recent joint meeting at Caxton Hall, within "the sacred precincts of Westminster," of the Labor Party, the Parliamentary Party, and the Trade Union Congress, shows, from left to right, Mr. A. Henderson, M.P., Mr. William Brace, M.P., Hon. William Adamson, M.P. (chairman), Mr. Robert Hartsorn, M.P., and Mr. J. H. Thomas, M.P., the writer of our series of articles on British labor

it is demonstrated that to accede to the demands made would be to the advantage of all parties.

Fortunately for the people of this country it is not necessary to occupy a predominant position in the House of Commons before it is possible to exercise some influence, at any rate, upon legislation. Even when the Trade Union Movement was able only to send its representatives to buttonhole members of Parliament in the lobby of the House of Commons it succeeded by its influence in doing much toward speeding up legislation and but for its efforts there is no doubt that many measures for the amelioration of working life would not only have been indefinitely delayed, but would have

been very much more anemic than they were.

When, however, Labor at last got its foot within the sacred precincts of Westminster, progressive legislation was "speeded up" in a remarkable manner. As I stated in my last article, two Labor M. P.'s were elected in 1900. In 1906, twenty-nine Labor men were returned and what had hitherto been the Labor Representation Committee became the Labor Party. Three years later the Miners' Federation joined the Labor Party and at the General Elections of January and December, 1910, the number of successful Labor Candidates was forty and forty-two respectively. Let me now review the phenomenal industrial legislation of these five years.

In 1906 a Workmen's Compensation Act was passed which in many respects marked a considerable improvement upon earlier legislation of this character. Hitherto, accidents which did not happen on or near the employer's premises were ruled out and illness and death due to certain purely trade diseases were untouched by the old Acts; furthermore, the Act of 1906 made compensation payable in the case of death or serious and permanent disablement even when the accident could be attributed to the wilful and serious misconduct of the workman concerned.

Next came the Old Age Pensions Act of 1908 by which all men and women seventy years of age or over, and British subjects for at least twenty years, became entitled to a State allowance of from one to five shillings a week; the full sum of five shillings is allowed to all pensioners whose means do not exceed twenty-one pounds a year [Continued on page 278



# Master Workshops of America

A Series of Monthly Articles Written from a First Hand Survey of Big Business Enterprises That Have Given the United States the Name of the Foremost Industrial Nation of the World

## Beef and Bouquets

By Edward Earle Purinton

**T**HE president of the world's largest packing house comes to work with a flower in his buttonhole. Why not? Visitors do not look for bouquets in the Chicago stockyards. The sights, sounds and general atmosphere do not suggest flowers. All the more reason why the man who works there should take a flower with him, in a corner of his coat or his mind.

Every business, trade or profession has unpleasant features that go along with the day's routine, but our observation has been that a real man is made more genial by uncongenial duties or surroundings. He conquers the seemingly prosaic with a beautiful spirit. He bears his burdens better because he wears a flower. I presume that Mr. L. F. Swift, President of Swift & Company, would feel insulted if anybody called him a poet. Rightly enough—the fellow *called* a poet is generally not a poet but a *poseur*. If you have the heart of a poet, you should carefully hide it under the brain of a business man.

Most people would naturally doubt that the world's largest meat packer is a man of fine feeling, and that a wonderful humanitarian spirit pervades the organization under him. So many lies have been told about the big packers of Chicago, that I wish to nail a few in this article, beginning by hammering on the fact that a packer is not necessarily a butcher. He *may* be a poet, a reformer, a teacher, a statesman, a philanthropist.

The people of the United States require a great deal of meat—an average for each consumer of about half pound per day, or 180 pounds per year. We are not saying they should. They do; and so long as they do, the packer who conducts his business on sound principles of economy, hygiene, sanitation, education and service renders a large benefaction to the nation.

I had a preconceived notion about the appearance and character of L. F. Swift. The way not to know a man is to read what the newspapers say about him. I had been reading press criticisms of the leading packers, and expected to find Mr. Swift a cold, hard, selfish, mercenary, slave-driver sort of man, with probably a streak of brutality and a vein of cruelty. The



Mr. Louis F. Swift, president of Swift & Co., business man and humanitarian

moment I learned that he wore a carnation to his office in the stockyards, I humbly apologized inside—he was not only human, he was gentle, kind, artistic, idealistic, as a flower-lover is. Never judge a man by what he does for a living, judge him by what he does for the life of those about him.

Louis F. Swift is a fundamental humanitarian. He takes a deep interest in the welfare of his 50,000 employes, having originated many of the so-called welfare features years before they grew popular. One was the standard 45-hour minimum week for the workers on guaranteed pay for the whole year, whether busy or not. The company takes the risk during idle seasons, with an 8-hour basic day, time and a half for overtime, and double time for Sundays and holidays. Moreover, wages for common labor have been raised approximately 185 per cent in the last five years, which more than offsets higher living costs. A good share of this increase was granted voluntarily by Swift & Company in the early days of the war period. Other increases came thru arbitration proceedings before a federal mediator.

Mr. Swift makes a point of protecting the small shareholder in the corporation, before he protects the large—including himself. There are 23,000 employes who either own stock in the company or are purchasing stock on a partial payment plan, besides 17,000 customers, dealers and friends thruout the United States and in foreign countries, who are shareholders. Mr. Swift holds that the rich man can protect himself, but the poor man or woman having only a few hundred dollars to put into a business venture needs a rich man to look out for these small interests. He hasn't



Louis F. Swift, Jr., is learning the business in the manner of his father and his uncles before him—from the bottom up. He will, in the course of time, serve in all of the main departments



forgotten how poor the Swifts were when they founded the concern, and how much they needed some capitalist to fight for them.

He has the reformer's eagerness for improvement, but not the reformer's habit of orotund helplessness. He walks thru the stockyards regularly, on his way to the office, and where he notes anything to be made right he takes a hand in the performance, balancing the practical and the ideal. No limousine long-distance observations for him.

He is death on dirt. He reveals a passion for cleanliness. The old way of handling various meats in preparation was to let them drop in the dirt on the floor or pass thru soiled hands in a germ-laden atmosphere—then try to wash the products clean again. The Swift order is imperative and universal. *Keep everything off the floor and moving in fresh water.* Each hog, for example, gets a shower bath for an introduction to the plant; later, the different portions of the animal are subjected to process baths. Fountain brushes thru which clean water flows constantly are the tools for washing animals; with hygienic, automatic machines taking the place of hand labor in lifting, lowering and moving the meat. The walls, floors and ceilings of the plant are kept cleaner than the average home kitchen.

A firm policy of Mr. Swift is to hold the organization and working conditions to blame, rather than the men, where a certain department is found to be losing money. He does not "fire" the men, or hire more, or add to the burden of toil. He improves the system, and lightens the labor while enlarging the output.

A bit of educational advertising. The famous "Swift Dollar," that tells its own story

course has been taken by 5,000 foremen who wanted to become expert in the science of industrial management, a few of the topics being "The Foreman's Qualities," "The Handling of Men," "The Use of Organization," "Plants, Machinery and Materials," "Team Work," "Use of Records, Yields and Costs," "Modern Industrial Management."

A notable trait of Mr. Swift that every meat eater will approve is a fondness for low prices to the consumer—lower than in almost any other line of production. During the fiscal year preceding the writing of this article just after the war, with profiteering a national plague, Swift & Company made the smallest margin of profit in its history. The shipments were over 5,500,000,000 pounds, sales over \$1,200,000,000 net earnings only \$13,870,181.34. The profits were less than 1 1-6 cents on each dollar of sales, or a quarter of a cent on each pound shipped. The earnings hardly ever go above 2 cents on each dollar of sales. Ask your grocer, baker, iceman or milkman if he can do business on a 2 per cent margin of profit—then you will realize what a manufacturing and merchandizing feat of economy to the customer has been wrought by Swift & Company.

The average meat consumer, purchasing only from



Here is humane efficiency, in one of the main offices—with its double-face desks, overhead lighting, and modern scientific arrangement

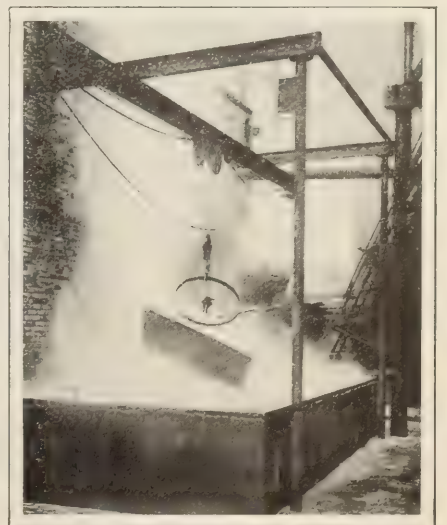
Swift, buying 180 pounds a year, pays to Swift a profit of about a cent a week. Buying other foods of equal market value, he would pay the producer a profit of 10 cents to perhaps 30 cents a week. Swift thus affords on the family meat bill a saving of \$10 to \$50 a year, depending upon the number in the family and the kind of meat purchased.

How? By huge volume of sales, rapid turnover, scientific methods of buying, dressing, handling, shipping selling; and particularly the salvage of waste thruout the whole plant, of a hundred different departments.

Every working day, in the Chicago plant alone, 1,000 cattle are cut and refrigerated. Each hour of the day, 1,000 hogs and 800 sheep are prepared for market. If all the live stock for the daily output were driven up to the door each morning, they would form a line of animals twenty miles long. With 400 distributing houses in the United States and 70 more in Europe, Asia and Africa, Swift gets meat to the consumer in faster time and larger quantities than any other packer on earth. Swift freight cars make an average of over sixty miles per day, as against forty-two miles general average in the United States. Even the loading of the cars is done by the method proved quickest, safest and most economical.

A comparatively small capital of \$150,000,000 with a turnover six times a year produces good annual dividends, by rendering sixfold that small single profit of 1 or 2 cents on each dollar of sales. A small merchant who gets a complete turnover three or four times a year thinks he is doing mighty well. He must reap larger profits on fewer sales. The greatest concern usually handles the product both cheapest and best.

In the old days of the country "slaughter house," unsavory, unsightly and un- [Continued on page 280]



Even the trucks are sterilized



# What Did It

By Franklin H. Giddings

**E**XPLANATIONS of the Republican majorities that elected Mr. Harding have been offered morning and evening since November 2 and from time to time will be offered until 1924. The earliest ones were impressionistic and the scientific ones cannot be undertaken until complete returns are subjected to statistical analysis. Nevertheless, now that our minds are becoming used to the certainties that "Wilsonism" is repudiated, and that the Republican party will go into power with full control of every branch of the Government, it is worth while to examine tentatively two or three of the more probable theories of "what did it."

These presumably true theories were not given prominence in editorial columns on November 3. On the contrary, they were then referred to (if at all) only to be brushed aside as preposterous or inconsequential. For present purposes I choose three of them, namely: (1) that we have become, like the Athenians, a fickle people; (2) that the decision (whether it was a right and fortunate one or a wrong and unfortunate one) was psychologically a reflex action more than a judgment; and (3) that the vote was a repudiation by a large plurality and possibly by a majority of the American people of America's part in the European war, in so far as that part was more than self defense. In characterizing these hypotheses as probably true notwithstanding the cavalier way in which the newspapers promptly disposed of them, I mean that when all the facts supporting them are assembled they will amount nearly or quite to adequate proof.

Are we fickle? The Athenians crowned their heroes with chaplets of bay. The morning after they began to scold them. In a few months they began to revile them. In a year or two they turned them out of town. As nearly as possible that is what we did to Admiral Dewey. We all but did it to Abraham Lincoln. We did do it to General Grant, to Grover Cleveland, to Theodore Roosevelt, and to William Howard Taft. In New York City we did it to Mayor Mitchel. Now we have done it to Woodrow Wilson. If anybody prefers to call these performances collectively by some other name than fickleness I have no quarrel with him.

Was the voting an intellectual judgment? The campaign provoked discussions of high intellectual quality, but how many voters understood them. To ask this question is to smile. He would be a rash man who should contend that one-tenth of one per cent of the voters to whom President Wilson appealed in solemn referendum on the Covenant of the League of Nations could have given a more intelligible account of Article X than they could have given of the Institutes of Justinian or of the Constitution of Clarendon. A hundred and fifty intellectuals (more or less) voted for the League knowing what they were about. A hundred and

fifty other intellectuals (more or less) voted against the League knowing what they were about. Each lot quite sincerely thought the other lot preposterous or worse. The entire three hundred (more or less) apparently believed that they were making some kind of an impression upon their countrymen. "What a dust we do kick up, said the fly to the cart wheel." But it was not the Covenant of the League of Nations drawn at Versailles, or any substitute, amendment or reservation that interested those countrymen. Without wasting any precious energy in study or thought they believed what Lodge, Borah and Johnson said about the Covenant, or what Mr. Taft and Hamilton Holt said about it. Very few of them got so far, however, as to mention their belief. All they ever said was that Cabot Lodge made them "tired" or that Woodrow Wilson made them "tired." Then they went into the polling booth and "swatted" one gentleman or the other as they would have swatted a fly or a cootie. One tired lot voted against Cox; another tired lot voted against Harding. The only candidate that anyone voted "for" was Debs.

Did we repudiate our part in the war wholly or in part? An energetic minority of Americans from the first believed that we ought to get into the war. When we got into it these Americans threw themselves into our task unreservedly and tirelessly. To the present hour they have never wavered in their conviction and as long as they live they will insist that America should thru all coming time participate unselfishly and courageously in the enterprise of conserving civilization and preventing, as far as it is humanly possible to prevent, the recurrence of world war. But to insist or to pretend that these Americans are now or at any time have been a majority of our voting population is to pretend to deny what nobody does deny in fact.

President Wilson was reelected in 1916 because he had kept us out of war. We went into the war in 1917 because President Wilson and Congress had become convinced that we had to go in, in self-defense. It is possible that a majority of the people were convinced: that would be a more difficult thing to prove. There has never been any evidence

that a majority of the people has ever at any time believed that the United States went into the war or was under obligation to go into it "to make the world safe for democracy." A good many Americans believed that we were under moral obligation to go in and have since believed that we did go in to avenge Belgium and to save France. Perhaps half of the boys who went over seas felt that way about it; but when they came home what did they say? Nine hundred and ninety-nine out of every thousand of them said: "Never again. We have done our duty, we are glad we did it, but never again." That is what, for six months, they have been saying thruout the United States, never mind why. So far, then, as American participation in

## The Next Cabinet

President-elect Harding will spend the next four months picking a cabinet. Would you like to send us your opinions as to whom he should select? The Independent would be glad to receive and, so far as space permits, to publish, suggestions from its readers as to the best men and women for the existing cabinet positions, and also suggestions for cabinet offices which do not yet exist but should in your opinion be established. Your letter will count as a vote in any case, but it will be more apt to be published if it keeps within two hundred words. If you do not wish to fill the whole cabinet send in your vote anyhow for the particular positions in which you are most interested. Your letter must be received not later than January 10, 1921. Address it to "The Cabinet Contest," Editorial Department.



# Who's Elected



© Keystone View

## A VOTE OF CONFIDENCE IN CUMMINS

Iowa reelected Senator Albert B. Cummins, Republican, by a more than safe majority in spite of the strong campaign of his opponents. Labor was urged to vote against Senator Cummins because he sponsored the Esch-Cummins bill to make private ownership of railroads a profitable business again



© Keystone View

## THE ONLY WOMAN IN CONGRESS

Less than a year ago Miss Alice Robertson was president of the anti-suffrage association of Oklahoma; now she is a Congresswoman! In 1860 Miss Robertson came to Oklahoma in a prairie schooner with her father, who was a missionary. Later she opened a school for Indian girls in Muskogee; she was appointed postmistress there in 1912; during the war she ran a cafeteria



Photograph from Estelle Place  
THE NEW SENATOR FROM CALIFORNIA

Samuel M. Shortridge, Old Guard Republican, defeated the Democratic Senator, James D. Phelan, who waged a bitter campaign for reelection to the United States Senate from California this fall. Both candidates made an anti-Japanese appeal, but the Phelan posters went to absurd extremes in begging for votes to "Keep California White"



International

## PENROSE FOREVER!

At least it looks that way. Pennsylvania has just reelected the "Big Boss" for a fifth term. Boise Penrose graduated from Harvard in '81, practiced law a year or two, and then went into the production end. He has been making laws ever since

Right: The new Senator from Georgia, whose election is regarded as a protest against the established order in politics. "Tom" Watson ran on the Democratic ticket, but he is anti-League



International



© Keystone View

## THE SENATE RADICALS



International

## GOVERNOR COOLIDGE'S SUCCESSOR

Lieut. Governor Channing Cox, Republican, was promoted to the governorship of Massachusetts by the election this fall. But small daughter counts on persuading him to continue to spare time from politics to go sliding with her

Left: The Senator who represents the Non-Partizan League, Prof. Edwin F. Ladd, of North Dakota. He is head of the Agricultural College at Fargo



the war was anything more or was believed to be anything more than an act of self-defense, a plurality of American voters has never "stood for it" and on November 2 a majority of them repudiated it.

American business wants to exploit Mexico and to trade with Germany. The entire American population is tired of standing at moral attention. We want to do our duty of course—when did we ever fail? But we must be practical, and idealism "is in wrong." "Us for normalcy!" That is what we said on November 2.

## We've Smashed Something; What Next?

G. K. Chesterton tells of a crowd that agreed to smash a lamp-post. They did so, effectively and triumphantly. But it turned out later that some wished to erect a new kind of street lamp, some wanted the post moved to another corner, some desired darkness because their deeds were evil, some hated the lamp-post because it stood for municipal ownership of the lighting plant, some simply wanted the elementary joy of smashing something. Then there was war in the darkness.

The electorate has smashed the Wilson Administration. No evading or explaining away the decisiveness of the verdict. But is it a verdict for reconstituting the League as Taft and Hoover say or for dropping the whole business as Johnson says? Is it a conservative victory against Gompers or a radical victory against Palmer? Did the anti-German New York *Tribune* or the anti-English Hearst papers contribute most to the result? Does it mean a bigger or smaller army and navy? Does it mean recognition of the Mexican Government or war with Mexico? Yes, there is a victory. But who owns it?

## A Socialist View of the Landslide

By John Spargo

IT is quite impossible for even the most moderate of radicals to view the election of Senator Harding and the Republican landslide with any satisfaction, or to resist the conviction that we have definitely entered upon a period of reaction such as this nation has rarely experienced. It is not so much that Senator Harding is himself ultra-conservative and pledged to domestic and foreign policies which are ultra-conservative, as the fact that the group of men who brought about his nomination, and by whom he is expected to be advised and guided when he assumes office, are utter reactionaries. These men are wholly out of sympathy with all liberal and progressive ideals, to say nothing of Socialism. They are defenders of the status quo, of vested interests, of privilege. They are bitter and implacable opponents of those liberalizing and socializing tendencies of our time which we are accustomed to sum up as progressive. Their minds hark back to the "good old days" before trade union action and humanitarian legislation presumed to limit the exploitation of public resources and social requirements for private gain.

It is not accidental and unimportant that almost before the composition of the Electoral College was known, the Republican Publicity Association, headed by ex-Senator Jonathan Bourne, Jr., began an open attack upon the American Federation of Labor, trade unionism, and all that these represent. This attack is simply a precursor of other attacks to come. It is an indication of the labor legislative program which those responsible for Senator Harding's selection as his party's standard-bearer hope and expect to carry thru.

Mr. Gompers had already spoken of "the terrible plunge toward reaction" shown by the election results. For the venerable head of the American Federation of Labor this must have been a mortifying admission. His support of the Democratic party, and the loudly and widely proclaimed

support of that party by the principal leaders of the Federation appear to have had about as much effect upon the actual result as would the support of the Browning Society, for example. Once more it has been demonstrated that the "labor vote" which Mr. Gompers or anybody else can deliver, or effectively influence to the support of either of the great capitalist parties, is a very negligible quantity. "Reward your friends and punish your enemies" sounds well as a slogan of opportunist politics, but in reality it is nothing more than a bit of rhetoric, a phrase which Mr. Gompers, who loves sonorous phrases, delights to repeat. A cursory examination of the Congressional elections furnishes an illuminating commentary upon the political policy designated by the phrase. If organized labor had any "friends" in Congress who deserved the reward of active and united support, surely Representatives Clark of Missouri, Sherwood and Cooper of Ohio, Casey and McLane of Pennsylvania, were of that number. The three last named are, I believe, members of trade unions. With the exception of Champ Clark, all of them represent constituencies in which organized labor is strong. Yet, all were defeated. On the other hand, such bitter "enemies" as Senators Wadsworth, Lenroot, Brandegee and Cummins were elected.

In truth, when the Sixty-seventh Congress assembles organized labor will be represented by fewer "friends" than it has had in several Congresses past. In my judgment, there is not, never has been, and cannot be any "labor vote" worth mentioning to be sought or feared by either of the two dominant parties. There cannot be any political solidarity of organized labor except in support of a genuine labor party, whatever its name may be. And up to the present the Socialist party, with all its faults and shortcomings, is the nearest approach to anything of the kind in our political life. For this reason, as well as on account of his previous record in Congress, the lone Socialist member, Meyer London, may fairly be called the only "labor" member elected to the next Congress.

As usual, it is practically impossible to get anything like a reliable estimate of the votes cast for the minor parties as yet. It seems to be quite certain, however, that the so-called Farmer-Labor party made about as little showing as I predicted in these pages at the time of its formation. Neither the farmers nor organized labor seemed to be aware of its existence. A "Farmer-Labor" party with Mr. Christensen as its national standard bearer, and Mr. Dudley Field Malone as its standard bearer in the great Empire State, could not be other than a joke. There was nothing in the platform and aims of this "party" which justified its promoters in setting themselves in competition with the Socialist party. If it lacked some of the good qualities of the Socialist party, the Farmer-Labor party faithfully adopted all that was mistaken and bad in the policy of the former.

I believe that the Socialist party, in this election, missed a great opportunity. Its foreign policy seemed to me shortsighted, reactionary and provocative of reaction and international strife. Believing as I did—and still do—in the League of Nations, as a notable advance toward that internationalism which rests upon secure nationalism, and as the greatest triumph over militarism ever brought within the scope of practical politics, it would have been impossible for me, as a Socialist, to give my endorsement to that mistaken and reactionary policy, even if there had been a Socialist ticket in Vermont—which happened not to be the case.

At the same time, as a Socialist, I am gladdened by such success as the Socialist party has secured in the face of the current of reaction. It may be that the optimism and faith in the future which have sustained my Socialist convictions, strengthening them year after year, thru every adverse circumstance, gilds for me even the future of the Socialist party. Be that how it may, it seems to me to be,



first of all, the most effective instrument for giving expression to sincere protest against fundamental social injustice and wrong; the most reliable and intelligent political exponent of social ideals worthy of twentieth century civilization. Profoundly as I have disagreed with my former comrades and colleagues upon the war and the issues arising out of the war, and disastrous as I believe the success of their policy in these matters would have been, I am still one of them and with them in the conviction that production for private profit can never give us a maximum of well-being, and that Socialism is the world's brightest hope. For these reasons, I am glad that the New York electorate returned several of the excluded Socialist representatives to the State Legislature. Their exclusion was an infamy; their reelection a splendid service to the cause of democracy in America. I am glad, too, that the Socialist vote appears from the early returns to have substantially increased. These things are so many evidences of the fact that faith in Socialism is not dead; that despite the mistakes of the party, war, Bolshevism, reactionary oppression, and every other discouragement, the Socialist ideal still lives in hearts and minds enough to make hope of its realization possible.

## The Crushing of Armenia

By Edwin E. Slosson

**I**NFANT Armenia is in danger of being squeezed to death between the upper millstone of the Russian Bolsheviks and the lower millstone of the Turkish Nationalists.

Last August when the first news came of their efforts to unite forces the Washington authorities expressed the view that there was no reason for alarm because the two elements were too incompatible to cooperate. But now when Turk and Tatar have met on Armenian soil the menace may seem not so remote even to Washington. The incoherent rhapsodies of the Koran, written on palm leaves and the shoulder blades of sheep, can be so combined and interpreted as to mean almost anything the emergency may demand and the ingenious Lenin has set up a missionary training school in Moscow where mollahs are taught to teach that the doctrines of Marx and Mohammed are essentially the same.

But whether the two allies have a common faith or not they have a common foe and unanimity in animosity often goes farther toward securing unity of action than similarity in doctrine. Whatever gaps there may be in the theological argument may easily be bridged or blinded by the hundredweight of gold which Nikolai Lenin has sent to his friend, Mustafa Kemal, and by the bales of cotton by which the southerner will return the compliments of his northern ally. The oil fields of Baku attract the Tatar proletariat as their Everlasting Fires did the Zoroastrians of old. But to the modern fire worshipers the liquid fuel suggests power rather than prayer. The Volga steamers lie idle by the banks and the locomotives puff along lazily for lack of oil.

The fanaticism of Bolshevism and Mohammedanism alike takes the form of hatred to Christianity and both Russia and Turkey are resisting dismemberment by the Allies. Lenin and Kemal dislike the League of Nations as much as do Borah and Johnson. The efforts of the Allies to dam up Bolshevism in one big red reservoir by means of a dike of buffer states stretching from the Baltic Sea to the Persian Gulf do not seem to be successful. It is hard on the buffer states and in spite of them Bolshevism seeps thru. North Persia is saturated with it and the Persian troops that were called to aid the Armenians in their fight against the Bolsheviks had to be withdrawn because their stamina had been undermined by Soviet propaganda. The Tatar republic of Azerbaijan is willy nilly Bolshevik again. The

Georgians alone of all the Caucasian peoples are holding out against Bolshevism. Their republic, they claim, is socialistic but not communistic. But such fine distinctions are not easy to maintain in such turbulent times. The steamer "Zenabe," flying the old flag minus the moon and star and bearing ammunition from Odessa to Trebizond, was blown up by a French destroyer. But even tho the French block the Black Sea the land route thru the Caucasus is now open.

Armenia, like Belgium, suffers the penalty of being a buffer state by suffering invasion from both sides. The Armenian families are driven from their farms and homes just as winter is coming on. In the south the Armenians are in still greater danger. The British turned over Cilicia to the French in accordance with the secret treaty of Sevres that has just been revealed. The French, believing it more important to gain Syria than to hold Cilicia, withdrew their troops from the interior, thus exposing the Armenians to massacre. The Armenians in Hadjiu, the center of the American relief work, defended the city from March till November, but the Nationalist Turks have now captured the place and, it is said, slaughtered ten thousand Armenians. It is hard to convince an Armenian that the French do not deliberately design their extermination in order that the Armenian claims to Cilicia may be extinguished. The Armenian General Antranik went to Paris to beg the French to let his people fight in their own defense. He did not ask help, but merely that the French and Italians stop providing the Turks with arms.

The mandate for Armenia was offered to America, but America is not in a mood to assume any responsibilities in the Old World. Our Government, however, sent a sharp note of protest on March 24 when the news first leaked out that France, England and Italy had carved up Turkey to suit themselves. But these powers held not unnaturally that the United States, having declined any duties in this region, could not claim any rights, so they proceeded to settle their spheres of influence in which the opportunities of outsiders are dubious. We declined to enter the door when it was opened for us so now the open door is closed. We are politely told that since we took part neither in the Turkish war nor Turkish peace we have no right to protest.

But the war in Turkey is not yet over. The enemy has simply moved his headquarters from Constantinople to Angora. The Greeks, to whom the job of cleaning out the Nationalists had been entrusted, have struck for higher pay, namely, the possession of Constantinople. The officially recognized Ottoman Government at Constantinople, after duly considering the peace terms dictated at Sevres—in the light of the Nationalist victories—has calmly notified the Allies that the time does not seem opportune for ratifying the treaty. Such is the situation just two years after Turkey capitulated and lay absolutely at the disposal of the Allies.

## Good Resolutions

**N**EW Year's Day ought to come about six weeks before Christmas, for nothing more requires good resolutions than Christmas shopping. We suggest the following:

Do your shopping early: early in the morning if possible as well as early in the season.

Do not get presents and then decide where to send them; first put yourself in the place of the person who is going to get the present and think what he or she would like to get.

The postal service is finding it hard to handle ordinary mail. Do not add to the burden by sending bulky presents or packages carelessly tied and directed.

Christmas is a holiday of joy; if you permit it to become a burden there is something wrong with you or your





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## Seeing Red

This famous Bolshevik propaganda train has carried the doctrines of Lenin thruout Russia. On it travel the men and women chosen as missionaries of Bolshevism. The seeming camouflage painted on the train is a lurid poster of the power of the Red flag



© Kadel & Herbert

On the staff of Bolshevism's propaganda train was the American communist, John Reed, whose death in a Moscow typhus hospital has recently been reported. "Jack" Reed (marked by a cross in this group of the Bolshevik propagandists) was not so long ago a popular Harvard cheer-leader, whose radicalism took itself out in love of adventure. Later, as a newspaperman, he "adventured" over most of the world, coming more and more to believe in the necessity of social revolution. In the Bolshevik movement he found the nearest approach to his beliefs



International

The Soviet government in Petrograd solves the street cleaning problem by forcing former Russian nobility to hard labor under guard. It's a topsy-turvy world when street cleaners in New York act like Grand Dukes, and Grand Dukes in Petrograd become street cleaners

The Bolsheviki overthrew the old Imperial court only to set up instead a new proletariat pomp. The Soviet soldiers at the left, standing at attention with sabers drawn, are a part of Lenin's bodyguard on parade waiting for the entrance of the premier



At the right is a group of Red rulers in Petrograd. No. 1 is Zinoviev, a brilliant Jew who heads the Petrograd Soviet. Lunacharsky (No. 2), Commissioner of Education, plans to abolish illiteracy in Russia. Voskov (No. 8) was formerly an American labor leader. Lisovsky (No. 7 standing between 8 and 6) once published a Russian newspaper in Detroit, and is now publishing *Plamya* (Flame) in Petrograd. The other comrades are 5, Ionov; 6, Linina; 9, Ravin





presents or the people who expect them. Find out which it is.

Remember that many countries are still starving this winter; return for once to your wartime habit of dealing generously by the Red Cross, the Near East Relief and other relief organizations of tested honesty and competence.

## California's Anti-Japanese Laws

By Sidney L. Gulick

**T**HE chief surprise in California on November 2 was the strong opposition to the anti-Japanese referendum.

Telegraphic reports state that 163,731 voted against it, while those for it numbered 481,015. This is really amazing because both principal parties, papers and candidates were avowedly anti-Japanese and for the referendum. It shows that many Californians have kept level heads despite the vigorous campaign of falsehood and prejudice. Senator Phelan's defeat was doubtless due to the Republican landslide. Many must have voted for the referendum and against him.

While all the parties and candidates were for the referendum several important groups definitely opposed it. They issued leaflets and on the closing days of the campaign they placed their clear and powerful arguments as advertisements in most, if not all of the daily papers. Never before have so many Californians come out so openly and emphatically for the square deal for Asiatics. This is a new and hopeful sign.

The new law not only rigidly forbids aliens ineligible to become citizens (Japanese and Chinese) from purchasing agricultural land, but also from leasing it, even for a single year. It also forbids their purchase of stock in any company, association or corporation that is entitled to possess or acquire agricultural land. Minor American-born children are denied the right to have their own parents as guardians.

This drastic land law inaugurates a new period in American-Japanese relations. Serious irritation has of course developed in Japan. Many excited editors have denounced America as unjust, inhuman, hypocritical and un-Christian. As a rule, they have misunderstood the law, which is not strange. They have assumed that it proposes to be retroactive and to deprive of their "vested rights" those who now own or lease land. Such, of course, is not the case. A few Japanese editors have shown themselves well informed and well balanced. All, however, deeply resent the humiliation of differential race treatment.

What will happen next? First of all a test case will be set up to determine the validity of the law. Does the treaty, which gives Japanese the right to carry on commerce, include the right of agricultural production? Is the law in harmony with the Fourteenth Amendment which declares that no state shall "deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the law"? Governor Stephens doubts the legal value of the law. Colonel Irish has promised to violate it in order to test it.

The chief result of the referendum will be found, I think, in its effect on Congress. Congress will regard it as a mandate for a positive act annulling the gentlemen's agreement and forbidding Japanese immigration.

In the light of our experience, it is clear that the time has come for Congress to take some appropriate action. But what should that action be? Three courses have been proposed.

1. Senator Phelan urges that the present general immigration law, which defines a geographical zone in the Pacific and Indian Oceans and in Southern and Central Asia from which no immigrants are allowed to come to America, shall be extended so as to include Japan, Korea and China.

2. Governor Stephens contends that our existing laws dealing with Chinese should be extended so as to apply to the Japanese.

3. The National Committee for Constructive Immigration Legislation proposes that a new method be adopted for regulating all immigration. Immigrants should be permitted from the various peoples only as we have reason to believe we can wholesomely assimilate, Americanize and employ them. These principles should be applied to the peoples of Europe as well as to those from Asia. The time has come for us ourselves to select the numbers and the character of those whom we will admit.

Of these three methods it is obvious that the first two will be bitterly resented by Japan, not because Japanese immigration will be stopped, but because of the discourteous way in which it is done and because of its humiliating implications.

The third method avoids these objects, yet will secure no less complete stoppage of immigration so long as such stoppage is wise.

Only the adoption by Congress of some such general law as this can really and fundamentally solve California's Asiatic problem and remove the disgrace and shame of dealing with the Chinese and Japanese by special laws that are essentially un-American.

Adoption of the proposals of the National Committee would not of course solve the deeper and more serious question of the conflicting economic interests of Americans and Japanese in China and the Far East generally. But they would help even there, if the California question can be amicably settled and that irritating influence be removed.

Japan's rising problems of feeding and satisfying her enormous and rapidly growing population of highly intelligent and extraordinarily active individuals, are terrifying to contemplate. Already she has 2688 people to every square mile of cultivatable land, and her people are increasing thru excess of births over deaths by about 700,000 yearly. The people have advanced their standards of living in the last sixty years amazingly, so that emigration except to America is not attractive to most of her workers. There is still uncultivated land in Hokkaido and quite a little in Korea. For many decades there will doubtless be unlimited opportunity for Japanese emigration to Manchuria and Siberia.

Japan may very likely run on as at present without much emigration for two or three decades. What will then happen? Beyond question when the pressure becomes sufficient either there will be emigration to Asia or the birthrate will fall.

But this should be clearly recognized both in Japan and in America. Japan's population and economic problems could not be solved by emigration to America unless it were enormous, say a million a year. And even so, an increased birthrate in Japan would in all probability immediately appear.

But the immigration to America of even 100,000 yearly would throw America into intolerable political, racial and economic chaos. This would have disastrous reactions on Japan. No, the solution of Japan's population problem cannot be solved by emigration to America. Japan must find in Asia her way to live. Americans should help, not thwart her legitimate expansion there.

On the other hand America must find a way to handle this question free from all humiliation or disgrace. Japanese (and Chinese) now in America should be given full courtesy of treatment. All our invidious laws against Asiatics should be repealed. Those Asiatics now lawfully here, if they and their families are going to stay on permanently, should be invited to qualify for citizenship and to take out naturalization papers.



# The Story of the Week

## Embers of Election

THE electoral vote on final returns remains as The Independent announced it in last week's issue. Later returns have changed the probability of Harding's victory in Oklahoma, Tennessee and New Mexico into certainty. Senator Beckham seems to have lost out to his Republican rival in Kentucky, Richard P. Ernst, which gives the Republicans fifty-nine votes in the Senate, or a majority of twenty-two. The new House of Representatives will be even more strongly Republican than appeared on the first returns. The Republicans have 307 Representatives, giving a majority of 179. The Republican control of both branches of Congress is so secure that the party caucus can carry out any legislative program it may decide upon in defiance both of the Democratic opposition and of any insurgent group which may arise within the party. Representative London of New York will be the only Socialist in the new Congress. One of the new Republican representatives is Miss Alice M. Robertson of Oklahoma, who was postmistress of Muskogee under President Roosevelt's administration. By the irony of fate, Miss Robertson, the only woman in the new Congress, was one of the anti-suffrage leaders of her state before the passage of the nineteenth amendment.

President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor claims that the results of the election justify the Federation in refusing to support an independent Labor party. He regretted the election of Senator Harding, but claimed that fifty Congressmen who had been "inconsiderate and hostile" toward labor were defeated at the polls. The Anti-Saloon League claims that a majority of the new Congress will oppose a repeal of the Volstead Enforcement Act. Mr. Christensen, nominee of the Farmer-Labor party for President, is not discouraged by the failure of the party to make any considerable showing in the present election. He predicts that the rout of the Democratic forces will make the Farmer-Labor party the real opposition to the triumphant Republicans and that it will carry the House of Representatives in 1922.

The Republican party spent on the national campaign \$6,250,000, of which \$1,500,000 is still to be raised to clear off the deficit. This is a large figure, but is much less than the estimates made by Governor Cox during the campaign. The Democratic National Committee had a campaign fund of \$878,835.24. The Farmer-Labor party reports a baby budget of only \$23,892.45. On the whole the

national election was not expensive, making allowance for the increased cost of printing, supplies and other campaign necessities. No such startling revelations of reckless expenditure have been revealed as in the Republican race to capture the party nomination this spring. The probable reason for this was the general feeling in financial circles that in 1920 the Republican nomination was equivalent to an election.

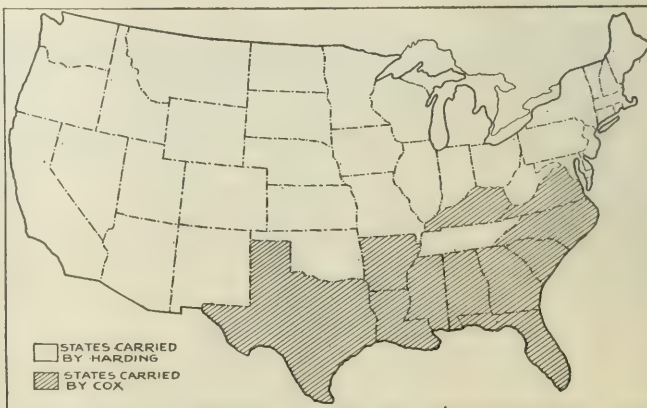
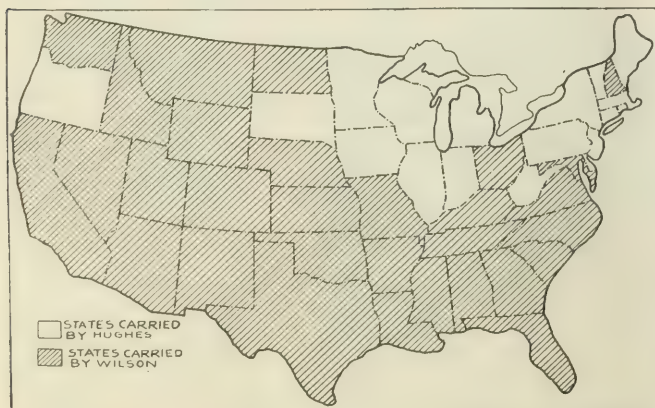
In several states there have been interesting referendum votes. The most important was the victory of the anti-alien land legislation in California, which threatens international complications with Japan. In New York the state bonus for veterans of the Great War was successful by an overwhelming majority in spite of the criticisms of the greater part of the press. Privates and officers below the rank of captain will receive ten dollars for each month of service. The total cost to the state is placed at \$45,000,000. In Michigan a proposition directed against private parochial schools was defeated by a heavy majority. In North Dakota several laws restricting the activities of the Bank of North Dakota were carried on referendum against the opposition of the Non-Partizan League. The Non-Partizan League reelected its candidate for Governor.

Perhaps the strangest result in the state elections was the Republican sweep of the New Jersey legislature. Altho in past times New Jersey has been the most Democratically



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When President Harding goes to the White House his secretary will still be the right-hand man and family friend who has been secretary to the Senator from Ohio since his election in 1915. George B. Christian, Jr., was in the limestone business in Ohio before he became Senator Harding's secretary. He helped form a political party in Marion known as the Harding Democrats, men who found in Harding's leadership enough to make them forsake their traditional politics. For in 1912 Mr. Christian had been so much a Democrat that he called the roll in the convention that nominated Woodrow Wilson



WHAT A DIFFERENCE FOUR YEARS MAKES



inclined of the northeastern states, the New Jersey House of Representatives next year will contain just one Democrat, Mayor Runyon of Belvidere. As the whole of the minority party he is entitled to representation on forty-nine committees, besides being the whole Democratic caucus, the minority leader and candidate for speaker, and the only representative in the lower house of the administration of the present Democratic Governor.

## What Bryan Thinks

**M**R. William Jennings Bryan, thrice unsuccessful Democratic nominee for the Presidency, has broken his long silence to explain the Republican landslide; probably feeling that his own experiences had made him an expert on the causes of a Democratic defeat. He voted with his party this year and even refused a nomination from the Prohibition Party, but his formal "regularity" covered a deep discontent with the policies of both President Wilson and Governor Cox. He said that "It was the first campaign in forty years in which I have not spoken, but my speeches would not fit into this campaign." He condemned President Wilson for insisting on the League of Nations Covenant without amendment or reservation and blamed Governor Cox for following the President's lead in this particular. Other grievances were the tacit alliance between Cox and the "wets" of the eastern states and the alleged influence of "Wall Street" in the San Francisco Convention.

The most interesting suggestion made by Mr. Bryan was that President Wilson should resign the Presidency to Senator Harding without waiting till next March. He indicated a way in which this could legally be done:

The President should resign at once and turn over his office to Vice-President Marshall on the condition that when Congress convenes Mr. Marshall appoint Mr. Harding Secretary of State and resign at once. This would give to Mr. Harding the duties of Chief Executive of the nation and would permit him to bring world peace. World peace is nearest to the President's heart. He could hardly refuse to hasten its coming with so small a sacrifice, if it can be called a sacrifice to escape a three months' combat with a hostile Congress.

This is a highly ingenious proposal and would make possible, without the necessity of a constitutional amendment, the elimination of the four months' overhang of one administration after the next one has been elected, which nearly all students of political science recognize as one of the defects of our national government. But Mr. Bryan did not consider the possibility that even if President Wil-



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No matter who is elected William Jennings Bryan stays in the limelight of our national politics. This latest photograph was taken just after his latest startling—and, many will contend, his common sense suggestion that President Wilson and Vice-President Marshall in turn resign and by appointing Senator Harding Secretary of State put him at once in Presidential power. Cutting the Gordian knot is one of Mr. Bryan's specialties, but the process leaves many loose ends



Wide World

These three dogs were brought from their native Alaska by airplane recently by Lieutenants Crunirine and Nelson, United States Army aviators, who made the first flight from Mineola to Nome and return

son did resign Vice-President Marshall might prefer to be President himself for the next four months instead of turning the office over to Senator Harding. It is even doubtful if Senator Harding himself is in a hurry to assume his new duties since he will wish time to consult the leaders of his party before selecting his cabinet and outlining his policies.

## Our Walking Delegate

**P**RESIDENT Wilson has commissioned Secretary of State Colby to visit South America, as did Secretary of State Elihu Root, in order to strengthen the friendships which bind together the nations of the American continent. In President Wilson's statement he spoke of the visits of courtesy paid to the United States in 1918 by Dr. Baltasar Brum, now President of Uruguay, and Dr. Epitacio Pessoa, now President of Brazil. He said that he had long desired to return these visits in person but had been prevented from doing so and could not "longer postpone the agreeable courtesy of their reciprocation."

I have, therefore, directed the Secretary of State, on my behalf and in my stead, to visit both Brazil and Uruguay and extend to the people of both those countries, thru their respective Governments, the most emphatic assurances of the esteem and friendship of the people of the United States, and of the desire felt in this country for a strengthening of every tie that binds our respective peoples in mutual good will and cordial intercourse.

After his visit to Brazil and Uruguay, Secretary Colby will make a short trip to Buenos Aires on the invitation of the Government of Argentina. A battleship will be placed at the Secretary's disposal for the trip and he will be accompanied by a large diplomatic staff. President Wilson's ill health is, of course, the reason why he cannot personally visit Latin America.

## Sunning Himself in Texas

**S**ENATOR Harding, President-elect of the United States, has decided to take a vacation from the cares of campaigning and to spend it in southernmost Texas, not far from the Mexican border. Altho half the nation is speculating as to his Cabinet appointments, foreign policy and other particulars of the incoming administration, the President-elect will postpone all political duties until December. He plans to visit the Panama Canal after a fortnight's rest in Texas, after which he will return to his home in Marion and consult with his party advisers.

Senator Harding's announced intention of visiting the canal zone gave rise to a pleasant little incident which does something to relieve the bitterness of the campaign. Secretary Daniels, at the instance of President Wilson, telegraphed Senator Harding that a warship would be placed at his disposal to take him down to Panama if he so desired. This courtesy was declined on the ground that arrangements had already been made for a preliminary visit





© Keystone View

## COAL

Scranton, Pennsylvania, undermined itself in the scramble to get out all its available coal. The recent digging in the mines has led under the city and resulted in a dangerous widespread cave-in of streets and houses

to Texas, but the Senator appeared greatly pleased at the offer and expressed his appreciation in cordial terms.

Governor Cox has taken his defeat very philosophically and has asked the Democratic party not to be obstructive, but to coöperate with the new administration. He said:

For the first time in ten years the Republican party is in complete control of the legislative and executive branches of the national government, therefore policy as to statute and administration is with it. Its task is no longer that of the critic, but the constructor.

It is my hope and firm belief that the Democracy of the nation will not attempt political sabotage. The country has seen quite enough of that. We are in the midst of emergency and the nation's every resource should coöperate in behalf of the things that are helpful.

There is a distinct difference between defeat and surrender. The flag of Democracy still flies as the symbol of things more enduring than the passions and resentments that come with the aftermath of war.

It cannot be said that Senator Harding has yet given any definite idea as to what his policy will be. His speeches have been carefully confined to generalities. An announcement from the Harding headquarters points to a formulation of policy in December:

Senator Harding let it be known that he is sending out a number of requests for personal and very informal conferences with men and women who have been eminent in the discussion of our foreign relations. These conferences will take place upon his return to Marion in December, and will be individual and personal, with the main purpose of learning what policy may enlist united support.

The publication of a cablegram sent by Elihu Root to Chairman Hays during the campaign shows that many influential Republicans will resist any attempt to "scrap" the existing League of Nations and replace it by some imaginary "Association." Mr. Root declared:

In my opinion, a new deal here from the beginning by abandoning the Versailles Treaty is impossible. To attempt it would bring chaos and an entire loss of results of the war and general disaster involving the United States. The only possible course is to keep the treaty, modifying it to meet the requirements of the Senate reservations and the Chicago platform and probably in some other respects. . . . A separate declaration of peace was justified only by President Wilson's refusal to act. After March 4 that will no longer be justifiable, unless other powers refuse to consent to modifications, which I do not anticipate.

## The Cuban Election

JUST one day before the Presidential election in the United States there was one in our little sister republic of Cuba. President Menocal was not a candidate for reelection. Two tickets were in the field: a Coalition or National party, replacing the old Conservative party,

which nominated Dr. Alfredo Zayas for President and Francisco Carillo for Vice-President, and the Liberal party, supporting General Jose Miguel Gomez for President and Miguel Arango for Vice-President. The United States did not take sides in the campaign or find it necessary to intervene actively to keep the peace during the election. Eleven persons were killed and several wounded in election riots, but this is said to be far below the Cuban average and the election may therefore be counted by local standards as a "quiet" one.

Returns were much slower than is customarily the case in the United States and several days passed before most of the election precincts had reported. On the face of the returns the Coalition ticket has been elected and Dr. Zayas will succeed President Menocal. The Liberal leaders concede the victory of Zayas, but allege frauds and talk of appealing to the United States to cancel the election and order a new one. Havana went by more than 7000 plurality in favor of Gomez, but the vote from the provinces more than overcame that of the capital. The election law, designed to eliminate the frauds and disorders which have marked previous Cuban elections, was drafted by General Crowder of the United States.

## Dry Times in Canada

THE thirsty American must look southward rather than northward for relief. Except for Quebec, which still permits the sale of beer and wine, prohibition prevails generally thruout the provinces of the Dominion. But since the provinces were dry by local legislation it was still possible for liquor to be imported for private use from other provinces or from foreign countries until the Dominion Parliament passed a law permitting provinces to exclude the importation of intoxicants. The legislation left each province free to vote as it chose on the question.

A referendum on this point took place late in October in the three prairie provinces of Manitoba, Alberta and Saskatchewan and in the maritime province of Nova Scotia. In all four large majorities for prohibition were secured and they are henceforth not only "dry" but "bone dry." As frequently in the United States, the vote divided the urban from the rural districts, the big towns such as Halifax and Winnipeg giving majorities to the "wets." French-Canadian settlements and districts containing a large immigrant population also tended to favor the importation of liquor, but the English rural districts, strengthened by the women's vote gave heavy prohibitionist majorities and decided the election in all four provinces. Ontario will vote on the liquor exclusion law next April. It is believed that the results of the provincial referendums will greatly further the movement for Dominion-wide prohibition.



International

## COAL

Rations of coal were dealt out to the people of London during the shortage caused by the great British coal strike. But in spite of the authorities' effort to maintain a just distribution this crowd of left-over customers is fighting for the last bag of coal on the cart



## British Coal Strike Ended

THE great strike of the coal miners, which involved a million men and would, if longer continued, have brought British industry to a standstill, was concluded after more than two weeks of idleness at the mines. The outcome was a compromise. The miners secured the two shillings a day increase that they demanded, while on the other hand the Government succeeded in securing an agreement that the continuance of the higher wage should be dependent upon an increased output. Whether this agreement will be kept or if it is not whether the Government will dare reduce the wages of the miners to the former figure remains to be seen. The advance conceded is to remain in effect pending a decision of the proper amount by a new national wage board. The strikers by dropping their demands for a reduction in the price fixed by the Government for domestic coal lost the support of the public, which was not so much concerned over the wages of the miners as over the prospects of a chilly winter. When the question of accepting the compromise settlement was submitted to the miners it was voted down by a small majority. But since it requires a two-thirds vote to start or continue a strike the executive committee ordered the men to work.

## Irish Home Rule Bill

THE new bill for self-government in Ireland is passing thru the various stages in the House of Commons with large majorities, altho nobody seems to put much faith in its effectiveness. Its novel feature is that setting up two distinct parliaments, one for Ulster and the other for southern Ireland, and leaving their degree of coördination or combination in the future to be settled by mutual agreement. A new clause added by the Government provides that if less than half the membership of either parliament are elected or fail to qualify by taking the oath of allegiance within two weeks the King may dissolve such parliament and place the government in the hands of a committee. Ex-Premier Asquith criticized the clause on the ground that the Sinn Feiners would surely refuse to participate in the election and then southern Ireland, so far from having home rule, would be reduced to the condition of the most backward of the crown colonies.

The requirement that all candidates for the Irish parliaments must take the oath of allegiance before being nominated has been dropped from the bill because of Irish and Liberal opposition.

But while the British Parliament is planning for the future government of Ireland the war between the Sinn Fein and the Royal Irish constabulary continues with increasing violence. In Londonderry the policemen guarding the customs house were attacked and five of them shot. In retaliation two Sinn Fein shops were burned down and others wrecked. In riots about Ballindrae more than a million dollars worth of damage was done. On the Sunday night following the death of Mayor MacSwiney twelve policemen were shot in County Kerry and two were kidnaped. In revenge for this the police set fire to the town hall and half a dozen houses in Tralee at night. In a fight at the Causeway near Tralee seven republican volunteers were shot. Two young women have been shot in the recent riots.

## British Trade with Russia

IF the Soviet peace commissions at Riga succeed in making peace with Poland it is believed that Great Britain and Russia will immediately resume commercial relations. An agreement to that effect is said to have been definitely concluded between the Soviet envoys at London and the British Government. Secretary Klishko of the Soviet delegation in England announces that he has signed contracts with five British firms for the delivery of over \$5,000,000

worth of cloth within three months. One quarter of the purchase price is said to be on deposit at the Esthonian port of Reval ready for payment. Since the Soviet has concluded treaties with Esthonia and Latvia large amounts of goods have been imported into Russia, among them American-made machinery and other products altho our manufacturers are not allowed to ship to Russia.

Soviet Russia has been represented in London by two envoys, Leonid Krassin and Leo Kameneff, but the latter has been sent back to Russia because Premier Lloyd George charged him with carrying on Bolshevik propaganda which is contrary to the condition on which he was allowed to



Galloway

### COAL

If your own coal bin yawns discouragingly perhaps this mountain of coal in Alaska will be a cheering sight! It is part of an enormous storage vault of black diamonds—the estimated area of the Alaskan coal fields is 20,000 square miles, but the lack of transportation facilities prevents American mining companies from getting the coal to market

enter England. Lloyd George also accuses him of misrepresentation because in the advance copy of the peace terms which he presented to the Premier and which the British Government advised the Poles to accept, the Russian envoy did not specify that the Polish militia mentioned should be made up of workingmen.

Some weeks ago the British Government intercepted and translated some code message of the Soviet which told of spending money in propaganda in England especially in connection with the *Daily Herald* of London. The *Herald* is a radical labor and socialistic journal whose editor, George Lansbury, recently visited Moscow and returned with a roseate report of Russian conditions. Lansbury denied the accusation of being bought by Russian gold and asserted that he had received "not a penny, not a sou" from such a source. But he was later forced to admit that another member of the *Herald* staff had in his possession \$375,000 of money from the Soviet Government. Lansbury referred the question whether he should accept these funds for the support of the *Herald* to the trade unions which control the paper and they took the ground that the money should be returned.

Washington D. Vanderlip, who was sent to Russia by a group of California financiers to secure concessions in Siberia, has come out with the report that he has obtained from the Soviet the right to develop coal, oil and fisheries for sixty years in all northeastern Siberia east of the 160th meridian, including Kamchatka. He adds:

I am highly amused by stories contained in recent foreign papers about the rebellions in Russia. Moscow is as safe as any





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Once roused to the necessity of military preparedness China is going in for it thoroly. The War College at Canton is as modern as the best military schools in the world. And the young idea is being trained early in military drill. Here are some of the youngest recruits trying to live up to their caps

city in the world. Reports of rebellions and street fighting are absolutely false, and are, I believe, foreign propaganda designed to prevent legitimate American business activity in this great Russian market.

## Between the Bolsheviki and the Putrid Sea

GENERAL Wrangel's army has been driven back into the Crimean peninsula, which is connected with the mainland by the isthmus of Perekop, only four miles across. If Wrangel's rear guard fails to hold this bridge the Red army will pour down into the peninsula and the world may see a second siege of Sevastopol as stirring as that described by Kinglake and Tolstoi. But if Wrangel is cornered in the Crimea he will not be able to hold out a year as the Russians did when that famous fortress was besieged by the British, French, Italians and Turks. For the Crimea consists largely of barren steppe and Wrangel's soldiers and the thousands of Russian refugees that have followed him to escape the Red fury would have to be fed thru the winter by the French and British ships in the Black Sea. Fabulous prices are being paid for any kind of accommodations on all sorts of vessels by the civilians who have fled before the Bolsheviki and want to get to Constantinople. The French warships are rushing supplies and ammunition to Sevastopol, but the French Government is not in a position to afford much military aid since it must keep an army on the Rhine and needs more troops

in Turkey and Morocco. The British are not disposed to come to the rescue of Wrangel since they warned him against undertaking an offensive against Soviet Russia.

The truth about Wrangel's defeat is now beginning to leak out. It seems that there was no foundation for the report recently circulated that General Dubenny, the Bolshevik cavalry leader, had turned against his former comrades and was making a drive on Kiev in cooperation with Baron Wrangel. On the contrary Dubenny was then on his way south to join the Soviet forces against Wrangel. On the nights of October 28-29 a sudden freeze set in and the Dnieper river was bridged with ice. On this Dubenny's cavalry corps and several infantry regiments crossed to the eastern side and attacked Wrangel's retreating army on its left flank. According to the Sevastopol report Wrangel gained a great victory and drove back Dubenny, wiping out two regiments and taking 10,000 prisoners and twenty-five guns. But, however that may be, the final result was that Wrangel continued his retreat and narrowly escaped being cut off before reaching the Crimea. The Red airplanes dropped bombs on the railroad trestle over which his army crossed over the Sivash or Putrid Sea into the Crimea. The Bolsheviki report that in this engagement "an American mission headed by General Morel fell into our hands." But the State Department knows nothing of such a mission or officer. It may have been a mission sent out by Admiral McCully, who is the American High Commissioner to the South Russian Government at Sevastopol. Captain Kilpatrick of the American Red Cross and two nurses were captured by the Bolsheviki and are said to have been killed.

The reports of massacres of the Jews in Taurida while this province was held by the Wrangel forces have been confirmed. A Sevastopol despatch says that when the Wrangel troops found that they had to retreat and could not take with them all their prisoners they sorted out and shot hundreds of Jewish Bolshevik commissaries as well as Hungarians, Rumanians, Chinese and Germans.

## When Turk and Tatar Join

THE advance guard of the Soviet forces from the Caucasus and of the Nationalist forces from Anatolia have met at Alexandropol in Armenia. Emissaries from Moscow have gone to Angora bearing to the Nationalist leader, Mustafa Kemal Pasha, their fraternal greetings and, what was still more welcome, a hundred pounds of gold.

Now that the Poles have made peace and Wrangel's army is imprisoned in the Crimea the Bolsheviki have troops to spare and can regain the ground in the Caucasus that they had to relinquish when hard beset last summer.



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They want more money! These Honolulu laborers are striking for an increase over their present wages of 77 cents a day for working on the sugar plantations. The women, too, are dissatisfied—they claim they can't live on 47 cents a day!



They have reoccupied Baku, the Oil City of the East. Here last September was held a Communist Congress of Eastern Peoples, presided over by the Soviet leader, Zinoviev, alias Apfelbaum. As he unveiled a statue of Karl Marx he expressed the hope that similar ceremonies would soon be seen in Constantinople and even in London. Afterwards lifelike effigies of Millerand, Lloyd George and Wilson were placed upon the platform and condemned to death by a Communist court. Then the executioner poured over them a bottle of oil with the words, "Here's a taste of the Baku petroleum you were so anxious to grab," and set the dummies on fire. As the statue of the British premier burned up rolls of counterfeit English bank notes, made in Moscow, were shot out of the pockets and showered the crowd. Zinoviev in his opening address called upon the Turanian world to wage a Holy War against their oppressors, but warned his Moslem hearers that they could not expect the full support of the Russian Republic unless they swept away their Sultans and Caliphs and adopted the Soviet system.

Mustafa Kemal on his part addressed his fanatical followers at Angora on September 17 in such words as these:

The life and property of foreigners belong to you. Kill the Greeks, the Armenians, the French and the British. Do not fear anybody. Kill them ruthlessly. Butcher them. Burn and destroy everything. Allah is great and will forgive you.

In October the Tatar Bolsheviki from the Caucasus demanded free passage thru Armenia in order that they might join the Turks. But the Armenians, like the Belgians in 1914, refused and determined to maintain the inviolability of their territory. But again like Belgium their protest was disregarded and their country was overrun from east and west at once. When the commander of the Turks at Erzerum tried to force his way thru Armenia from the west the Armenians offered such opposition as they could, but were unable to stop the Turks. Defeated at the frontier the Armenians fell back on the fortress of Kars, which in the Crimean war made such a gallant stand against the Russians. But this time Kars was soon captured by the Turks, who pressed on toward Erivan.

## The Partition of Turkey

IT has now been divulged that on August 10, the same day that the Allies signed the treaty with Turkey at Sevres, three of these powers, France, Great Britain and Italy, concluded a secret agreement defining their "spheres of influence" in Asia Minor and promising mutual support in maintaining them. It was provided in the document that it shall be communicated to the Turkish Government and published at the same time the Turkish treaty went into effect. But that date is indefinitely distant because the Constantinople Government is powerless and Asiatic Turkey is mostly held by Nationalists who refuse to submit to the terms dictated by the Paris Peace Conference. So in order not to keep the country longer in suspense the tri-partite agreement has now been made public in advance of the designated date.

The publication of the agreement merely in the main confirms what has previously been surmized from the actions of the three powers as to their respective shares in the old Ottoman empire. France gets Syria, Cilicia and western Kurdistan. Italy gets the Adalia district and the Heraclea coal basin. The British sphere is undefined, but must be assumed to comprize at least Mesopotamia for France has relinquished the Mosul oil region which, under the secret treaty concluded during the war, fell into the



TURKEY CARVED UP

The secret treaty of Sevres, just published, completes the proposed partition of Turkey. The French "sphere of influence" is to embrace Cilicia and Syria from Beirut to Jezire-ibn-Omar. The region about Adalia is allotted to the Italians. The Smyrna enclave has been given to Greece. The British will dominate Mesopotamia, Arabia, Palestine, Egypt and Persia. Armenia is to be independent under a mandatory, preferably America. The Tatar republic of Azerbaijan is now under Bolshevik control. Georgia and Kurdistan also claim independence. Constantinople is to be governed by an international board with a British chairman. The Turkish Nationalists, under Mustafa Kemal Pasha, with headquarters at Angora, hold all central Anatolia and have now come into conjunction with the Bolsheviki at Alexandropol.

French sphere. The process of readjustment in accordance with this new agreement has been going on for some months. The British troops in Cilicia have been displaced by French. Prince Feisal, who set himself up as King of all Syria, has been expelled from Damascus by the French troops without protest from Great Britain, altho he was a British protégé. The Italians have already occupied southern Anatolia. The British have strengthened their hold on the Mesopotamian valley in spite of the opposition of the Arabs of that region and of the anti-expansions at home.

The preamble of the secret treaty of Sevres states its purpose as follows:

Being anxious to help Turkey develop her resources and to avoid the international rivalries which have obstructed these objects in the past, and being desirous to meet the request of the Turkish Government that it receive necessary assistance in the reorganization of justice, the finances, the gendarmerie and of the police, in the protection of religious, racial and linguistic minorities, and the economic development of the country; considering that the autonomy or eventual independence of Kurdistan has been recognized by them, and that it is desirable with a view to facilitating the development of that country and make provision for any assistance it may require in its administration and to avoid international rivalries in such matters; recognizing the respective special interests of Italy in southern Anatolia and of France in Cilicia and the western part of Kurdistan bordering on Syria, up to Jezire-ibn-Omar, as these areas are hereafter defined, the British, Italian and French governments have agreed upon the following: . . .

According to the treaty the three powers shall share equally in all international commissions, present and future, and shall contribute equal capital to the railroads running thru Turkey from Constantinople toward Bagdad. The mandatory powers for territories detached from Turkey shall likewise have equal rights. It is stipulated that non-signatory powers shall have free access to the various areas for commercial and economic territories.

It is further announced that France and Great Britain have agreed on various points involved in the Turkish treaty, especially in relation to Constantinople. The presidency of the international council for the government of Constantinople shall for the first two years be held by a British admiral. A Freshman will head the Financial Commission and an Italian will head the Railroad Commission.



# A Little of Everything



## Living Memorials to Our Dead

By Phillip Hettleman

Every small city in the United States faces the serious problem of providing wholesome recreation for the youth within its borders, if it desires them to become useful citizens. A Memorial Community Building, to be erected in the honor of its fallen heroes, is the way Goldsboro, N. C., and Wayne County intend to solve this problem.

In September, 1918, Harold S. Buttenheim, editor of the *American City*, conceived the idea of building community houses as a form of memorial to those who made the supreme sacrifice. Already over 300 cities have definitely decided to construct some building ranging from a hospital to a theater as some form of memorial. Of these, 248 are to be community buildings and the Bureau of Memorial Buildings reported recently that the plans of Wayne County's Memorial Building to be erected at Goldsboro are the best in the United States, that have so far come to its attention.

An experienced architect was early called on the scene. It was estimated that the cost of constructing the building would be \$200,000, while \$50,000 would be required to purchase the lot, making the total cost one-quarter of a million dollars.

The first recommendation was a memorial hall. On its walls the names of all the Wayne County boys who saw service were to be inscribed, and provisions were to be made for other records and trophies. This provision is a vital one because the building is essentially a memorial, and tributes to

the men in service should receive first consideration.

The Wayne County Memorial Building is to contain a large auditorium seating 1500 people, which will have a modern stage with proper equipment. It will have a public comfort room with suitable toilet facilities. This room is to be under the supervision of a nurse who is to take care of the small children while the mother is on her shopping tour. Such a room will serve in many ways, since many out of town people will be afforded a proper place to make their quarters while in the city.

In no section of the country is the need of books greater than in the South. The reading room provided for in the proposed building will prove a big factor in promoting the reading habit in the "moonlight school" students as well as among the young people. Another important feature of the memorial building is its up-to-date gymnasium and swimming pool. There are also rooms for games in the basement, and on one side of the gymnasium will be a bowling alley.

Social organizations had much to do with the winning of the war, and it is only right that they should receive proper consideration in a building which is much the result of their work. Also by having the community building serve as the meeting place for public spirited gatherings, all classes of citizens are attracted to its doors. The Wayne County memorial will be the future home of the Chamber of

Commerce, the Red Cross, and many civic and charitable organizations. Nor has the housewife been disregarded in the arrangements. In the basement there is to be a lunch room and kitchenette. Meals are to be served from time to time, and various organizations will have a suitable place to prepare their smokers and banquets.

### Some Border Towns

Arizmo, Arizona-New Mexico.

Calada, California-Nevada.

Calxico, California-Mexico.

(In the Mexican half of the town the order is reversed and it is called Mexicali.)

Calneva, California-Nevada.

Calvada, California-Nevada.

Calzona, California-Arizona.

Colmex, Colorado-New Mexico.

Coluta, Colorado-Utah.

Delmar, Delaware-Maryland.

Kanorado, Kansas-Colorado.

Kenova, Kentucky-Ohio-West Virginia.

Mondak, Montana-North Dakota.

Monida, Montana-Idaho.

Penmar, Pennsylvania-Maryland.

Sylmar, Pennsylvania-Maryland.

Texarkana, Texas-Arkansas.

Texico, Texas-New Mexico.

Texla, Texas-Louisiana.

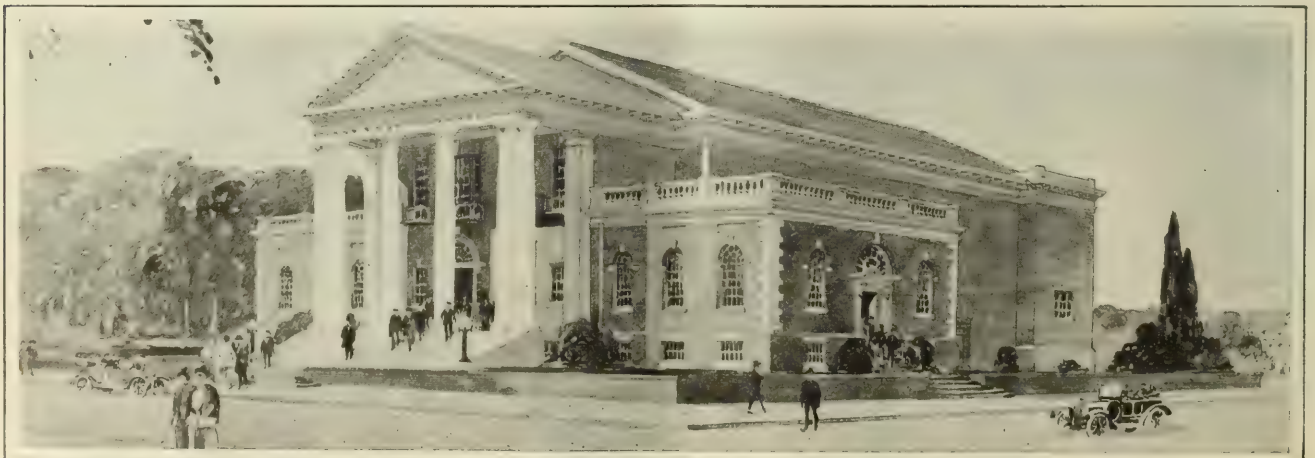
Uvada, Utah-Nevada.

Virgilina, Virginia-North Carolina.

Wyocolo, Wyoming-Colorado.

### The Skin Game

The value of furs imported into the United States during 1920 will, it is estimated by the National City Bank of New York, amount to no less than \$125,000,000. This is just the cost to the importer; by the time the furs have passed thru all stages to the ul-



In this community building it is proposed to honor the soldiers and sailors of Goldsboro, North Carolina, who made the supreme sacrifice in the World War. Here will be incorporated an auditorium, reading room, gymnasium, swimming pool, Red Cross room and a nursery in which to leave the babies while busy mothers shop. A monument to the dead to give happiness to the living is a high-hearted aim worthy of note



timate consumer they will probably cost at least \$500,000,000. The American may complain of hard times and high prices, but he is evidently willing to invest a lot in luxuries. The average annual value of imported furs during the decade before the Great War was only about \$20,000,000, or less than one-sixth of what the importers are paying now.

This \$125,000,000 worth of furs was taken from about 175,000,000 animals from all parts of the world. London is the greatest of fur markets and sends us nearly a fourth of our fur imports, but we also get shipments directly from Canada, Australia, China, Japan and Siberia. Rabbit skins are the most numerous single type. In 1919 of 144,255,000 fur skins of all types no less than 114,819,000 were hare and rabbit skins, and this year the proportion will be much the same tho the total number will probably be greater. Next in value to the rabbit skin imports come, in order of importance, fox, squirrel, beaver, marten, muskrat and moleskins. But many other animals enter into the fur trade; even the common house cat furnishes about a million skins a year, chiefly from Russia and Holland.

Our Elastic Skulls

The average human skull is of greater elasticity than one would imagine to be possible. Indeed, we are assured by competent authorities, it may be compressed laterally in diameter by a blow or pressure applied at the center of area at right angles to the surface at that point by one and one-half centimeters, or about six-tenths of an inch, recovering its original diameter and form without any breakage.

The substance of which our bones are made is so highly resistant that a cylindrical piece of it only one square centimeter, or .00155 square inches in area, that is, only 1.128 millimeters, or .044 inches in diameter, shows a tensile strength of sixteen kilograms, or thirty-three pounds avoirdupois. This is calculating on the basis of about 21,300 pounds per square inch.

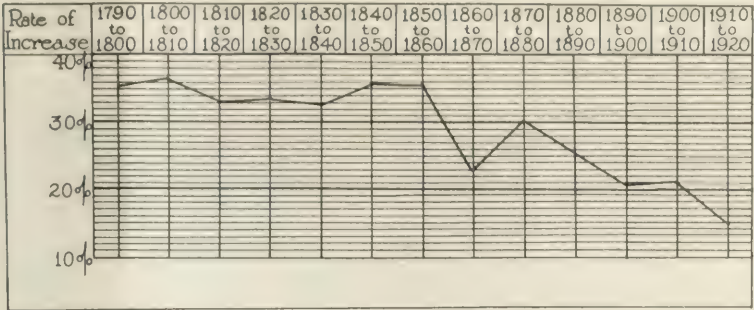
A similar example of hardwood tested in the same manner held only ten kilograms, from which circumstance it appears that bone possesses 50 per cent more tensile strength than wood does.

A single bone fiber is shown in an exhibition abroad supporting a weight of five kilograms, or eleven pounds avoirdupois, the weight of a healthy young baby.



NEW USES FOR GAS MASKS  
The man who watches over the wireless tower as well as he who kills rats avails himself of the protection offered by the gas mask of the soldier

Rate of Increase in Population of United States by Decades



Are We Reaching Our Growth

By William B. Bailey

Professor of Practical Philanthropy at Yale University

The Bureau of the Census estimated the population of the continent of the United States on January 21, 1920, as 105,683,108. This figure was based upon an actual count of 85 per cent of the population. The final figures probably will not be far different from those at present announced. The chart shows the rate of increase in the population of this country by decades from 1790 down to 1920. From 1790 to 1820 the immigration to this country was small and most of the growth was due to the natural increase of the population which seemed to have amounted to about 3 per cent per annum. From 1840 to 1850 there was a considerable increase in the rate of growth occasioned by the tremendous immigration from Ireland and Germany about the middle of this decade. This immigration continued to be quite large down to the

Civil War. The great drop in the decade 1860 to 1870 is due, of course to the Civil War with its accompanying mortality and stoppage of immigration for several years. The enumeration in 1870 was rather unsatisfactory and the decrease may have been somewhat exaggerated on this account. From 1870 to 1880 we get a rebound near to the point reached prior to 1860. From that period the rate of increase has steadily diminished with the exception of the decade 1900 to 1910, when there was a very slight increase.

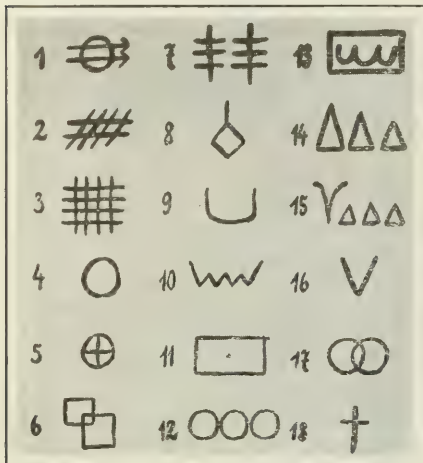
Not only was the rate of increase from 1910 to 1920 lower than in any previous census period, but the actual increase in numbers of the population was smaller by over two millions than in the previous decade. These figures are brought out clearly in the accompanying table.

Census				
Year.	Population.	Increase.	Per Cent.	
1920	105,683,108	13,710,842	14.9	
1910	91,972,266	15,977,691	21.0	
1900	75,994,575	13,046,861	20.7	
1890	62,947,714	12,791,931	25.3	
1880	50,155,783	11,597,412	30.1	
1870	38,558,371	7,115,050	22.6	
1860	31,443,321	8,251,445	35.6	
1850	23,191,876	6,122,423	35.9	
1840	17,069,453	4,203,433	32.7	
1830	12,866,020	3,227,567	33.5	
1820	9,638,453	2,398,572	33.1	
1810	7,239,881	1,931,398	36.4	
1800	5,308,483	1,379,269	35.1	
1790	3,929,214	.....	.....	

The causes of the slow rate of increase during the past decade are not hard to see. Immigration practically ceased with 1914 and there was considerable emigration to the allied countries. The influenza epidemic was more fatal in total deaths than any other similar catastrophe in this country. In addition the loss of life due to the war must be considered. Of course the toll from battle in this country did not begin to approximate that in some European countries. Mr. C. Döring has estimated the loss of actual or potential lives from the world war at thirty-five millions. In France the birthrate declined from 18.3 per thousand population in our population caused by excess of births over deaths seems to be about 1 per cent. It is apparent that this annual rate of increase, therefore, is only



about a third as great as it was a century ago. It is unwise to try to look too far into the future, but it seems extremely unlikely that we can ever again expect an increase in the population of this country as rapid as that previous to the Civil War.



© Keystone View

EVERY LITTLE WIGGLE HAS A MEANING  
ALL ITS OWN

By such signs as these the Austrian tramp is told of good eating or warned against fierce dogs or work

### Curiosities

In the interior of an ordinary piano there is about a mile of wire.

\*\*\*

A five-carat diamond costs on the average \$35 to produce. It may sell for \$3500.

\*\*\*

The New York Board of Education has established special classes to cure lisping.

\*\*\*

Twenty-five feet is the measured step of the world's champion race horse, "Man-o'-War," when in action.

\*\*\*

The people of India speak about 150 different languages and are divided into 43 distinct nationalities.

\*\*\*

"Fatty" Arbuckle, the film humorous, owns a \$25,000 Pierce-Arrow car, said to be the most expensive in the world.

\*\*\*

There are 31,000 students at Columbia University this year. This is the largest university enrollment ever recorded in history.

\*\*\*

A Massachusetts man, injured in the spine, had fourteen inches of cow's rib successfully substituted for the parts of his backbone removed during the operation.

\*\*\*

The New York Aquarium has used the same sea water since 1907. It has been kept pure by continuous filtration with sand filters having a daily capacity of 300,000 gallons.

\*\*\*

The village of Martigny, Switzerland, was recently struck by a glacier flood which smashed the water works and left the inhabitants nothing to drink but wine and beer for several weeks.

\*\*\*

Five million miles of copper wire are used in New York's telephone system. This length is sufficient to circle the world, pass thru space to the moon, circle that body and return to earth twenty-one times.

\*\*\*

Fifty years ago there were no rabbits in Australia. Then these were sent out



© Keystone View

In Austria those who won't work but wish to sleep and eat have a sign language by which they "tip off" their members as to places where the hay is soft or pie instead of dry bread is dispensed with coffee

from London. Forty years later 25,000,000 frozen rabbits and 96,000,000 rabbit skins were exported to Europe from Australia.

\*\*\*

A New York paper estimates that in a year the average Bostonian eats two and five-sevenths times his height in baked beans, estimating the height of an average bean pot at ten inches and the height of the average Bostonian at five and a half feet.

\*\*\*

Within one month after the American Red Cross opened its milk distributing station for ailing babies at Elbassan, Albania, the workers in charge of the station found that 50 per cent of the "babies" served with the precious liquid were over twenty-one years of age.

### Smokeless Coal

A new smokeless preparation of coal has been invented, according to an announcement made at a convention of the American Chemical Society in Chicago.

Carbocoal, as the new fuel is called, is a bituminous coal which has been changed into a smokeless fuel resembling anthracite. It is prepared by crushing the soft coal and carbonizing

it at a relatively low temperature of 900 degrees Fahrenheit. The coal is carried out in a horizontal retort about seven feet in diameter and twenty feet long, lined with carborundum. The coal is continually stirred and moved slowly thru the retort by means of paddles mounted on two heavy steel shafts running lengthwise thru the retort. Each retort has a capacity of about a ton an hour, the Clinchfield plant being equipped with twenty-four of these retorts. Carbonization of the coal in this manner yields about twice as much tar as is obtained from the ordinary coking process, but the semi-coke obtained is quite soft and friable. It can be used directly under the boiler of a power plant or put into a gas producer, but is not in good shape to market as a general fuel for domestic and industrial use. In the "Carbocoal Process" the soft semi-coke is ground, briquetted with pitch, and the briquets then carbonized for about six hours at 1800 degrees Fahrenheit. The effect of this high temperature carbonization is to render the briquets hard, dense and smokeless—quite unlike any other fuel on the market. A further substantial yield of by-products is obtained during the second carbonization, so that the "Carbocoal Process" represents a very economical method of producing a smokeless fuel from bituminous coal. The high yield of oils obtained is also of great importance in view of the rapidly diminishing supplies of petroleum in the United States and the enormous growth of industries which use oil products such as gasoline, motor spirits, lubricating oils and fuel oil.

The first commercial plant manufacturing the new fuel was put into operation at Clinchfield, Virginia, in June, 1920, with a capacity of five hundred tons of coal a day from which 350 tons of the fuel are made. The process was developed by the International Coal Products Corporation of New York. After five years of experimental work at Irvington, New Jersey, the large scale commercial plant at Clinchfield was established.

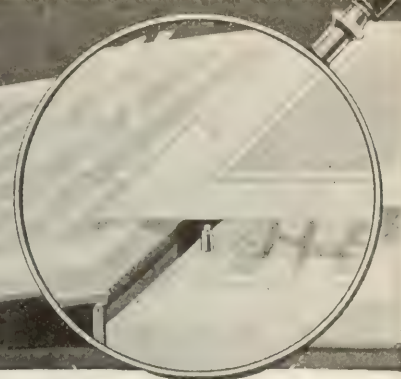


© Kadel &amp; Herbert

Burglars and footpads, attention! These girls are being taught how to deal with you! A Newark department store has hired the services of a professional boxer to teach the girls in its employ the art of self defense. This photograph shows the girls going thru their daily setting-up drill before entering the ring



# A New Kind of Atlas



## Loose Leaf—Always Up-to-Date

**I**S your old Atlas like last year's newspaper—hopelessly out-of-date? Does the world it shows no longer exist?

Today we are living in a NEW World! The whole map has been made over by the War and by other important developments everywhere.

But you need never again have an out-of-date Atlas—for here is a New Kind of Atlas—an Atlas that can be kept up-to-date—that keeps pace with the world—that need not get behind the times! Out of the chaos following the war comes the NEW WORLD Loose Leaf ATLAS, bringing before you the whole new world of today, showing the alterations on the map, the new nations that have been born, the new developments that have left their mark on the map everywhere.

### The New World Loose-Leaf Atlas

Here is the Atlas that is absolutely up-to-date now, and that will continue to be up-to-date. Here is the Atlas that every home needs in these times of progress and expansion.

If the world never changed, no atlas would ever grow out of date. But with events moving as rapidly and as suddenly as they are, new atlases soon must become obsolete. Even the New World Atlas would be far behind the times if no provision was made for keeping it always up-to-date. That is why we made it Loose Leaf.

It is the only method by which atlases can be kept permanently abreast of developments, of changes political and economic, of advances in commerce, of new discoveries and explorations.

The NEW WORLD Loose Leaf ATLAS brings you a wealth of new information about every place in the world—it shows in detail every country of the earth—every political division. And in addition it gives a vast fund of interesting facts dealing with such features as climate, vegetation, natural resources, trade routes, races, population, history. Here are four hundred

pages of maps and index, four hundred pages of timely, authentic, comprehensive knowledge about the world of today.

### Keep Pace With the World

You need this wonderful new kind of Atlas *now*—to keep in touch with the big world issues—to understand international affairs—to read your newspaper intelligently—to carry on conversation with well-informed people. You need it to broaden your business outlook—to follow the course of trade at home and abroad. Children need it to visualize history and the great war—to learn about the *new* world of today. And you will need this Atlas in the future to keep you informed of world changes everywhere which will be recorded by the Up-to-Date Map Service.

This Service (as explained above) you will receive for two years without charge. Think what this will mean to you! As Mr. O. P. Austin, Statistician of the National City Bank of New York, says, "Seldom a day passes that I do not use this Atlas in my office work, and these particular (new) maps I have found very useful, and must have them to keep the copy which is in my office down to date. I am a great believer in the 'Loose-Leaf' system."

### As Timely As Your Newspaper

Here is the Atlas you have been waiting for! You need not wait until additional settlements have been made in the map, for this big New Kind of Atlas keeps pace with the world—shows changes in the map whenever and wherever they occur. It enables you to interpret current events—it gives you a timely grasp of the national and international issues of the day—it enables you to talk intelligently about the present situation in foreign lands.

In this rapidly-moving day and age no home should be without the NEW WORLD Loose-Leaf ATLAS—it is a wonderful help to every one who wants to keep informed of what is going on in the world—to keep pace with the world's changes. Let us tell you ALL about this wonderful, large-sized Atlas.

## Mail Coupon for Interesting Booklet

Space here is far too limited to give an adequate idea of what the NEW WORLD Loose-Leaf ATLAS is and all that it contains, of the valuable special features it offers to every-one wishing to keep pace with the world—in history, economics, business and trade, and international expansion. But a handsome booklet has been prepared which tells the whole fascinating story. It is profusely illustrated and is full of interesting facts, and you will find it one of the most attractive booklets you have ever seen or read.

We will gladly send you a copy of "Keeping Pace with the World" without any cost or obligation on your

part. Simply send the coupon below, and you will receive the booklet by return mail. Let us suggest that you do this now, while the matter is before you, as you do not want to overlook the opportunity of learning about this wonderful New Kind of Atlas, and how only \$1 puts it into your home and small monthly payments quickly make it yours. Send no money. Just mail coupon NOW for this valuable and interesting booklet, "Keeping Pace with the World."

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Exploration maps of the North and South Poles. Two double-page maps of the United States. Economic map of U. S., showing forest preserves, mining fields, cattle-raising districts, etc. Key map of U. S., showing States, Parcel Post Units, Standard Time Zones. Shipbuilding Map of U. S., Oil and Gas Map of U. S. Separate Indexes to all maps, giving location of towns and latest population figures for the United States.

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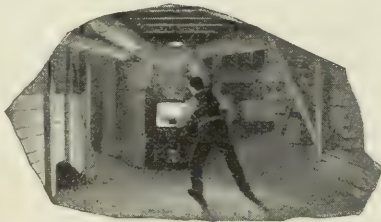




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*Shoveling in the Coal  
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The solution lies in the installation of the Chamberlin Metal Weather Strips. They effectively seal up these cracks and stop the draughts that make your home chilly and endanger the health of your family. They enable you to heat your house evenly and comfortably at a considerable saving of fuel. They shut out dampness, germ laden dust and dirt—your home stays clean longer. They even exclude noises.

Chamberlin Metal Weather Strips have been the standard for 27 years. Chamberlin has a permanent service organization with branches in principal cities where weather strip experts are stationed to give immediate installation and adjustment service.

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604 Dinan Bldg. Detroit, Mich.

*Sales and Service Branches  
In Principal Cities*

## What British Labor Wants

(Continued from page 259)

and this allowance has recently been added to to meet the increased cost of living due to the war. This Act, good as it was, by no means achieved what the Labor Party hoped for. Efforts were made to get the age reduced to sixty-five and to make the income limit higher; a great attempt was also made by Labor members of the House of Commons to obtain the removal of a particularly uncalled for clause disqualifying any person who had, even if only on one occasion, been in receipt of Poor Law relief; this unhappy blemish, I am glad to say, was removed three years later. It is a very notable fact that nearly a million veterans in the Labor Movement were enjoying free pensions to the amount of £11,000,000 per year, over nine in every ten being in receipt of the full pension of five shillings a week, before the Government's measure became law.

One of the most important movements towards the creation of a better state of affairs in Industrial England was the formation of a Royal Commission on Poor Laws and Relief of Distress, and as another evidence of the progress of the Labor Movement, it may be remarked incidentally that Labor was very well represented on the Commission.

Poverty is such a big social evil and the source of so many other big social evils that it is astounding it should have been so long allowed to drift under a relief administration that experience proved had nothing to recommend it and which utterly failed to solve the problem. For over eighty years the only important change made in the organization of Poor Law Relief was the absorption of the Poor Law Commissioners, in 1871, by the Local Government Board, thus bringing the system under the responsibility of the Government. The faults of this country's Poor Law administration were many; some of them were disgraceful, but the biggest criticism which can possibly be made against it is that it failed, miserably, to put an end to pauperism. Twenty years ago there were 735,388 paupers in England and Wales; ten years ago their number had grown to 916,377.

In England and Wales in 1911, 106,642 deaths were registered as having taken place in poor law institutions, workhouses, infirmaries, schools, hospitals and asylums, or 20.11 per cent of the total deaths; the proportion during the ten years immediately preceding averaged 17.88 per cent and of these 55,570 occurred in workhouses, 38,899 in hospitals, and 10,636 in lunatic asylums. In London, in 1911, four persons in every ten died in the workhouse, hospital or lunatic asylum.

The Commission to consider the Poor Laws was appointed in 1905 and its report, which did not appear until four years later, was a stupendous document. The Commissioners were in hearty agreement as to the necessity

of reform, but they were divided as to the best means of carrying it out and therefore two reports—the majority and the minority—were presented. Both reports emphatically condemned the methods hitherto adopted of dealing with the poor, and in particular they condemned the system of relief work. The Commission's investigation clearly showed the uselessness and folly of treating unemployment as an unforeseen emergency instead of a normal and recurring incident in industrial life. Of the recommendations made in the two reports, a couple have since been adopted—the formation of Labor Exchanges and the institution of insurance against unemployment.

Labor Bureaus have existed in this country for upwards of twenty years but for the most part their existence was in connection with the relief of distress. The Unemployed Workman Act of 1905 gave the power to establish Labor Exchanges but only one body in England, the Central (Unemployed) Body for London made any great use of it. This body established a system of Metropolitan Employment Exchanges and when the Labor Exchanges Act came into force it had a list of twenty offices and during the preceding twelve months had filled 30,580 vacancies for employment.

The Unemployed Workman Act expressly required that wherever a Distress Committee was not established the Council of every County and County Borough should appoint a special Committee to investigate the conditions of the labor market by means of Labor Exchanges and to establish or assist such Exchanges within its own area. As was pointed out in the minority Report of the Poor Law Commission, such a network of Labor Exchanges, covering the whole kingdom, would have afforded, as the experience of the metropolitan Exchanges demonstrated, valuable information both to unemployed workmen and to local authorities dealing with the problem. Unfortunately this provision of the Act was ignored by the local Government Boards and was, with the exception of London and three places in Scotland, not put into operation.

The Labor Exchanges Act was passed in 1909 and the Exchanges were established by the Board of Trade, the first being opened in 1910; two hundred and sixty-one were in operation by the end of the following year. The total volume of work performed by the Exchanges (the title of which was altered four years ago to Employment Exchanges) may be illustrated by the fact that in the year ended July 13th, 1917, the total number of registrations was 3,511,318 while the number of vacancies notified was 2,009,731, of which 1,578,497 were filled by the Exchanges from applicants upon their registers; of this last number 388,450 were found working in districts other than those in which they were living.





# The Knack of Talking Convincingly

**I**N nearly every group of men there is one good talker. He is always the leader. Convincing talkers are the dominating leaders of every business. Here's how you can learn the principle of convincing speech in one evening and rise quickly to leadership.

I wonder if you would have felt as elated as I did. A man whose name you would know instantly—a power in the financial world—had granted me an interview. I wanted him to tell me the secret of his great success. Put yourself in my place if you can, and imagine yourself seated before this multi-millionaire, chatting with him about his boyhood, his start in business and his meteoric rise.

He was the biggest man I had yet interviewed in the hope of getting a real "half-Nelson" on the illusive "secret of success." I had half expected to hear the same old story about "honesty, hard work and stick-to-itiveness." So you can imagine my surprise when he said that his success was due primarily to one thing. To use his own words:

"If you should ask me what advice I would give every young man in business, I would say, 'Learn to talk convincingly.' All success in business is built upon getting others to think and do as you wish—in getting the willing co-operation and loyal support of other men. And the only way this can be had is through becoming a convincing talker.

"There is no ability which will bring success to a man so quickly as the ability to talk convincingly."

And the more men I see who have made their marks in the world, the more I realize that he was right. They are all convincing talkers. With their mastery of words, their ability to talk convincingly, and with the dominating influence of their speech, they have swept away all barriers and have attained success. It is no figure of speech, but fact, to say that the great men have talked themselves to success.

Many a man who deserves success is being held back because he cannot express his thoughts and ideas in strong, convincing speech. Many of us deserve a greater salary than we are getting.

You may have a wonderful ability—a genius for your work—which is not being rewarded because you can't put your ideas into speech that convinces. Do not let this handicap hold you back another day from the success that is rightfully yours. When the time comes—and opportunity is always at hand—you can be ready to get up and put your thoughts into speech, the sheer force and conviction of which will mark you as a leader.

This knack of talking convincingly will do wonders for any man or woman. Most people are afraid to express their thoughts; they know the humiliation of talking to people and obtaining in answer a casual nod, or a curt "yes" or "no." But when you can talk convincingly, it's different. When you talk, people listen to you.

When you have acquired the knack of talking convincingly, it's easy to get people to do anything you want them to do. You can get special attention from anyone, from a hotel clerk up to a millionaire. You can make others see your point of view, think as you do, and carry out your slightest wish.

And again, it helps in social life. Interesting and convincing talk is the basis of social success. At social affairs you will always find that a convincing talker is the center of attraction and that people go out of their way to "make up" to him. Talk convincingly and no man—no matter who he is—will ever treat you with cold, unresponsive indifference. Instead, you will instantly "get under his skin." Talk convincingly and any man—even a stranger—will treat you like an old pal and will literally "take the shirt off his back" to please you.

You can get almost anything you want if you know how to talk convincingly enough. You've noticed that in business, ability alone does not always count. Many a man of real ability, who cannot express himself well, is outdistanced by a man of mediocre ability who knows how to talk convincingly. There's no getting away from it, to get ahead—to get what your ability entitles you to, you've got to know how to talk convincingly.

You have seen or read about scores of courses which claimed to teach convincing speaking. You have often thought you would like to take advantage of them and master this knack of powerful speech. Possibly you have investigated a few of them. But you have always found one of two things. Either the course in question dealt almost entirely with oratory—for which you have no use—or else you discovered that the price was entirely beyond what you wish to pay for such training.

But here at last is a wonderful new method of teaching the principles of convincing speech. It is not instruction in oratory or the use of high-sounding words. But it shows you in one evening the principles of talking your way to a better position, more salary and success. And the price—not twenty, thirty or forty dollars—but FIVE.

Not one cent in advance. You examine it free for five days. Then if you want to keep it, send five dollars. If you do not want it, send it back and you are not out a penny. We take all the risk. Send no money. Merely mail the coupon and the complete course goes to you at once.

This course was written by Dr. F. H. Law, for thirty years a lecturer, and an authority on speech. When you receive Dr. Law's course, it will be just the same as if you were in personal contact with Dr. Law, getting the benefit of his advice and instruction.

In one evening you will get the secret of talking convincingly. You will learn exactly how to secure complete attention to whatever you are saying; how to make your words forceful and convincing.

You will learn why talking has always seemed something to be dreaded whereas it is really the simplest thing in the world to get up and talk. You will learn, at once, the art of listening, the value of silence, and the power of brevity. You will quickly learn how and when to use humor with telling effect.

But perhaps the most wonderful thing about the lessons are the actual examples of what things to say and when to say them to meet every condition. You will find that there is a knack in making oral reports to your superiors; a right and a wrong way to present complaints, to give estimates, and to issue orders.

The course contains some wonderful pointers about how to give opinions, how to answer complaints, how to ask the bank for a loan, how to ask for extensions. Another thing that will strike you with force is that, instead of antagonizing people when you don't agree with them, you will learn how to bring them around to your way of thinking in the most pleasant sort of way. Then, of course, along with those lessons there are chapters on speaking before large audiences, how to find material for talking and speaking, how to talk to friends, how to talk to servants, and how to talk to children.

This wonderful training will so enlarge your vocabulary that you will be able to collect the exact words you want and use them with confidence at all times.

Many men have risen to leadership through the use of Dr. Law's wonderful course, "Mastery of Speech." It may be your "open sesame" to a big success. If you do not want it you cannot lose a cent. Don't send any money in advance. Just mail the coupon. The whole course goes to you at once. Remember what the multi-millionaire said:

"There is no ability which will bring success to a man so quickly as the ability to talk convincingly."

Strike out now with a strong determination for your success. Mail the coupon today.

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You may send me Dr. Law's course, "Mastery of Speech." I will either remit the entire course to you within five days after its receipt or send you \$5.00 in full payment for the course.

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Mellin's Food Company  
BOSTON, MASS.

Malcolm A. Sundersdorf & W. Phila., Pa.

The number of separate individuals for whom employment was found was 1,351,406.

The organization of the Exchanges provides a ready means of bringing a demand for labor from any part of the United Kingdom into touch immediately with a supply in any other part. If vacancies cannot be filled locally, particulars are first sent to the group of neighboring Exchanges; if they still remain unfilled, particulars are sent to headquarters and then transmitted immediately in the form of a confidential daily "newspaper" to all Exchanges in the country.

The difficulty which workers would often experience in finding the railway fare to work at a distance is overcome by the issue of railway warrants to the Exchanges, subject to an undertaking by the workman or his prospective employer guaranteeing the return of the advance.

Boys and girls under the age of seventeen are dealt with in a special department and Juvenile Employment Committees have been set up in one hundred and fifty-three areas. Of the vacancies filled by men the largest numbers have proved to be in building, metals, engineering and ship-building, transport and general labor. For women the bulk of the vacancies are in domestic (outdoor) service, the preparation and sale of food and drink, textiles and dress.

It is highly worthy of record that these Employment Exchanges are national, voluntary, free and neutral as between employers and employed. Much should be done in course of time by these Establishments in the work of abolishing casual labor and in the guidance, in conjunction with local education authorities, of boys and girls in the choice of careers thus diverting the stream of juvenile labor away from overcrowded industries.

(To be continued)

## Beef and Bouquets

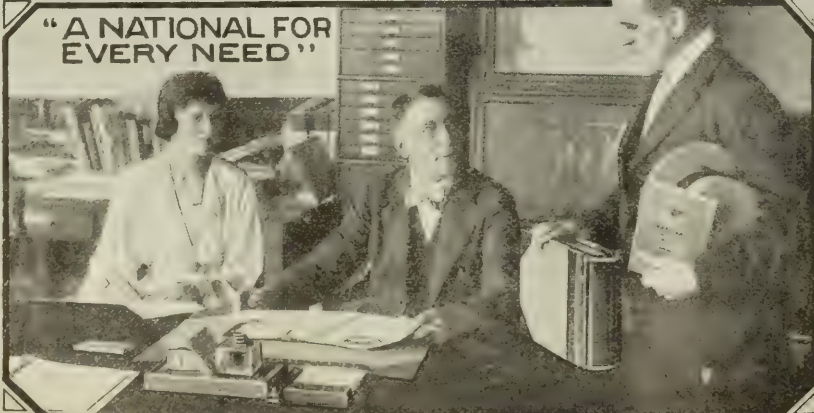
(Continued from page 261)

sanitary, nobody who purchased meat from a butcher shop could have any assurance that he was getting decent food at a fair price. United States Government inspection, to which all the packers doing an interstate business are now subject, stamps every pound of their meat sold as clean, safe and good.

A few illustrations of by-product salvage: Horns and hoofs go into buttons, combs, hairpins, knife or cane or umbrella handles. Dried blood is used as blood meal in stock food, as a plaster retardant in stucco, and as fertilizer on account of its high ammonia content. Hides are sold to tanners, hide fats rendered into tallow, hide trimmings made into glue. Hair and tails go to brushmakers and upholsterers. Hair screenings help to make mortar. Bone marrow is extracted and melted into an edible product. Thyroid, pituitary and suprarenal glands are saved on orders of the pharmaceutical trade. Lungs and heart valves are rendered

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into tallow. Ground bone is used in the case-hardening of steel. Fluid blood yields albumen for weather-proofing aeroplane wings.

The hearts and livers of hogs, when not sold to the trade, are used in sausage or rendered into grease. The skins are wanted by leather manufacturers, the stomach linings by pepsin makers, the bladders by users of sausage and lard containers. The gullets and pancreas glands are rendered for grease. The bristles are consigned to hair and bristle factories. The edible fats and trimmings become lard. The inedible pork scrap and fats go into fertilizer, lubricant or soap.

In this connection we begin to see why the packing house has branched out into many lines of business that may seem unrelated, but that are, in reality, offshoots of a parent industry.

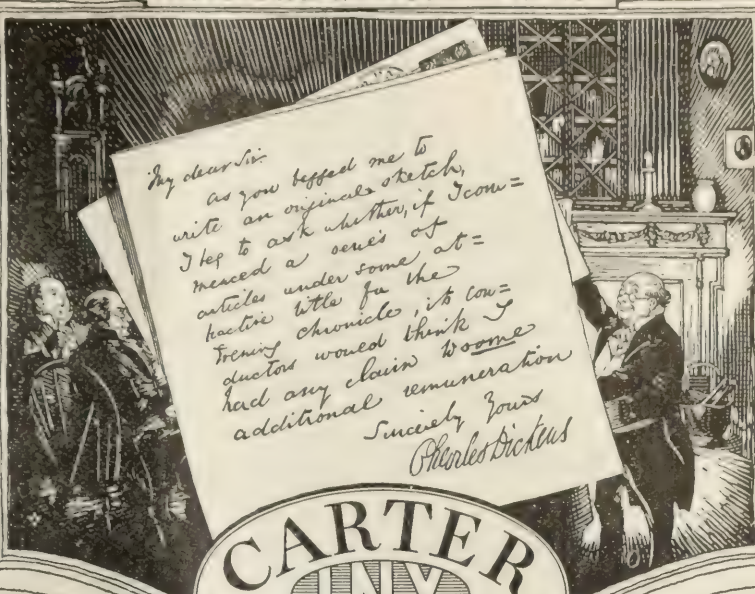
A few examples: The Swift woolhouse in Chicago is the largest in the world, handling about 7,000 skins daily, yielding ten tons of wool. The Swift glue factory has a capacity of 8,000,000 pounds a year, and serves the manufacturers of furniture, sandpaper, matches and dozens of other articles of commerce; the final content of dry bones is 18 per cent glue, and the amount can be imagined when we consider how much live stock every year Swift turns into dressed meat: 1,250,000 calves, 2,500,000 cattle, 4,000,000 sheep, 9,500,000 hogs. This great sea of glue formerly dribbled away. Now it has become a national asset, because the packers went into the glue business. Hides of cattle have, of course, always been saved, but there is a conservation of many million dollars a year from the scientific methods of treating hides that the packers originated, and that saved perhaps \$2 on each hide.

About forty-five pounds of "butter fats" derived from each beef animal go to make Swift butterine, which costs about a half less than butter, and is declared by chemical experts to be as wholesome and nutritious as butter.

A surprising fact is noted by the visitor. President Swift is a lover of animals. He hates to have them killed. But when the Government wires today for a million pounds of dressed beef tomorrow for the American army fighting in the great war, as the Government wired Swift, what are you going to do? Fill the order, as Swift did. The process of dispatching the animals takes but a few seconds, and is rendered as nearly painless as possible. A man who goes thru even a minor hospital operation suffers more than the animal does prior to becoming food for man. The pens for the cattle are paved, so they can be kept clean. The animals are treated humanely, fed and watered carefully, with a feeding trough and stream of running water in each pen. The sanitary conditions are superior to those of the average farm.

Cattle are examined frequently by Government inspectors, from the first unloading until the last particle of dressed meat is ready for shipment.

## HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS-NO.6



**CARTER  
INK  
PRODUCTS**

Excerpt from  
letter to  
George Hogarth  
from Charles Dickens

WE have shown you some interesting "historical manuscripts" this year. We have invariably found these manuscripts preserved in vaults, to protect the ink from light. It is sometimes difficult to obtain permission to photograph them, for each additional exposure again dims the already faded writing.

Are your "manuscripts"—your contracts, agreements, deeds and records—carefully preserved? If they were written with Carter's Writing Fluid you need have no apprehension. Carter's never fades. It is *permanent*. With its clear, rich blue, the use of Carter's is a pleasure in the present, a protection for the future.

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Manufacturing Chemists  
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Your signature represents you  
Write it with **CARTER'S**



# A Righteous Ruler

## The Christ of Prophecy

*Give the King thy judgments,  
O God,  
And thy righteousness unto the  
king's son.  
HE will judge thy people with  
righteousness,  
And thy poor with justice.  
The mountains shall bring peace  
to the people,  
And the hills, in righteousness.  
HE will judge the poor of the  
people,  
HE will save the children of  
the needy,  
And will break in pieces the  
oppressor.  
HE will come down like rain  
upon the mown grass,  
As showers that water the  
earth. . . . .  
And men shall be blessed in  
him;  
All nations shall call him  
blessed."*

—PSALM 72.

**The Christ of Calvary Holds  
in His Pierced Hand the  
Solution of Every Perplex-  
ing Problem in Our Na-  
tional Life.**

**Let Us Give Christ, the  
Wonderful Counsellor, the  
Chief Place in Our National  
Life and Claim This  
Blessedness.**

We invite co-operation from  
Christians of every name in an  
effort to enthrone the Prince of  
Peace in every heart and in every  
nation the world around.

OUR LITERATURE IS FREE

**THE  
WITNESS COMMITTEE**

119 Federal St.      Pittsburg, Pa.

There are forty-eight inspectors, each a graduate veterinary surgeon. The hands, clothing and surroundings of employees are inspected also; hands must be washed at stated intervals, clothes changed when badly soiled, knives, cleavers, saws and other tools cleaned and disinfected in boiling water, with a bath when required in a solution of bichloride of mercury. A staff of highly trained chemists and bacteriologists keeps analyzing, testing, sampling all ingredients and products.

One of the best features of the work of Swift & Company is the free distribution of educational service literature, to help a thrifty housewife choose and use meats in a manner to conserve the family health and purse. A sample economy lesson: the price of beef remains high partly because Americans order steaks and chops as a regular habit, neglecting and scorning the cuts of meat that are just as good even if they do not sound so aristocratic. Now loins and ribs, that supply the steaks and chops, form only 26 per cent of the total meat content of the animal. The other 74 per cent, including the "round," the "chuck" and the "plate," would give as much nutriment if properly cooked, and would cost very much less.

The Swift educational advertising campaign is a decided improvement on the ordinary "publicity" arguments and appeals. The real function of advertising is not to advocate but to educate. The Swift newspaper advertisements do not waste eloquence on the superiority of Swift products or the bargains in Swift prices, but merely state facts and figures about the economical, serviceable, fair, clean, generous conduct of the business.

A delightful spirit of geniality and democracy animates the organization. There are few private offices—everybody plays an open game and is willing to be seen doing it. The president himself transacts a lot of business at a plain desk out in the general office. The whole Swift family—six sons and three grandsons of the founder of the company—started at the bottom and worked up; a refreshing sight, in these days of pampered youth, was that of L. F. Swift, Jr., in the rough work togs of the apprentice, going thru the toil and training of a common day laborer. A gentleman isn't looking for a gentleman's job—he makes it out of any job that comes along. The secretary, treasurer, office manager, all the vice-presidents, rose by sheer merit from the ranks of the workers, averaging twenty-five years each of loyal service. Note this, however. A department requiring a specially trained man for director is not put under an old employee thus promoted to fill a crucial need. The whole country is searched and the best authority to be found is engaged in advisory or supervisory capacity.

In the office building, a temperature of about 75 degrees can be maintained in the hottest part of the building and the year, when outside

temperature goes to 95 or more. And the windows need never be opened, winter or summer—the inside air is fresher than the outside! Germs, draughts and dust, dead air, smoke, unpleasant odors, all are eliminated.

The highest grade foods that Swift makes are served in the eating place, where prices are lowest. The chef was formerly chef at one of the most famous and expensive Chicago hotels. The menu card offered us presented a choice of seventy-five articles of food. A distinctive mode of checking items on the bill of fare enables fleshy folk to "eat and grow thin"; while, conversely, a milk-drinking party held between meals is a boon for thin girls who need to put on weight.

Passing to the main office room, the visitor notes first the absence of noise. Dozens of typewriters and scores of human voices would naturally produce a nerve-racking babel of sound. Wondering at the comparative stillness, we were told how a special padding devised for the ceiling stops reverberation, promotes concentration, relieves nerve-strain, prevents nerve disorders, aids cheerfulness, increases production. In the assembly room a sounding board for the speaker's desk, where instructions and notices are given, counteracts the silencing device.

A variety of unusual activities makes the welfare work most interesting. A new kind of corporation library furnishes reading matter for employees and provides research facilities needed in the development of the business. An organization of employees helps deserving families in times of trouble. A continuation school under the direction of the Chicago Board of Education gives office and messenger boys instruction each day, on company time. A summer camp is conducted for women employees.

Tellers of three banks come to the office on Saturday for deposits of employees, thus reminding the workers to save part of their salary as they get it, and providing a quick and easy way. Many doctors, with a staff of nurses, not only treat cases of illness or accident, but also visit the homes of employees and furnish health advice free.

The men have a spacious club room in the general office for noon-time recreation or speeches on timely topics. Among the organizations of and for employees are a baseball club, tennis club, golf club, bowling club, military club, male chorus, social club, French club, Spanish club, checker and chess club, dramatic club.

But the impulse that keeps organization alive is the personal touch. The last thing we noticed on leaving the main building was a great bouquet of choice flowers in the office near the room of President Swift. He had sent them from his own conservatory, that his employees and associates might enjoy their fragrance and beauty. A man who shares flowers with the people who work for him is a new kind of employer.

Chicago



## Your Watchdog in Washington

(Continued from page 258)

handle problems specifically assigned to us by Congress by statute or resolution or more or less informally by the various committees and individual members. The second general class of work we do is to assist heads of departments and bureaus in developing better methods and procedures for doing their work.

To summarize the work the Bureau has done at the request of Congress would require many magazine pages. The Bureau's report on the work of the sub-treasuries, which resulted in legislation abolishing them at the last session of Congress, is an example. This recommendation alone resulted in a saving of nearly a half a million dollars a year in administrative expenses and according to Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Leffingwell in a saving of about \$2,000,000 a year in interest on the public debt.

The work done at the request of heads of departments and bureaus is fully as important as that done at the request of Congress. The Bureau has worked in six departments and six independent establishments and up to this time has submitted about seventy separate reports. The reports cover office methods, filing and indexing, labor saving devices, cash accounting, pay systems, auditing methods, duplication of activities, organization, statistical, actuarial, employment methods, efficiency ratings and work reports.

While concentrating upon specific problems in the offices it has been directed or invited to enter, the Bureau of Efficiency has been working steadily at the larger problem of improving the administration of the Government as a whole.

The personnel troubles of the departments are generally due to two conditions peculiar to Government employment. In the first place, the important administrative positions are filled ordinarily by persons making no claim to administrative ability, persons selected primarily on grounds of political expediency; and, in the second place, the salaries of the technical and supervisory officials and employees are woefully inadequate. The second of these conditions, fortunately, is by far the most important as a factor contributing to inefficiency. I say fortunately, because it is possible to correct that condition, whereas, so long as we maintain a party form of government, politics will continue to dictate the appointment of the major executive officials of the Government. However, if we could pay large enough salaries to secure for the really important places in the public service (the technical, scientific and supervisory positions) the most competent people—people who would be satisfied in the public service and ambitious for the good of the service—political appointments to

# A CHALLENGE

The present situation in Paris is a real challenge to the American people. Big business is sending over thousands of employees to assist in the rebuilding of France, and in the Latin Quarter of Paris is a great body of American students pursuing special courses at the University and at the art and music studios.

The need of meeting places for social and religious purposes was never greater, but the provision is very inadequate.

## The American Church in Paris

is making a tremendous effort to meet these conditions and is challenging the people of America to stand back of its enlarged program.

An adequate Building and Endowment Fund must be raised immediately here in America, and this appeal to our Christian people is made that these young business men and students shall come under the most wholesome influences while in Paris. When they later return to America, they must come

### *Strong in Mind, Body and Spirit*

fitted to be constructive leaders in the finer life of our Nation.

Two million dollars will be needed for new sites and buildings and the carrying on of a broad and comprehensive social and religious program. Generous contributions and assurances already indicate that \$500,000 will be given by the various denominational boards of America, \$500,000 will be raised for Endowment by 500 churches. Many very generous contributions to the above have already been received. This one million dollars is payable over a period of three years, but *\$1,000,000 must immediately be pledged by individuals* to provide for present urgent needs.

## This Is Where You Can Help

We need large gifts but we also need small gifts. Complete information of the whole program gladly furnished on request. Send just as generous a check as you can to the Co-Pastor, REV. STANLEY ROSS FISHER, 14 Beacon Street, Boston.

Make checks payable to SAMUEL W. THURBER,  
Treasurer

The Enlarged Program of the American Church in Paris has the endorsement of the Federal Council of Churches of America and the support of the leading ministers and laymen of the various denominations.



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"Into the Blue Room thou shalt not look"

By **COSMO HAMILTON**, author of "Scandal"

While "The Blue Room" is a powerful plea for the single standard of morality, and on that account is sure to be widely discussed, it is above all else a story with interesting characters and an unusual plot, and is sure to be in demand for its charm as a story alone.

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By **Capt. T. G. FROTHINGHAM, U.S.R.**

A narrative synopsis which gives a reliable account of the strategy and grand tactics of the World War.

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LITTLE, BROWN & COMPANY

Publishers

BOSTON

the few places at the top would not be criticized. In fact, they are desirable in order to avoid the possible development of a hard and fast, tho of course highly efficient bureaucracy not responsive to the people's will.

If you went today into the Treasury Department, the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Commerce, or any other Government agency doing important technical or scientific work, they would tell you that their chief difficulty is to retain competent employees in the supervisory and technical positions. The turnover in these positions is abnormally high. Every day men leave to accept private employment at materially increased salaries, so that the departments are continuously going thru a process of selecting and training executives and technical employees—only to lose them as they become really valuable. The solution for this problem is a readjustment of salaries.

The second factor contributing to the present ineffectiveness of the Government as a business establishment is found in the improper organization of the executive branch of the Government for effective service. The Interior Department, for example, has jurisdiction over a great number of bureaus of a miscellaneous character that have nothing to do with each other or with the functions for the performance of which the Department was originally created. Many agencies have been located in the Treasury Department, the great fiscal department of the Government, which are purely non-fiscal in character, such as the Coast Guard, the Public Health Service, the Supervising Architect's Office and the Bureau of War Risk Insurance.

The great bulk of the civil public works of the Government are executed under the supervision of the War Department, altho the Bureau of Public Roads is located in the Department of Agriculture and the Reclamation Service in the Department of the Interior. Outside of the jurisdiction of any of the great executive departments, there are some forty odd boards, commissions, offices and bureaus, which, practically speaking, do their work without any supervision whatsoever. These are merely examples of a condition that would require volumes to describe fully, but it is generally known that the executive branch of the Government is, at the present time, illogically and uneconomically organized in many important particulars.

This is a condition the departments themselves are practically without power to remedy. The present details of organization have been prescribed by Congress and Congress only can take action to effect a proper alignment of the agencies of the Government and a proper distribution of work among those agencies. On this matter Congress is, I believe, ready to act. The Bureau of Efficiency has been asked to aid in the collection of the information upon which intelligent action can be taken. We are at this time engaged in making a complete analysis

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of the activities of each governmental agency and we shall submit in December a plan for the regrouping of services according to the nature of the work they perform.

Our theory is that all services operating in the same field should by law be placed under one general executive direction and that, conversely, the field of action of each executive department should, so far as possible, be restricted to a single class of closely related activities. As an illustration of the application of this theory, it seems likely that all the great public works establishments of the Government, including river and harbor work, the construction and maintenance of public buildings and grounds and of public roads, the reclamation service and the development of inland waterways and water power should be brought together in a new Department of Public Works. The educational and health activities now scattered among many establishments of the Government should also be brought together in a single department. Recommendations of this general character will be made to Congress, supported by the information necessary to enable Congress to come to proper conclusions in reorganizing the executive branch for more effective work.

It should be remembered, however, that even with an ideal personnel and a perfect organization, it is doubtful if the high degree of economy and efficiency that characterizes private business can ever be attained in the Government offices. This is so because economies made by Government officials are not transformed into dividends for themselves as they are in private business, and therefore there is naturally not the same personal incentive to extraordinary and self-sacrificing effort.

Will the work of the Bureau of Efficiency reduce the burden of taxation? The reader is entitled to ask this question, and my answer to him would be "Yes." But, frankly, I must add, the reduction will be so small as to be imperceptible in the tax bill of the individual. I will explain why.

The total amount appropriated for the maintenance of the Government for the fiscal year 1921 (exclusive of the Postal Service, which is almost self-supporting and exclusive of deficiencies on account of the fiscal year 1920) was \$4,175,820,089. Of this amount \$2,838,118,400, or about 68 per cent, was for the payment of obligations incurred on account of past wars, chiefly the war with Germany, such as compensation for death, disability, vocational training, hospital treatment, return of remains from France, pensions, interest on the public debt, sinking fund and Federal operation of railroads. Possibly one per cent of this \$2,838,118,400 will be used for salaries and other administrative expenses. Here it is quite possible that some little saving can be made. But it is obvious that no improvements in methods which the Bureau of Efficiency or any similar agency could devise would re-

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W. L. Douglas \$9.00 and \$10.00 shoes are absolutely the best shoe values for the money in this country. They are made of the best and finest leathers that money can buy. They combine quality, style, workmanship and wearing qualities equal to other makes selling at higher prices. They are the leaders in the fashion centers of America. The stamped price is W. L. Douglas personal guarantee that the shoes are always worth the price paid for them. The prices are the same everywhere; they cost no more in San Francisco than they do in New York.

W. L. Douglas shoes are made by the highest paid, skilled shoemakers, under the direction and supervision of experienced men, all working with an honest determination to make the best shoes for the price that money can buy.

W. L. Douglas shoes are for sale by over 9000 shoe dealers besides our own stores. If your local dealer cannot supply you, take no other make. Order direct from factory. Send for booklet telling how to order shoes by mail, postage free.

**CAUTION.**—Insist upon having W. L. Douglas shoes. The name and price is plainly stamped on the sole. Be careful to see that it has not been changed or mutilated.

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W. L. Douglas Shoe Co.,  
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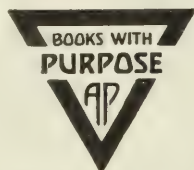
"Satellite" typewriter stands are being used by the biggest business firms. They are found 100% satisfactory.

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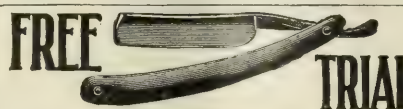
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duce the other 99 per cent of this amount by one penny, for these obligations will be regarded as debts of honor and must, of course, be paid.

Congress has added to these obligations of the past new ones for the future, also war accounts. The appropriations for national defense for the present fiscal year were \$855,956,962—a sum equal to the entire expenses of the Government in 1916 outside of the Postal Service.

Add together these two expenditures, \$2,838,118,400 for payments on past wars and \$855,956,963 for maintenance of the present military and naval establishments and you will find that the sum of them, \$3,694,075,363, represents over 88 per cent of the money appropriated for the conduct of the public business during the present fiscal year, exclusive of the 1920 deficiencies and the postal service. This means that less than 12 per cent (\$481,744,726) of that total of more than four billions is to be spent on the works of peace—on paying for the development of commerce, agriculture, science, research, education, public health and public works, salaries of the men and women in the Government departments and of the Federal courts and the salaries and expenses of Congress.

What proportion of this \$481,744,726 is to be spent for salaries and other administrative expenses I do not know, but I should say not more than one-half, which would be about 6 per cent of the total expenditures, outside of the Postal Service and the deficiencies.

The reader will readily see that if economies made by the Bureau of Efficiency affect only 6 per cent of our total bills, the savings that can be made for the individual taxpayers will not be very noticeable.

I do not wish to minimize the importance of eliminating all waste in the Government's civil establishments. I would do away with every scrap of duplication, every shadow of overlapping. I would reorganize the departmental service in accordance with the best business practices. I would have the people get full returns for every penny expended in running the Government. But what I should like to have the reader understand and understand clearly is that, whittle away as we may, we can only reduce the total public expenditures by perhaps a fraction of one per cent.

More than 88 per cent of the money spent by the Government during the next year will be on account of past and future wars. So long as we wish to maintain a military establishment of 300,000 officers and men, so long as we feel the necessity of building and maintaining a navy of the first rank, high taxes are inevitable.

The merits of the military and naval programs I am not discussing. All I wish to say is that if we want to make big reductions in appropriations, about the only place that it can be done is in the appropriations for our military and naval establishments.

Washington, D. C.



## Myself and Me

(Continued from page 257)

destructive of the vital spark that makes a man a man, than sympathy. Moreover, I don't want to give anyone the impression that begging is easy. We are too liberal in this country. There ought to be a sting with every fifty cents obtained as that man obtained it. He is so sorry for himself now that he would not feel the sting unless I gave it to him. I gave it to him for his own good. It is worth more to him than the fifty cents. The resentment I have stirred in that fellow may make him resolve that he doesn't want any more food, purchased with money obtained as he obtained that fifty cents."

But I started to let you into the vaudeville show in which I am the chief performer.

In the copy books and in the old fairy stories there are many references to wishes. There are admonitions against wishes, and then there are captivating stories about fairies who grant us our wishes. I have about reached the conclusion that all of us get our wishes. In fact, I am beginning to exercise a rather severe censorship over my wishes because it is dawning upon me that I get every confounded one of them. I am beginning to feel some alarm about my wishes. They come true with terrific certainty. I would advise every human to be good and soundly sure that the thing he wishes for will be good for him, because he can pretty certainly depend upon the fact that he is going to get it, if he really wishes for it. Of course, there are a lot of things we say we wish for, but we really don't. For instance, I used to tell myself that I wished for a phonograph with all of the best records there are and I used to wish for more life insurance, but I smoked enough cigars to pay for the phonograph and the records and the insurance. I knew it and I went on smoking the cigars. After a while I had a good long talk with myself on the subject of whether I loved music or tobacco best, and I decided that as between the two, I really loved the tobacco best. We delude ourselves quite a lot about the sources of our joys. I work year in and year out for things that I think I ought to be wanting. I dream of accomplishments that are supposed to be the source of great joy, but there is the other Me, the Olympian, who knows all the time what things mean happiness. Here is the verdict of the Olympian: My chiefest joys in life are a cold bath in the morning, splashing and singing in the bath tub and then walking in briskly to breakfast very hungry. And then smoking a cigar. The cigar is so good that my mouth waters when I bite the end off it. No matter what I do or what I achieve or where Destiny leads me, it is highly probable that I shall continue to find my chiefest joy in roaring out the Toreador song while I pile soap suds on top of my head, knowing that breakfast and that savory cigar are only half an hour distant.

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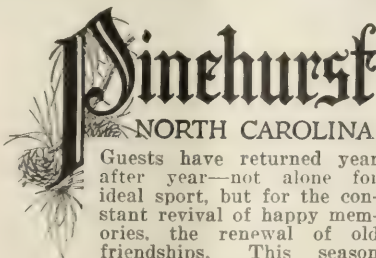
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A dividend of four dollars per share on the capital stock of this company has been declared payable on Jan. 15, 1921, to stockholders of record at the close of business Dec. 20, 1920.

Attention is directed to the fact that, owing to the special meeting of stockholders to be held on Dec. 8, 1920, the transfer books of the company will be closed from the close of business Nov. 17, 1920, until Dec. 9, 1920.

JOHN W. DAMON, Treasurer.

## THE AMERICAN COTTON OIL CO.

The Board of Directors of The American Cotton Oil Company on November 4, 1920, declared a semi-annual dividend of three per cent. upon the preferred stock of the company, payable December 1, 1920, at The Liberty National Bank, 120 Broadway, New York City, to holders of record at the close of business, Thursday, November 11, 1920.

For the purpose of the payment of this dividend and the holding of the Annual Meeting of Stockholders the Stock Transfer Books of both Preferred and Common Stock will close at 3 p. m. on November 11, 1920, and re-open at 10 a. m., December 3, 1920.

RANDOLPH CATLIN, Secretary.

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## How to Study This Number

## THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

## English, Literature and Composition

## I. Beef and Bouquets.

1. "The moment I learned that he wore a carnation to his office in the stockyards, I humbly apologized inside—he was not only human, he was gentle, kind, artistic, idealistic, as a flower lover is." Find this passage in its context, and discuss it. If there are people in the class who disagree with you, in discussion, write a persuasive essay on your side of the question.

2. Give as many reasons as you can think of why a man in the packing business is not necessarily brutal and cruel. Are there other businesses that you think of in this connection?

## II. Your Watchdog in Washington.

1. Mr. Brown's six principles, in the second column of his article, are part of the policy of the Bureau of Efficiency in Washington. Consider them in that connection; and then decide if they have more general bearing. If you think they have, write out a parallel set of principles for the relations of teacher and students in your classroom.

## III. What British Labor Wants.

1. Mr. Thomas' description of the English Poor Laws and the condition of the English poor is an old story. You will find it occurring at intervals in English literature from the present day back as far as you are willing to go. Of course Dickens is the stock example; see how many times he handles the subject. Then see how many other books on the subject, or involving it, you can find that are by other authors.

2. Choose the novel that you think will repay you best for your study, read it carefully, and write anything relevant that is inspired by it. Before you write, place your novel in its period and do enough extra reading about contemporary industrial conditions to give your book a background of fact. Look up *Alton Locke*, by Charles Kingsley, if you have not already read it.

## IV. What Did It?

1. Perhaps you don't believe that fickleness "did it" to all of the men Mr. Giddings mentions in his third paragraph. But very likely you think that was the case with one of them at least, and probably with more than one. Pick out one man, get up your facts about him, and write sympathetically his case against the American people.

## V. California's Anti-Japanese Laws.

1. Mr. Gulick's third paragraph contains the statement of three aspects of the recent anti-Japanese amendment. Choose one provision, conceding the other two, and debate it. In your argument, consider any or all of the three proposed courses of action which Mr. Gulick presents later in his article.

## VI. Myself and Me.

1. What is the point of the title? Keeping it in mind, read the article to see how well Mr. Crowell has lived up to his title's suggestion.

2. If you like Mr. Crowell's essay, it is probably because you know for yourself the experience of two minds, two selves, at one time. If this is true of you, confess just how it is true, not sparing yourself, in an intimate essay, or in rhyme, or in any form you like.

## VII. The Mayflower.

1. Explain the line,—"The seedling glory of our English May." What similar references can you find in the poem? What is the allusion to "that tall fleet of plate-ships"?

2. Discuss the poem critically. What sort of poetic effect is aimed for, and what achieved, as far as metric form, rhyme, diction are concerned? Read more poetry by Alfred Noyes, and discuss in writing the ways in which this poem is characteristic and the ways in which it is not.

3. Leaving out the question of poetic merit, do you think the idea of the poem is interesting, original? If you do not, do you think the treatment makes it so?

4. Think over the general question just implied: on what does the individuality and distinction of a piece of writing depend—on the general subject matter, the main idea,—or on the treatment? In the connection, think of Shakespeare's plays, Wordsworth's poetry, any other great literature that comes into your head. And be sure, first of all, that you know what you mean by "treatment," or any other word that you decide to substitute.

## History, Civics and Economics

## I. Efficient Administration—Your Watchdog in Washington. Beef and Bouquets.

1. In Mr. Brown's article he states that the Bureau of Efficiency is "putting into practice in Washington the business methods that have made the commercial institutions of America preëminent and successful." From Mr. Purinton's article what would you conclude were the points at which a successful private business is more efficient than the national Government?

2. "Every day men leave to accept private employment at materially increased salaries." Why is private business able to offer higher returns to an able administrator than the Federal Government? Can you suggest any remedy or offset for this disadvantage to the public services?

3. What argument does Mr. Brown make for the creation of a Department of Public Works? Would it require a constitutional amendment to establish a new cabinet position? Would it require Congressional legislation?

4. "More than 88 per cent of the money spent by the Government during the next year will be on account of past and future wars." Does this fact start any train of thought in your mind as to the League of Nations?

5. Summarize the labor policy in the Swift meat packing plants as discussed in Mr. Purinton's article.

6. What economies mentioned by Mr. Purinton are due to the great size of the packing establishments and the concentration of the industry in their hands? How do the packers make their large profits on so small a percentage of profit on each sale? To what extent are the private profits of the packing industry the cause of high prices?

7. After reading both articles prepare a brief either for the affirmative or the negative on the question: Resolved, that the Federal Government should own the meat packing plants.

## M. British Labor—What British Labor Wants.

1. What constructive social legislation has England adopted since the organization of the Labor party? What similar laws exist in the United States or in your state?

2. If a Labor party had been organized in the United States do you think that the United States would have adopted all the labor laws mentioned by Mr. Thomas, or are there other factors than the absence of a special Labor party which tend to make legislation less radical in this country than in England?

## III. Turkish Affairs—The Crushing of Armenia. When Turk and Tartar Join. The Partition of Turkey.

1. Indicate on a map as well as you can the division of Turkey into spheres of influence and locate the places mentioned in the Week items.

2. Why do you suppose the Bolsheviki are hostile to the Armenians? What parts of Armenia used to be Russian?

3. If the United States had taken a mandate in Armenia with what other nations would we come in contact? Show the relation of Armenia to Soviet Russia; the independent Caucasus states, such as Georgia; the British and French "spheres of influence"; what is left of independent Turkey. Which neighbors would probably have proved most troublesome?

## IV. The Election—What Did It? A Socialist's View of the Landslide. Embers of Election. Sunning Himself in Texas. What Bryan Thinks.

1. What is your own opinion of "what did it"? Write an editorial on the subject giving your own ideas as frankly and fully as possible.

2. How do Mr. Gompers and Mr. Spargo differ in their view of the policy of the American Federation of Labor in trying to deliver the labor vote to individual Congressmen friendly to labor?

3. What do you think of Mr. Bryan's plan for bringing the Harding administration into office at once?

## V. Oriental Immigration—California's Anti-Japanese Laws.

1. Why does Japanese labor desire to emigrate to America? What are the reasons why California is unwilling to receive Japanese immigrants?

2. What relation has the new land law to the problem of Japanese immigration?

3. What method in your opinion could be devised for restricting Oriental immigration?



# The Independent

FOUNDED 1848

## Pebbles

He—Let's kiss and make up.  
She—If you're careful I won't have to.  
—*Gargoyle.*

Bob—You look sweet enough to eat.  
Gert—I do eat. Where shall we go?  
—*Orange Peel.*

Jim—Tom! Lend me a dollar and I'll be eternally indebted to you.  
Tom—That's what I'm afraid of.—*Yale Record.*

Judge—Where were your supporters in this crime?

Prisoner—I had them on, Judge.—*Stanford Chaparral.*

Neighbor—How is your garden getting on, professor?

Professor—Horticulturally it's very poor; biologically it's a dream.—*London Mail.*

Wife—How nice it would be if all things in this world would work in harmony!

Hub—Wouldn't it, tho? For instance, if coal would go up and down with the thermometer!—*Boston Transcript.*

She is the greatest stickler for politeness. Why, she won't even have a compass in the house.

Why not?  
Because it points.—*Tar Baby.*

Teacher—Now, Tom, hold your head up and your shoulders back—you'd like to have a fine carriage when you're a man, wouldn't you?

Tom (doubtfully)—Well, I'd rather have an aeroplane.—*Sydney Bulletin.*

"How does your husband regard you," asked Mrs. A—, "as a necessity or a luxury?"

"Well," said Mrs. B—, "it all depends, my dear. When I am asking for a new dress, I am a luxury. When I'm cooking his dinner, I'm a necessity."—*Ladies' Home Journal.*

"The palmist has just told me that my wife would be married twice and that her second husband would be a very rich and handsome man."

"Well, that's nothing to worry about!" chaffed the other man. "After all, what happens after you're dead won't matter, will it?"

"That's not the point," sobbed Hadkins, as he wiped away a tear. "It's hurt me to my heart to think that Maria must have been married before and never said a word about it to me."—*New York Globe.*

Mrs. Killifer desired that the picture be hung to the right of the door; Mr. Killifer wanted it hung to the left. For once the husband proved to be the more insistent of the two, and Henry, the colored man, was summoned to hang the picture according to Mr. Killifer's order.

Henry drove in a nail on the left. This done, he also drove one in the wall on the right.

"Why are you driving that second nail?" asked Mr. Killifer.

"Why, boss, dat's to save me de trouble of bringin' de ladder tomorrow when you come round to de missus's way of thinkin'," said Henry.—*Harper's.*

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## Remarkable Remarks

SENATOR HARDING—I am a nut about France.

MARY PICKFORD FAIRBANKS—I am not going to write a book.

"BUGS" BAER—The United States is dryer than an undertaker's eye.

REV. R. C. GILLIE—Our hymns are Victorian and our prayers Elizabethan.

MRS. VINCENT ASTOR—Whatever the "tyranny of clothes" may be, I do not know it.

JAMES J. CORBETT—No other man than Dempsey could have dethroned Jess Willard.

JAMES W. GERARD—Our attitude toward Germany should be one of charity, not revenge.

ISHBEL M. ROTH—The New York business man picks his stenographer chiefly for her appearance.

REV. JOHN ROACH STRATTON—The anathemas of High Heaven are rightfully launched against divorce.

REV. PERCY BEARMER—The clergy and church officers should take the lead in organizing Sunday games.

ED. HOWE—After a woman has looked at a man three or four times she notices something that should be changed.

ARTHUR ROBINSON—The football game between Yale and Princeton was the subject of much speculation in Wall Street yesterday.

REV. E. S. SYNOTT—I have seen the sorrowing men and women after a funeral gorging themselves as tho they were eating their Christmas dinner.

THE LORD BISHOP OF WORCESTER—I do not know whose future is darker, the country which would come into the League of Nations and cannot or the country which can come in and won't.

REV. FATHER J. H. MACMAHON—The Puritan doctrine of the separation of church and state is the logical preparation for Bolshevism. Our effort today is to undo the effect of the Puritan idea which has permeated the country.

## Opening Nights

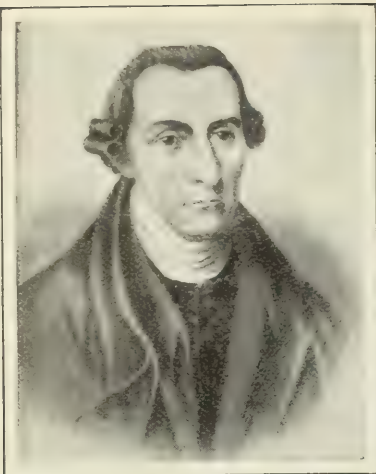
*The Mandarin.* A paranoiac play imported from Vienna by Herman Bernstein. Ingenious but baffling. (Princess Theater.)

*Thy Name Is Woman.* Overlook title and occasional lurid moments, and you have a play of real power. Mary Nash and José Ruben do some fine acting as a beautiful Spanish girl and a dark and wily Spanish Don. (The Playhouse Theater.)

*Heartbreak House.* by Bernard Shaw. When this play was published by Brentano's last year readers enjoyed its wit but concluded that it would be impossible to stage. But the Theater Guild that gave such remarkable productions of "Jane Clegg" and "John Ferguson" has overcome the difficulties and proved that the new Shaw play contains real people as well as sharp satire. (Garrick Theater.)

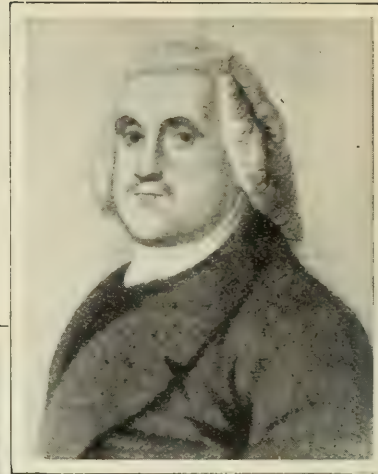


# New Names in the Hall of Fame



PATRICK HENRY, 1736-1799

Generations of declaiming schoolboys will take care of the orator's memory. But the champion of the American ideal of free speech and thought deserves his niche in her Hall of Fame

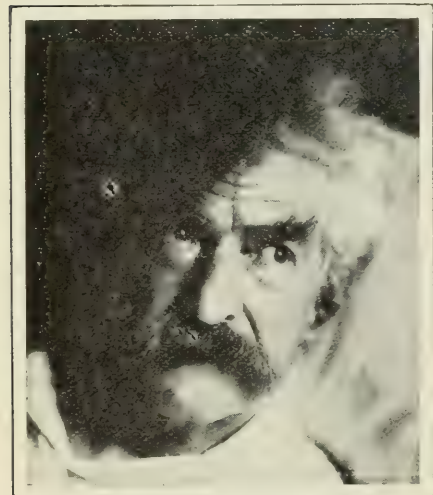


ROGER WILLIAMS, 1604-1684

The true Pilgrim paradox—a stern, dogmatic apostle of liberty of conscience. When Massachusetts could stand no more of him, he founded Rhode Island, "a shelter for persons distressed of conscience"

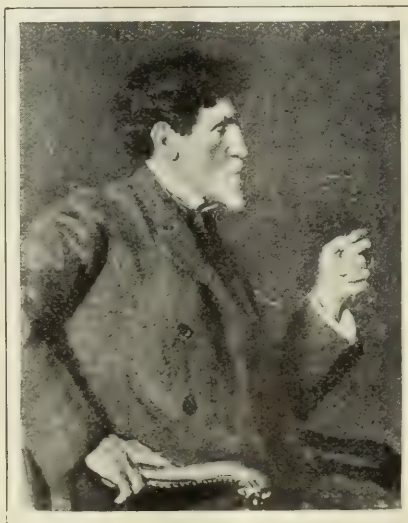


"The Hall of Fame for Great Americans," at New York University, has as its purpose the commemoration of distinguished Americans from the beginning of our history until now. There are new elections every five years, by an electoral body of about a hundred prominent men and women. Sixty-three of the 150 tablets in the colonnade have been inscribed and dedicated



MARK TWAIN, 1835-1910

The ten years since his death make him just eligible for this year's election. He has his place by many rights—as a great humorist, a student and critic of life, a large and humane personality. His stories of the Mississippi will be looked back upon as possibly the most important single contribution to our American folk literature, though we are too young a nation now to think of ourselves as owning such a literature



AUGUSTUS  
ST. GAUDENS,  
1848-1907

The foremost American sculptor. Of the statues by which people know him best this rare thing is true—that they are at once public monuments and works of art

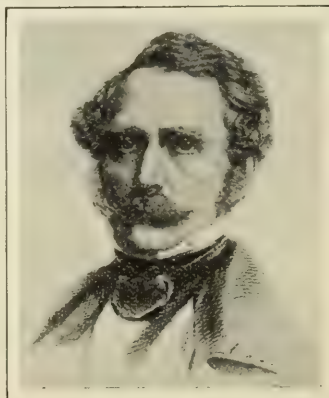
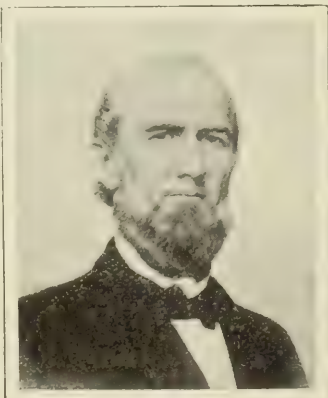


ALICE FREEMAN PALMER, 1855-1903

The only woman elected in 1920, and one of the six women elected since the beginning. Mrs. Palmer was best known as president of Wellesley College, a position she took in 1880, the year after she came to Wellesley as a teacher of history. Her husband was George Herbert Palmer, of Harvard, thru whom she came into connection with the Women's Educational Association of Boston.

JAMES B. EADS,  
1820-1887

A pioneer engineer. His greatest work was deepening the mouth of the Mississippi, and installing a system of jetties so arranged that the current could scour its own channel, carrying sand into deep water



WILLIAM MORTON,  
1819-1868

A dentist-surgeon who discovered the anesthetic properties of ether, using it first under the picturesque name of "letheon." He advanced the science of dentistry in other ways, by the discovery, for instance, of a new solder for attaching teeth



# The Independent

November 27, 1920

## Is This Good Business?

A Message from the United States Government to the American People

By Edwin F. Sweet

Assistant Secretary of Commerce and Vice-Chairman of the Federal Electric Railways Commission

Perhaps there is a poster similar to the one below in the street cars of your own town:

Bituminous coal cost the company \$3.25 per ton in 1916.

As a result of eleven consecutive increases the price is now \$8.43 per ton, an increase of 159 per cent.

This company and its subsidiaries burn 220,000 tons of coal annually.

The yearly coal bill has increased from \$371,683 to \$1,850,000.

These interesting facts are presented for the information of our patrons.

It means that the company wants you, the public, to listen to reason and probably, itself, is ready to listen to reason from you. If you live in New York, Buffalo, Denver, St. Louis, Pittsburgh, Des Moines, Spokane, the company, or one of them, is in the hands of a receiver because either it, or you, the public, has refused to be reasonable in the past.

The electric transportation industry has had hard sledding during the last five years. In 1919 its condition became so serious as to constitute a national problem, and the Federal Government was called upon to assist in finding a solution. Sixty-two companies were being operated under receiverships, many others were on the verge of insolvency. Hundreds of miles of trackage had been abandoned. The industry as a whole was virtually bankrupt.

The shrinkage in value of hundreds of millions of electric railway securities, largely held by banks and insurance companies and in trust funds for persons of small means, brought widespread distress and threatened seriously to embarrass the nation's financial operations. The withdrawal of the industry's buying power, ranking third in magnitude, seemed to place a serious obstacle in the way of orderly readjustment, unsettling other industries dependent upon it and threatening unemployment for hundreds of thousands of men.

The Federal Electric Railways Commission, appointed by the President in the emergency to investigate the condition of street car companies throughout

the land and recommend remedies, spent much time in searching out the causes of their troubles. The causes were numerous. Most of them could be traced back, however, to the fact that the street railways were started, not as public utilities devoted to the public service, but as private enterprises for private profit.

They were overcapitalized. Unearned dividends had been paid at the expense of ordinary maintenance. Pernicious manipulation had resulted in over-building into unprofitable territory for the promotion of suburban real estate speculations.

In the early days the promoters sought long term franchises providing for five cent fares. When they got them they congratulated themselves, believing such a rate of fare would be permanently profitable. These highly-prized franchises came later to be one of the principal sources of the traction companies present troubles.

It was as reasonable for the companies to set up the nickel as the standard fare all over the nation as it would be for a manufacturer to make shoes all of one size. In some cities the lines could be operated at a profit in normal times for less than a nickel, but in others, with high grades and scattered populations, the expense of operation would be nearly twice as great.

"We were all living in a fool's paradise in the street railway business," one executive told the commission,

"when we suddenly woke up—when the war woke us up—to find that no business which cannot increase its revenues under any conditions can live or is sound."

It was natural, since the companies had fought the effort of communities in normal times to lower the contract fare, that these same communities should vigorously oppose the movement of the companies for higher fares, even when it could be demonstrated that the rising cost of everything the companies had to buy would make continued service impossible if they  
[Continued on page 311]

### Leaves

By Rose Henderson

*Pale lilac mist curls soft about the hills,  
The trees are altar fires of red and gold.  
A warm wind stirs the fretted sun-flower frills  
And gentian blooms grown old.  
The air is sweet with clover aftermath,  
The flocking blackbirds call.  
But down the crimson-lighted forest path  
The dead leaves fall.*

*My hearthside blooms with yellow candle light,  
Love bends above my hand with eager lips;  
Friends laugh and music thrills across the night,  
And beauty's magic-bringing finger-tips  
Caress my brow. Yet, withered and grown brown,  
The years drip down.*



*"The light here kindled hath  
shone to our whole nation."*—

*William Bradford*

# Our Pilgrim Legacy

By Frederick Houk Law

Head of the English Department of Stuyvesant  
High School, New York City

IT may be that a widow's hat had something to do with turning the Pilgrim Fathers on the way to Plymouth. In 1608 a number of people from Scrooby and Gainsborough in the east of England—"Separatists" who wished to be independent of the Church of England, found opportunity for religious freedom in Holland. Those whom we call "The Pilgrims" first settled in Amsterdam. One British congregation that had fled to Amsterdam was in much disorder. Its preacher was Francis Johnson—and Francis Johnson, some time before, like many another man, had fallen in love with a widow—in this case with a widow whose husband had been a hatter—and the preacher married the hatter's widow. At once the congregation had begun to complain. The lady wore a velvet hood! She also wore a hat that many thought "topish." When the matter was put to vote it was decided that the hat was not "topish," but the lady was asked to select more sober headwear. The congregation complained that "Many of ye saints were grieved," that the lady used perfume, that she wore gold rings, that she made her dresses stiff with whalebone and wood. The dusty old record says that when the minister's wife heard all these complaints she became "very peert and coppet." At any rate a great deal of trouble had resulted, and the trouble increased when the congregation moved to Holland. Possibly, among other reasons, church dissensions in Amsterdam led the Pilgrims to move to Leyden in 1609. Perhaps the fear that their children were becoming frivolous, "Getting ye raines off their neks, and departing from their parents," as the Bradford manuscript says, led them, eleven years later, in 1620, to plan the "Mayflower" voyage to a land where they would be free to form and to regulate their own lives and the lives of their children, and their children's children.

Everyone knows the story of how, under good Pastor John Robinson, a leader who never set foot on the new world, they planned to go either to Guiana or Virginia. Having obtained a patent to lands somewhere near the Hudson River, and having borrowed over £5,000, they sailed in the "Speedwell" from Delfshaven in July, 1620. After a stay in England they sailed again, on September 6, from Plymouth, on the "Mayflower," the "Speedwell" having become unseaworthy. Nearly three months later, November 21, after a stormy voyage, they arrived, not at the Hudson, but on the coast of Cape Cod. After a month of exploration they made the first landing on Plymouth Rock, December 21, 1620. It was several days later before the entire company disembarked.

They had no legal rights in Plymouth, for their patent was for another region. Therefore, since storm, and winter, and bad seamanship had driven them to a place where there was no law, they drew up on the "Mayflower," before they landed, one of the most important documents in human history, the famous "Mayflower Compact," the first written constitution. That



This statue by Augustus St. Gaudens is one of our most famous memorials to the Pilgrims

was a great moment in the stuffy cabin of the little, tossing "Mayflower," when forty-one of the 104 people on board signed the document that meant the beginning of American self-government. Some of the company were dangerously sick, servants had threatened to desert, the sailors were rough and unkind—and winter on a bleak, unknown coast was upon them. That old document of human rights is worth reading:

In the name of God, Amen. We whose names are underwritten, the loyall subjects of our dread Sovereigne Lord King James by the grace of God, of Great Britaine, Franc, and Ireland king, defender of the faith, etc. Having undertaken for the glorie of God, and advancement of the christian faith and honour of our king and cuntry, a voyage to plant the first colonie in the Northerne parts of Virginia, Doe by these presents solemnly and mutually in the presence of God, and one of another; couenant and combine ourselues together into a ciuill body politick; for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by vertue hearof to enacte, constitute, and frame shuch just and equall lawes, ordinances, Acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meete and conuenient for the generall good of the Colonie: Unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witnes whereof we haue hereunder subscribed our names at Cap Codd the 11 of Nouember [new style, November 21] in the year of the raigne of our soueraigne Lord King James of England, France, and Ireland the eighteenth and of Scotland the fiftie-fourth Anno Domini 1620.

A curiously wrong belief, a sort of legend, is current that the Pilgrims came to America to gain for themselves, and for everyone else who might come later, the right to do as one pleases. In fact, people laugh at the Pilgrims, saying: "They wanted freedom for them-



selves; they wouldn't give it to others." What was their definition of freedom, and what did they really establish in this second English colony in America? Their ideals were not different from those of Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts Bay, who wrote in 1645:

There is a two-fold liberty, natural...and civil or federal. The first is common to man with beasts and other creatures. . . . It is a liberty to evil as well as to good. . . . The exercise and maintaining of this liberty makes men grow more evil, and in time to be worse than brute beasts. . . . The other kind of liberty I call civil or federal. . . . This liberty is the proper end and object of authority and cannot subsist without it; and it is a liberty to that only which is good, just and honest. This liberty you are to stand for, with the hazard of your goods, but of your lives, if need be.

The liberty that the Pilgrims sought was not an absolute liberty in which men become "worse than brute beasts," but liberty under the law, a liberty that cannot subsist without authority, "a liberty to that only which is good, just and honest." How well it would be for the United States today if every immigrant could know to the full to what spirit of liberty this country was dedicated! Absolute freedom of speech and of action were as undreamed of by the Pilgrim Fathers as they are by all sane men today.

Again Governor Winthrop says that America is not a place of refuge for "civil and religious freedom" but a "place of cohabitation and consortship under a due form of government."

The very foundation of Pilgrim belief, whether civil or religious, was an orderly obedience to government, and on that foundation the United States has built all its greatness.

The first Freeman's Oath given by the Pilgrims, made the applicant say:

I do freely and sincerely acknowledge that I am justly and lawfully subject to the government of the Company, and do accordingly submit my person and estate to be protected, ordered and governed by the laws and constitutions thereof.

Someone has said that the two great benefits conferred by the Pilgrims may be summed up in the words: "The supremacy of the law, and the impartial administration of justice."

The Pilgrims built up a type of government founded primarily upon individual and local rights under the law. They determined the qualifications necessary for

franchise. They organized the first town meetings ever held in America, every town electing its own officers and carrying on its own affairs, subject to the laws of the colony as a whole. They drew the towns together in common interest, and in 1639 organized a representative assembly to which every town sent delegates—the germ of our present system of State government. In 1643 Plymouth Colony drew up with Massachusetts, Connecticut and New Haven the first federal union ever formed in America, uniting the New England colonies in a common bond, under the name "The United Colonies of New England," thus foreshadowing that union of States that has given the United States all the flexibility of individual rights, local freedom and local power, together with all the strength of a unified nation.

So, on the edge of the vast wilderness, in the first of the seventeenth century, with disease, savages, small numbers and all unknown terrors to daunt them, these men, whether inspired by the natural English love for freedom, by the example of the governments of Dutch cities, or forced by circumstances, prefigured all our present town, state and national government.

In other ways the Pilgrims foreshadowed our national greatness. They would allow no one to remain idle, and they set an example of the dignity of hard work. Their energy, their effort, their making the most common and homely work appear manly, with the example set by other colonists, led the way to a democratic country where idleness, class, rank, pride and ostentation are out of place.

The government that the people of Plymouth established was a good government. It was an honest government in the interest of the governed. They uniformly chose the best men for office, and they allowed no one to refuse to serve the common good. Pay for office holding, when it was given at all, was small; an office holder held his office because he had a sincere desire to serve the people. Their government gave justice to all, without fear or favor. In 1630 it meted out hanging to John Billington, one of the "Mayflower" passengers, and one of the forty-one signers of the famous "Mayflower Compact," because Billington had killed John Newcomer. Equality of rights and equality of responsibility marked every side of Pilgrim public life.

The Pilgrims felt the presence of God in every act of life. Waste, flippancy, [Continued on page 314]



When the Pilgrims went to church women and children were protected by the men, carrying blunderbusses for fear of Indians



# What British Labor Wants

By The Rt. Hon. J. H. Thomas, M. P.

The head of the British Federation of Railwaymen presents here the last of a series of three articles written to explain to the American People the significance of the recent strikes in England and the ultimate aim of the Triple Alliance which "makes possible a national strike by which the whole life of the country could be brought to a standstill." Mr. Thomas is one of the foremost leaders of the Labor Movement in Great Britain and he is a Labor Party member of the British Parliament

**I**N my previous articles I have shown how the labor movement in Great Britain has steadily grown until it can claim a membership of six and a half million workers, and I have indicated how, as its strength increased, so also has increased the legislation for the betterment of the life and labor of the people. There are two most important measures—health insurance and unemployment insurance—which I have not yet dealt with; but before turning to these I propose briefly to indicate the high degree of organization which marks the activities of the British labor movement at the present moment.

Twenty-one years ago a General Federation of Trade Unions was established with the object of combining the various separate unions into one army capable of concerted action and possessing a gigantic central fund which should be at the service of any individual union fighting to maintain its existence or to improve its condition. There are now over one hundred and thirteen different federations embracing over three thousand different unions. Among the largest of these federations are the General Federation of Trade Unions, the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, Railwaymen's Societies, the Transport Workers' Federation, and the Federation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades. The strength which labor gains in this way is obvious, but a still further advance in securing the solidarity of workers has been made by the formation of what is known as the Triple Alliance composed of Miners', Railwaymen's and Transport Workers' confederations. The existence of such a colossal organization as this makes possible a national strike by which the whole life of the country could be brought to a standstill. This is not a weapon which labor would lightly use, but the power to use it as a last resource is an invaluable lever in compelling every effort being made toward the settlements of disputes.

As an outcome of the big railway dispute in this country last year a special board, on which the railway workers have equal representation with the railway managers, was set up to deal with conditions of service. This arrangement made between the Government and the Railwaymen's unions marks the first step toward labor's control of industry. The constitution of the board is as follows: Five general managers, five men from the two big Railwaymen's unions with an independent chairman. In the event of this board of ten failing to agree upon any point the matters in dispute will be referred to a body of twelve composed of four members of the public. This board of ten will have plenary powers except in so far as the men's side is subject to their executive committee.

The recognition of labor's strength to

enforce its just claims is strikingly evidenced by the establishment a year or two ago of Joint Industrial Councils. These were the outcome of the recommendations of a committee appointed to make and consider suggestions for securing a permanent improvement in the relations between employers and workmen and to recommend means by which industrial conditions affecting the relations of employers and workmen might be systematically reviewed with the object of improving conditions in the future.

These councils are voluntary in character and can only be brought into existence with the agreement of the organizations of employers and work people in the particular industry, and each council is composed exclusively of persons nominated by the employers' associations and trade unions concerned. The councils are able, within very wide limits, to determine their own functions, machinery and methods of working and they are concerned with many matters other than wages. It is worthy of record that during the latter half of last year there were established three national councils on which the Government, as employers, is represented. The establishment of a Civil Service Council marked the emergence of this scheme in the non-industrial and professional spheres. By last December fifty-one councils had been set up and others have since been added to that number.

This brief survey of what has been achieved for and by labor would be incomplete without some reference to what has been done in the way of national insurance. The idea of national provident insurance has been



International

A rather different visit to Downing Street from the one of the opposite photograph. A crowd of ten thousand London unemployed formed in the Whitehall and from there made a riotous attempt to reach the Premier's residence, against the concerted opposition of the police force. Fists and clubs had their chance before order was restored



toyed with by many statesmen at different times, but it was not until 1908 that the matter was taken thoroly in hand. In 1909 Mr. Lloyd George, who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer, took the subject up with friendly societies and in 1911 an act was passed providing for the compulsory insurance against sickness of that portion of the population between the ages of sixteen and seventy, whose earnings were beneath the income tax line of £160 a year. The benefits included free medical attendance, sickness benefit, disablement or invalidity pension, maternity benefit and sanatorium benefit. The sickness benefit consists of ten shillings a week for men and 7/6d. a week for women for twenty-six weeks from the fourth day of sickness; this benefit is varied for persons over the age of fifty and under the age of twenty-one. The disablement pension provides for the payment of five shillings a week during the whole term of sickness. The maternity benefit provides for insured women, married or unmarried, and for the wives of insured men the payment of a sum of thirty shillings.

The contributions to meet this insurance are paid by the workers, the employers, and the Government, and today, ten years after the act came into operation, it is true to say that altho it met with violent opposition from the employers on its inception, every amendment which has since been proposed for extending it and improving it has in the main met with unanimous approval. No employer today would agree to the insurance being abandoned.

At the time of writing this article measures are being brought before the House of Commons for improving the sickness and maternity benefits and bringing within the scope of the act practically the whole of the industrial workers of the country.

Insurance against unemployment is provided for in the same act and it is estimated that about 2,500,000 work people were affected at the time it came into operation.

Compulsory insurance against unemployment has never before been the subject of legislation by any Government, and therefore it was to some extent an experiment and was applied only to certain trades which were recognized as being the most uncertain in the matter of employment in consequence of seasonal and other causes.

The rates of benefit both for men and women were originally seven shillings a week, but this sum was increased at the end of last year to eleven shillings. The funds out of which benefits are paid are provided by contributions from employers, workers and the state. The weekly contribution from employers and workers is 2½d. each, and the state adds one-third of the total amount of these contributions.

There is now, however, a bill before Parliament by which it is proposed to extend very considerably the scope of this branch of insurance. The scheme now submitted, if passed into law, will include practically the whole employed population between the ages of sixteen and seventy, who are included in the state scheme of health insurance, and the total number of workers to whom it will apply is estimated at about eleven and three-quarter millions. The contributions will range from three ha'pence to three pence a week, employer and worker paying equal contributions and the state, as heretofore, contributing a sum equal to one-third of the total paid by the worker and employer.

During the past year the hours of labor of 6,400,000 workers have been reduced by an average of 6.5 per week, and we have now among practically all classes of workers, excepting those engaged in agriculture, an eight hour day.

And now, what of tomorrow? The Coalition Government is crumbling to its ruin and there are a very considerable number of people who believe that it is now enjoying (or suffering, as the case may be) its last session. The Labor party, as I stated in my first article,

is the second in the state and there are but few who do not anticipate that it will be the next party in power. This idea would seem to have dawned upon the Government itself for Mr. Winston Churchill, the Secretary of State for War, recently wrote an article for a Sunday paper asking, "Can Labor Govern the Country?" My reply is, "Yes, it can," and whilst I admit that a labor government, being mortal, is not likely to be entirely free from error, I do assert most emphatically that it will not make such a mess of affairs as the present rules have made. Neither will it make the mistake of endeavoring to live on fair promise. The Coalition Government has made a brave show with its promises, but what the country thinks of its deeds is reflected in every by-election that takes place, and the one thing today that a Parliamentary candidate dreads is to receive its benediction. Mr. Lloyd George is known in this country as "The Little Wizard from Wales." He is a seer with a predilection for similes; he goes up onto the mountain top and sees green valleys and pastures new and tells us of a land fit for



© Underwood & Underwood

"Labor Knocks in Downing Street" might be its title—or "Tomorrow Knocks at the Door of Today." It is a photograph of Mr. Robert Smillie, leader of the Miners' Federation, calling at Lloyd George's house in London for conference on a hoped-for settlement of the British coal strike

heroes to live in. But these heroes home from the war and the heroes who did their share in the factories and workshops are not privileged to go onto the mountain top; they stay down in the valleys and look around in vain for any sign of the land becoming fit for heroes and all the time prices soar higher and higher and the outlook becomes more and more gloomy.

Labor does not propose to create a new heaven and a new earth and a labor government will not make the mistake of climbing to the mountain tops and predicting something which it knows it cannot produce.

It may be safely predicted, however, that among the reforms labor will set its hand to will be a revision of the country's taxation whereby the idle rich living upon inherited wealth will be taught that it is every man's duty to the state to serve to the best of his ability either with hand or brain.

Education will be thoroly revised so that every child shall have equal opportunities; a child's abilities cannot be measured by its parent's purse and it is unfair, not only to the child but also to the state, if full advantage is not taken of its gifts.

There will be legislation for the protection of the mothers of the race; it is unfair to the state, unfair to the children, and unfair to the women themselves that mothers should spend [Continued on page 319]



# Breaking the Hindenburg Line

## The First Complete Story of Our Combat Operations

By Captain Joseph Mills Hanson

**B**ULLDOG British tenacity" became a proverb many centuries ago. That stubborn heroism has been displayed thru the passing decades upon scores of battlefields, from Crecy and Agincourt to Waterloo and Spion Kop, but never so magnificently as during the years 1914 to 1918 upon that vast arena of conflict, the valley of the Somme. This territory, lost first in the slow retreat before superior numbers in 1914, was partly recovered in the battle of Picardy, following the First Battle of the Marne. Nearly two years later, in five months of the most relentless fighting, from July to November, 1916, the British forced back the Germans foot by foot for more than forty kilometers and with terrific losses recovered all the territory between Albert and St. Quentin.

Then, in March, 1918, came the mighty German thrust which in less than ten days wrested from Marshal Haig's armies all the gains so dearly bought a year and a half before, and a considerable amount of additional territory. Such a loss seemed irretrievable; but here it was that bulldog British tenacity reasserted itself. The British returned to the attack so soon as the reorganization of their shaken armies would permit. From the latter part of July, at which time the Marne counter-offensive finally gave the initiative to the Allies, the British pushed forward without pause, gaining here a little and there a little until by the middle of September they were at nearly every point back on the front from which they had been driven on March 21. Thus it happened that, coming into battle in the Somme sector at the beginning of the great final Allied attack of late September, the only two American divisions which found themselves operating directly with the British had the honor of proving the valor of American arms upon a field already sanctified by an unparalleled expenditure of English blood.

The 27th Division, of New York National Guard troops, and the 30th Division, of National Guard troops from North and South Carolina and Tennessee, arrived in the British area in those days of late May, 1918, during which eight American divisions assembled for training and, it was anticipated, for action with the British forces. By the first week in September, owing to the increase in British man power, all of these divisions excepting the 27th and the 30th had been removed to the American army sector. The two divisions remaining, after having served creditably with British troops in the stabilized trenches around Ypres and in the recapture of Voormezele, Vierstraat Ridge and the northern slopes of Mount Kemmel, were sent, early in September, to a training area near Peronne for a final course of instruction in offensive tactics, especially in conjunction with British tanks. Late in the month the American divisions were assembled under the staff of the 2nd United States Corps, Major General George W. Read, commanding, assigned to the 4th British Army, under General Rawlinson, and put in line of September 25 in front of the Hindenburg positions between St. Quentin and Cambrai, relieving the 18th and 75th British Divisions.

The plans of Marshal Foch were now complete for the great general attack along the Western front, to be launched on September 26 by the 1st American Army

and the 4th French Army between the Meuse and the Suippe Rivers and immediately thereafter to be extended by a series of hammer blows delivered one after the other between the Suippe and the English Channel. These blows were to be so coördinated as to make it impossible for the enemy to guess where the next one would fall or to reinforce the threatened portions of his front. Thus the British 1st and 3rd Armies were to attack on a thirteen mile front north of Cambrai on September 27 and on the 29th their attack was to be followed up by the 4th British and the 1st French Armies, extending the offensive to a point south of St. Quentin. In this movement General Rawlinson's 4th Army had a front of twelve miles to clear, from Vendhuille south to Holnon, going in with the 9th British Corps, Lieutenant General Sir A. Hamilton-Gordon, on the right, the 2nd American Corps in the center supported by the Australian Corps, Lieutenant General Sir J. Monash, and the 3rd British Corps, Lieutenant General R. H. K. Butler, on the left.

The corps sector now held by the Americans with the Australians in support had been occupied by the latter since August 8, when they had begun their operations by driving the Germans from Villers-Bretonneux, not ten miles from Amiens, and had continued their offensive until they had attained once more the front of the Hindenburg line or, as the Germans called it, the Siegfried Stellung. The capture of a section of this line 6000 yards in length under field orders already prepared by the Australian Corps was the mission of the American attack, the limits of their objective line being determined by the length of the Bellicourt Tunnel of the Scheldt Canal, approximately along the crest of which the German Stellung in this sector was constructed. The British divisions attacking on the flanks had the hard task of crossing the open canal at each end of the tunnel while defensive features of an almost unique character confronted the Americans. These features were described by Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig in his report of December 21, 1918, to the British Secretary of State for War. He wrote:

The canal itself does not appear to have been organized as the enemy's main line of resistance, but rather as an integral part of a deep defensive system. . . .

The general configuration of the ground thru which this sector of the canal runs produces deep cuttings of a depth in places of some sixty feet, while between Bellicourt and the neighborhood of Vendhuille the canal passes thru a tunnel for a distance of 6000 yards. In the sides of the cuttings the enemy had constructed numerous tunneled dug-

This is the ninth of a series of articles in which Captain Hanson tells the complete story of what the American troops did on the battle line in France—a series written from a thoro study of the official records and with the background of actual experience overseas. "Up the Line from Cantigny" was published in *The Independent* of March 27, "Those Desperate Days at Chateau-Thierry" in the April 24 number, "Zero Hour Along the Marne" May 29, "One Day's Work at St. Mihiel" June 19-26, "Covered with Mud and Glory" July 24-31, "Getting on to Berlin" August 28, "Our Greatest Victory" September 25, and "The Battle of Blanc Mont" October 30.



outs and concrete shelters. Along the top edge of them he had concealed well-sited concrete or armored machine-gun emplacements. The tunnel itself was used to provide living accommodation for troops and was connected by shafts with the trenches above. . . .

. . . . Except in the tunnel sector the double line of trenches known as the Hindenburg line proper lies immediately east of the canal and is linked up by numerous communication trenches with the trench lines west of it.

Besides these main features, numerous other trench lines, switch trenches and communication trenches, for the most part heavily wired had been constructed at various points to meet local weaknesses or take advantage of local command of fire. At a distance of about 4000 behind the most easterly of these trench lines lies a second double row of trenches known as the Beurevoir-Fonsomme line, very thoroly wired and holding numerous concrete shelters and machine-gun emplacements. The whole series of defenses, with the numerous defended villages contained in it, formed a belt of country varying from 7000 to 10,000 yards in depth.

In storming the central portion of the defenses above described, the Americans were to be supported by the 3rd and 5th Australian Divisions, commanded respectively by Major Generals J. Gellibrand and Sir J. J. T. Hobbs. As General Read's divisions had no artillery, they were to be supported by the veteran artillery of the five Australian divisions, 438 guns in all. Likewise assigned to their support were the 3rd Australian Air Squadron, portions of the 3rd and 5th Tank Brigades and the 2nd United States Tank Brigade, which embraced two battalions of British tanks and the 301st American Tank Battalion, the only unit of heavy American tanks on the Western front. Other British troops brought these auxiliaries to a total of 22,000 men.

Altho the main attack was scheduled for September 29, General O'Ryan's New Yorkers had to make a preliminary attack on September 27 for the purpose of clearing the enemy from the portions of old British front line trenches about Guillemont and Quennemont Farms and the high ground called "The Knoll," which had not been recaptured by the British troops whom the 27th Division relieved. The work, however, had not been accomplished by the morning of September 29 and, as will be seen, General O'Ryan's men were much embarrassed in consequence.

In lieu of the brief but violent artillery preparation employed by the 1st American Army in the Meuse-Argonne sector, the British and Australians laid a preparation fire of forty-eight hours' duration on the Hindenburg positions of the St. Quentin-Cambrai front. Then, in a dense morning fog, and a rolling barrage of both high explosive and smoke shells, the infantry and tanks went over the top at 5:50 o'clock on the 29th. The 30th Division, under Major General E. M. Lewis, on the right flank, toward the village of Bellicourt, went forward with Colonel S. W. Minor's 120th Infantry on its right and Colonel J. V. B. Metts' 119th Infantry on its left and the 1st British Tank Battalion in front. Owing to the perfection of their entrenched systems, the depth and extent of their subterranean shelters and the number of their troops in sector, embracing their 79th Reserve and 185th Divisions, the Germans were able to make a powerful resistance in spite of the long British artillery preparation. Nevertheless, the Carolinians and Tennesseans, almost without a pause, went up the naked and fire-swept slopes toward the crest of the ridge over the canal, penetrated the smoking ruins of Bellicourt and engulfed the front German trench system just as the 46th (North Midland) British Division, on their right, crossed the open canal to the south with rafts and life belts. General Lewis' men then drove on into the second German trench system, penetrated Nauroy and Etricourt and

came to a halt squarely on their objective on the high, open ground beyond.

Every man of the gallant attack regiments fought bravely. Notable among them were Sergeant Joseph B. Adkinson of Company C, 119th Infantry, and Sergeant Milo Lemert, Company M, of the same regiment, both of whom won the Congressional Medal of Honor. The entire performance of the 30th Division was magnificent, netting 4200 yards of advance thru all but the last of the enemy's three entrenched zones.

Further to the left General O'Ryan's division, attacking toward Bony, Le Catelet and Gouy, had a harder time. The designated jumping-off line for the 108th



The drive of the Twenty-seventh and Thirtieth Divisions from the Scheldt to the Sambre

Infantry, Colonel E. S. Jennings, on the right, and the 107th Infantry, Colonel C. T. De Bevoise, on the left, was east of Guillemont and Quennemont Farms, but as the Germans still held numerous strong points west of those places, in effect the infantry began its attack a thousand yards or more west of the designated line and its right flank was that distance behind the left of the 30th Division at zero hour. On the other hand the forty tanks making up the three companies of the 301st American Tank Battalion, which preceded the New Yorkers, being immune to machine gun bullets, ploughed ahead thru the fog between the enemy's strong points, unconscious that the infantry was not following as planned. In fact, excepting on the right, a wide gap existed between the tanks and the infantry and the intervening ground was intersected not only by the enemy's trenches but by numerous ditches and sunken roads, cunningly camouflaged. In all such places lay the German machine gunners swathed in the fog.

To make matters worse, large numbers of Germans, perhaps two divisions, came up thru the subterranean passages from the canal tunnel after the forward assaulting waves had passed and, reinforcing the un-subdued machine gun detachments, resisted the American and Australian support troops. The fifteen tanks of Company A and the ten tanks of Company B, 301st Tank Battalion, ranging far ahead of the 107th Infantry, penetrated the Hindenburg trenches and confounded the Germans there by attacking from the rear. One tank, quite alone, got into Le Catelet well in advance of the infantry. But after the fog cleared away, at about 7 o'clock a. m., 75 per cent of the tanks were put out of action by the German [Continued on page 315]



# England's Sobering Strike

By John Spargo

THE abandonment of the British coal strike is an event of international interest and importance. Its significance can hardly be fully understood or appreciated for some time to come, but it is likely that future historians will regard it as one of the great outstanding and epoch-marking episodes in the history of British trade unionism.

I was in London the latter part of September and again during the second half of August, when England seemed to be headed for social revolution, via a general strike. In September I confidently predicted that there would be no strike; that the great majority of the miners would refuse to vote for such a trial of strength as a strike would involve under the conditions then prevailing. England's economic position seemed to me to be so critical and insecure that it must have a sobering and restraining influence upon the coal miners and upon the Triple Alliance. The rapidity with which England seems to be losing her principal markets, coupled with the overstrain to which her credit has been subjected, might well cause even the most rabid Communist to hesitate before plunging the nation into such a crisis as a coal strike must inevitably precipitate.

It was exceedingly difficult to get at the facts in any satisfactory way. Statistics were showered upon you when you approached either side, recalling the old adage about the indifference of statisticians to mere truth telling. The mine owners offered figures to prove that the coal miners were overpaid, or, at any rate, paid far more than any other body of wage workers; that they were living in unwonted luxury; that each advance in wages had been followed by a marked decline in gross and per capita output. On their side, the miners—whose statistical experts are quite as clever as those of the other side—offered figures to prove that their real or relative wages had declined to a very considerable extent, the increase in the cost of living, as measured by the prices of the common necessities of life, having outrun the increase in wages. Admitting that output had fallen very considerably and steadily, they claimed that this was due mainly to the failure of the mine owners to coöperate with them to maintain production.

At first, the British public appeared to sympathize with the miners' demand for increased pay. Thruout the long-drawn-out negotiations there was probably never a time when there would have been any very considerable number of people ready to protest or complain if the demand for an extra two shillings a shift, which was what the miners voted to strike for on August 16. Had there been no control of the coal industry by the Government it is quite probable that the mine owners would have granted the increase—and passed it on to the consumer, with a suitable and profitable addition. As it was, the miners had to deal with the British Government, which took the position that in view of the serious decline in production there was no apparent reason why the increase of two shillings should be granted. The Government proposed to submit the claim of the miners to an impartial tribunal, pledging itself to abide by the result if the miners would agree to do likewise. This the miners declined to do.

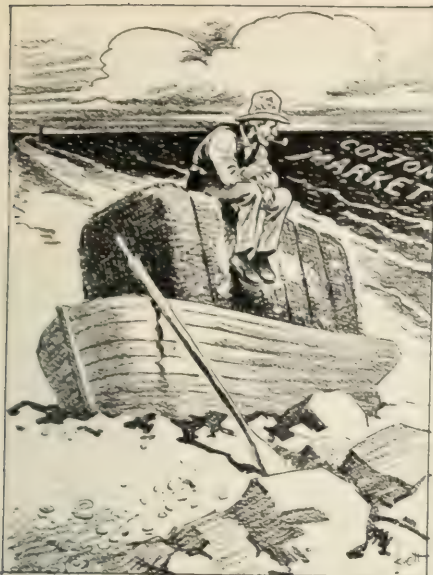
Whether they were right or wrong, wise or unwise, in rejecting this proposal, by their refusal the miners lost a large share of public sympathy. This was the second victory of the Lloyd George Government. In their original demands the miners had coupled together increased pay for themselves and a reduction of the price of coal to the domestic consumer. In the battle of statistics which ensued, they were so hard pressed that they dropped the latter demand entirely. When the Government's offer of arbitra-

tion was scornfully rejected, the miners were placed in an unfavorable position. For the second time the Government gained great strategic advantage.

Lloyd George proposed a plan which would give, immediately, the increase demanded by the men, provided they agreed to increase the output of coal to the per capita level of a year ago. The "datum line" policy, hastily conceived and crudely worked out, was probably not understood by half of the men who were called upon to vote for its acceptance or rejection. As a matter of fact, it was an eminently fair and liberal plan, and Robert Smillie quite wisely advised its adoption and trial. True, in its practical application there would have had to be some arrangement for distinguishing between mines of fair productiveness and mines which have become nearly exhausted, or which for other reasons are not capable of the normal per capita output. Had the plan been adopted, such adjustments could easily have been made. When the miners by an adverse vote of undreamed of magnitude rejected the "datum line" plan, the vote was interpreted as a vote in favor of striking. I was discussing the strike with a well-known trade union leader—today regarded as a "moderate," tho it seems but yesterday that his name was the symbol for the reddest radicalism—and suggested that we might be witnessing the prelude of a great social revolution. His reply, which rather startled me at the moment, seems, in the light of subsequent happenings, remarkable for its deep insight into British character and for its wisdom.

‘WE are witnessing the prelude of revolution, all right,” he said, “but not of the social revolution you have in mind. We are not headed toward Bolshevism. The revolution that is beginning is one within the working class movement itself. Smillie and his colleagues will not permit the strike to continue, if they can possibly avoid it. They would far rather suffer defeat (tho they will strain every nerve to effect a compromise which will not have that aspect) than permit the strike to become a political issue, a challenge to the state. That is why they are already discouraging all talk of sympathetic action by the railway workers—not publicly, of course, but very firmly. They know very well that the moment the strike passes out of the category of purely class conflict, upon economic issues, and becomes a political issue which involves the supremacy of the state itself, two things will inevitably happen: The first is that the leadership of the revolution—as it would at once become—will not remain with them, or with men like themselves, but will be taken out of their hands by men wholly lacking in constructive ability, men who are brilliant and clever in a way, but only as destructionists. The second is that the entire labor movement will be crushed, politically and economically. Lloyd George will appeal to the country, there will be a general election with the existence of the state as the issue. In such an election, not one of us would be returned to the House of Commons. The Labor party would be wiped out completely. Not only so, but already you can see the forces of this nation mobilizing to keep things going. The long lines of people there in Whitehall, all waiting to be enrolled to labor in the event of a general strike, tell their own story. England will not surrender to Bolsheviks or Spartacists. All this Smillie and the others see as clearly as anybody. They are frightened, as all of us are. So they are turning back to old trade union ways and ideals. That is the revolution you see beginning, unless I am much mistaken. British trade unionism is turning away from the narrow and selfish view that any powerfully organized body of workers can



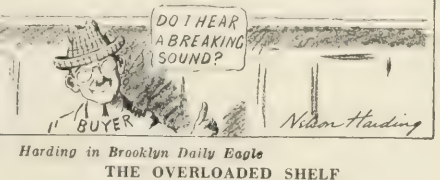


Knott in Dallas News  
WELL-KNOWN  
SOUTHERN  
CHEER!  
The tide never  
fails to come  
back

But You  
Can't Please  
All The  
People All  
The Time



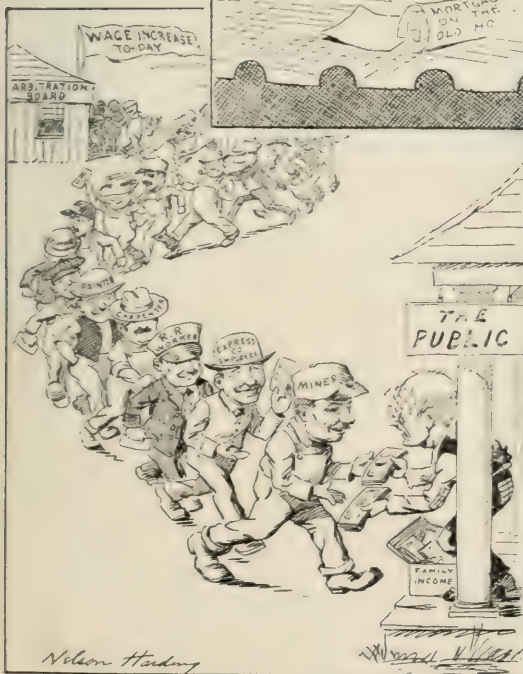
Wahl in Sacramento Bee  
This is the part of the play  
we always like best!



Harding in Brooklyn Daily Eagle  
THE OVERLOADED SHELF



Knott in Dallas News  
GOING DOWN?  
Perhaps there is more  
than one way to do it



Harding in Brooklyn Daily Eagle  
Cashing the pay checks



Thomas in Detroit News  
Left: MOTHER EARTH  
STEPS IN  
She doesn't know much  
about business, that's  
clear!



get their own way, even at the expense of the mass of the people. It is the last attempt upon any considerable scale to set a section of the working class of England above all the rest of the nation and above the state. It is a revolution of social consciousness against selfish social revolutionary nonsense."

That any general strike attempted in England as a development of the coal miners' strike would have signally failed to accomplish its purpose of forcing the surrender of the Government, I am quite convinced. It was impossible to travel thru England and reach any other conclusion. As long as there was simply a struggle by the miners for a wage increase, whether it was two shillings a day or twice that, the British people would bear the hardship and suffering involved and, upon the whole, sympathize with the miners. Let that struggle broaden into a general strike with political aims, a struggle against the supremacy of the state, and quite another tale would have to be told. Recognition of that fact explains the abandonment of the coal strike.

### Building That "New" League

THE plans for the new League of Nations, which is to have no connection with the "Wilson League," remind us of the town council which passed three resolutions:

1. That a new courthouse be erected;
2. That it be built of the bricks of the old courthouse;
3. That the old courthouse be used until the new one is completed.

### Fallen Idols

THE modern Greeks do not seem to have inherited any of the democracy of their alleged ancestors. They are determined to have a king, preferably of the Teutonic type, and they prefer a Hohenzollern queen to one of their own blood. But in one respect they show themselves as democratic as in the days of Aristides and Themistocles. They ostracize their great statesmen in the same old way. If anybody deserved well of his country it was Venizelos. He came to the rescue of Greece when she was about to be crushed between the Great Powers and by his skillful diplomacy brought her in on the winning side and more than doubled her territory. As a reward for this he is beaten two to one in the first election after the war and driven into exile.

So they fall, the leaders of their countries in the Great War, victors and defeated alike. Clemenceau of France, Orlando of Italy, Wilson of the United States, Venizelos of Greece, and all the kings, premiers and ministers of Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria and Russia. It does not matter in the least whether their policy has been wise or unwise, conscientious or selfish, whether they have brought their country to ruin or raised it to unprecedented power, they are repudiated by the populace just the same. The

## The Tercentennial Thanksgiving

The season approaches when it behooves us to turn from the distractions and preoccupations of our daily life, that we may contemplate the mercies which have been vouchsafed to us and render heartfelt and unfeigned thanks unto God for His manifold goodness.

This is an old observance of the American people, deeply imbedded in our thought and habit. The burdens and the stresses of life have their own insistence.

We have abundant cause for thanksgiving. The lesions of the war are rapidly healing. The great army of free men, which America sent to the defense of liberty, returning to the grateful embrace of the nation, has resumed the useful pursuits of peace, as simply and as promptly as it rushed to arms in obedience to the country's call. The equal justice of our laws has received steady vindication in the support of a law-abiding people against various and sinister attacks, which have reflected only the baser agitations of war, now happily passing.

In plenty, security and peace, our virtuous and self-reliant people face the truth, its duties and its opportunities. May we have vision to discern our duties, the strength, both of hand and resolve, to discharge them, and the soundness of heart to realize that the truest opportunities are those of service.

In a spirit, then, of devotion and stewardship, we should give thanks in our hearts and dedicate ourselves to the service of God's merciful and loving purposes to His children.

Wherefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate Thursday, the 25th day of November, next as a day of thanksgiving and prayer, and I call upon my countrymen to cease from their ordinary tasks and avocations upon that day, giving it up to the remembrance of God and His blessings and their dutiful and grateful acknowledgment.

fact that a man has once been admired and trusted is sufficient reason in the eyes of the majority why he should be hated and cast down. The higher the pedestal the heavier the fall. The only certain thing about a mob is that it will change its mind—or to put it more correctly that it will reverse its action.

Only Lloyd George of all the war statesmen remains in power, for he more than any man knows how to trim his sails in a stormy sea. He, too, is despised and distrusted by the majority, but they do not know how to get along without him. So long as the people feel that they need a man they will idolize him, but they will seize the first opportunity to kick him out.

### Where Are the Masses?

IN the late election there were Republican, Democratic, Prohibitionist, Socialist, Farmer-Labor, Single Tax and Socialist Labor candidates. Of these the Republican candidate was avowedly the most conservative. He was overwhelmingly elected. The really radical candidates, all taken together, polled probably less than one-tenth of the total vote. We begin to suspect that the "proletariat," if one really exists in this country, is conservative almost to the point of reaction and that radicalism is a fad of the upper middle class. One is reminded of the Populist county chairman in 1896 who said in despair: "My county has gone for McKinley by 300. The people are in the minority!"

### Do Your Duty

HAVE you selected President Harding's Cabinet for him yet? That is the usual occupation of the American voter for the four months following a Presidential election.

### Tomato Juice as a Beverage

CAMPERS and trampers have long known that there is nothing more refreshing in fatigue than a good deep swig from a can of tomatoes. It is food and drink in one, stimulating and nutritious as well. The poets that used to sing so sweetly of the ruddy wine should, now that the eighteenth amendment is passed, turn their attention to this new beverage, the essence of the love apple, quite as colorful and much more healthful than the juice of the grape. A hundred years ago the tomato was thought to be poisonous and more dangerous to morality than alcohol. Today it is one of the most popular factors in our dietary and is especially recommended to infants. It has been found to contain in abundance all three of those mysterious substances, misnamed "vitamines," that are essential to our health, growth and resistance to disease. Dried tomato is as good as lime juice as a preventive of scurvy. The medical journals recommend an ounce of canned tomato juice a day for babies who have to be artificially fed and who suffer for lack of their natural ali-



ment. The forbidden fruit is at last in good repute both with the public and the doctors, a rare combination.

## Tennessee Republican

THE Solid South no longer exists. This is no matter for grieving, even for Democrats. Every party will benefit when sectionalism passes from American politics.

## The Promotion of Literature by Dynamite

By Edwin E. Slosson

ALFRED Nobel, the man who made the Great War possible—or to put it more exactly, the man who made the War possibly Great—was a pacifist and internationalist. In his dying days he seems to have become horrified at the idea of what man might do with dynamite so he devoted his entire fortune to the promotion of peace and the advancement of knowledge. In his will he bequeathed his nine million dollars to reward those who had contributed most to the healing art, had produced literature of the most idealistic type, had done most to put a stop to wars and had made the most important discoveries in physics and chemistry. The income of the foundation was to be divided into five equal parts and these given as prizes to those who "during the preceding year" had done the most important service for humanity in these five fields.

Nobel's idea was a good one, to put into the hands of a man who had just achieved something worth while, probably a young man, possibly poor, a sum of \$100,000 to use just as he pleased, in other words to discover and endow rising genius.

But the Nobel Foundation has paid little regard to the manifest intentions of its founder. In the first place it has absorbed so much of the income in administrative expenses that the prizes are reduced to about \$40,000. Secondly it regarded the bequest as retroactive and, instead of rewarding contemporary achievement, have bestowed their prizes in some cases upon old men, well known and long honored, who had done their best work many years before. Then, too, Nobel's fundamental principle was that national lines should be absolutely ignored, yet the Nobel judges have not escaped the accusation of near-sightedness.

For instance four out of the seventeen prizes in literature have been given to Swedish and Norwegian authors. Now it seems to be a fact that the Scandinavian race has produced more than its proportionate share of great men. Yet who would have supposed that a people forming only one-half of one per cent of the world's population should produce nearly 25 per cent of its best literature? To the three Scandinavian authors previously picked out, Björson, Lagerlöf and Heidenstam, has now been added Hamsun.

Knut Hamsun comes from the Lofoden Islands far beyond the Arctic Circle, another bit of evidence for Stefansson's theory that civilization travels northward. He also hails from Chicago, which may be cited in favor of Berkeley's theory that civilization travels westward. But he found

Chicago too cold for him, both socially and climatically. His sufferings in that city gave him the experiences that inspire his bitter denunciations of modern society and especially of America. The lot of a conductor running a horsecar in the winter time on Halstead Street thru the stockyards district is not a happy one, especially when the crowd is drunk and will not pay their fares. Nor was the old rattling jerking cable car on Cottage Grove Avenue a suitable environment for a dreamy foreigner with his pockets packed with Euripides, Aristotle or Thackeray. His mind was with his books and he forgot to call out the names of the streets. So he was fired and forced to fall back upon the profession of authorship that does not put so much of a strain upon the memory as running a Chicago street car. Hamsun must then be added to the growing list of famous men whom America has entertained unaware: Masefield, who was a Bowery bartender; Clemenceau, who was a Connecticut school-teacher; Stevenson, who was a California squatter; Sienkiewicz, who was a western rancher; Garibaldi, who ran a Staten Island candle-factory, and Trotzky, who was an East Side journalist.

The wording of Nobel's will, that the prize should be given for the greatest work of literature "in the idealistic sense," has caused considerable embarrassment to the Swedish Academy of Letters and much controversy in the outside world. In 1908 the prize was given to Rudolf Eucken, whose solid philosophical works are doubtless idealistic but doubtfully great literature. Of Hamsun on the other hand the literary quality of his work is not so much in question as its idealism. He is best known in America by his novel, "Hunger," just published by Knopf, which is a piece of morbid realism. The *American Scandinavian Review* of March, 1914, said of Hamsun's early work:

"Hunger" could not but rouse horror and repugnance, and the feeling against the author was still further inflamed by his next book, "Mysteries." The famine-crazed youth in "Hunger" hurled his blasphemies in the face of Providence; Nagel in "Mysteries" scoffed at everything that carried the general stamp of approval.

If three days' abstinence from food produces such "idealistic" literature what may we expect from the Cork hunger-strikers who, according to the prison records, fasted thirty times as long?

"Shallow Soil," published by Scribners in 1914, is a cutting caricature of the Greenwich Village of Christianity. And certainly it is to be hoped that no one will take his volume on "The Spiritual Life of Modern America" for an idealized picture. But these are early works. We may assume that fame, fortune and a full stomach have softened his youthful cynicism and that his later volumes, not yet opened to the English reader, contain the idealism that would warrant the awarding to him of the Nobel prize.

He is past sixty and the Nobel medal and purse will mean less to him than a handshake and a ten dollar bill would when he was starving and scribbling in Chicago. If he had received recognition and an independent fortune when he was thirty would he have written better in the latter half of his life—or worse—or would he have written nothing at all? Who can say?



Courtesy of the American Scandinavian Foundation

Knut Hamsun, the Norwegian novelist who once ran a street car in Chicago and who has just been awarded the Nobel prize in literature. This portrait is from a painting by Hendrik Lund



# The Story of the Week

## Sevastopol Surrendered

WHEN Baron Wrangel retired into the Crimea it was expected that he would there be safe from the pursuit of the Bolsheviks, since the neck of the peninsula is an isthmus only a few miles wide and this had been well fortified in anticipation of such an emergency. But the Soviet troops attacked the defenses on the isthmus of Perekop in overwhelming force and, according to Premier Krivochin of the Wrangel Government, with great valor and military skill. They charged the trenches in mass formation, and altho the first three or four columns were annihilated fresh forces were constantly brought until finally after twenty-two such assaults the Bolsheviks broke thru. The Soviet losses in the battle of Perekop are admitted to be 30,000, and the Wrangel army suffered still more severely. The Bolsheviks made effective use of poison gas in this engagement. They were also aided by winter, for the shallow arm of the Putrid Sea that bounds the isthmus on its eastern side was frozen over so a detachment of Soviet troops was able to cross over to the Crimea on the ice and attack the defenders in the rear. The Wrangel troops gave way in disorder and fell back toward the fortress of Sevastopol, blowing up their military depots and burning up the food supplies whenever they had time to. But the Red cavalry followed so swiftly that many of the stores were taken. The booty of the Bolsheviks in the battle of Perekop included 12,000,000 cartridges, eighteen cannon, one tank, three armored trains and 10,000 shells.

This catastrophe is a great disappointment to the French, who had staked all their hopes of the recovery of their Russian loans as well as of a supply of food and fuel for the winter on the success of Baron Wrangel. They had officially recognized his "South Russian Government" contrary to British judgment and had supplied him abundantly with arms and ammunition. For the fortification of

the Perekop isthmus the French had furnished him with unlimited barbed wire and with much heavy artillery, including ten and twelve-inch guns. Only last week Baron Wrangel boasted to the French High Commissioner at Sevastopol that his army was three times as large and strong as when it left the Crimea five months ago for the invasion of the Taurida province. Now Wrangel is a fugitive.

The city of Sevastopol is swarming with Russian refugees. More than 80,000 men, women and children are clamoring to be carried away to Constantinople and all the available shipping on the Black Sea will not suffice for 40,000. The American cruiser "St. Louis" has been sent from Constantinople to aid in the work of rescue. The British have declared a blockade of the entire Russian Black Sea coast in order to prevent the Soviet from sending aid to the Turkish Nationalists who are making war on the Armenians and Georgians on the other side of the sea. Captain Kilpatrick and the other American Red Cross workers who were last week reported to have been brutally tortured and killed by the Bolsheviks when captured, are now known to be safe in a prison camp.

This ends another attempt to overthrow the Soviet régime with the aid of external forces. Kornilov and Kaledin, Denikin and Wrangel attacked from the southern front, Kolchak and Semenov with the Czechoslovaks and Japanese entered from the Siberian side, an Anglo-American expedition came down from the Arctic, while the Finns crossed the frontier toward Petrograd, and from the east came Yudenitch with the Estonians and later Pilsudski with the Poles. All these invading armies have found like Napoleon that Russia is too big to be readily conquered.

## The Treaty of Rapallo

THE representatives of the Kingdom of Italy and of the new Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (otherwise known as Yugoslavia), meeting at the Villa Spinola in the city of Rapallo on the Italian Riviera, signed a treaty settling their Adriatic dispute on November 12. The peace conference was held off until after the American election so the Yugoslavs could know whether they would continue to have the powerful support of President Wilson for their claims. When they found that his party had been defeated they realized that they would be forced to make greater concessions, so when Premier Yesnitch of Yugoslavia and Foreign Minister Sforza of Italy met they were able to come to an agreement in a few days. The new territory acquired by Italy includes about half a million Slavs and the Yugoslavs also relinquish Fiume, which was promised to them by the Pact of London. On the other hand the Italians give up their claim upon the northern half of Dalmatia, which was also based upon the Pact of London. But the Dalmatian city of Zara with a six-mile enclave is to be ceded to Italy as are also the Dalmatian islands of Lagosta and Lissa. Italy further acquires the islands of Cherso, Lussin and Unie in the Gulf of Fiume.

Fiume is to be made a free city, belonging neither to Italy or Yugoslavia, but since Italy gets the islands in front of it, the railroad



THE ROUT OF WRANGEL

Baron Wrangel retired into the Crimea after his defeat on the Dnieper River and hoped to hold back the Bolsheviks by strong fortifications across the isthmus at Perekop. But the Bolsheviks broke thru and gained the whole Crimea, including the fortress of Sevastopol. This victory gives the Soviet Government clear control of Russia from the Arctic Ocean to the Transcaucasus and from Poland to Irkutsk in Siberia. The only enemy armies now remaining on Soviet soil are the bands of Maklakov and Petliura in western Ukraine. Bessarabia has been assigned by the Allies to Rumania





THE FIUME AGREEMENT

The Italian and Yugoslav delegates in conference at Rapallo arranged a compromise on the partition of the disputed territory on the east coast of the Adriatic that was taken from Austria-Hungary in the war. The boundary agreed upon follows generally in the northern part the line drawn by the Pact of London in 1915 but in the southern part Italy relinquishes her claim on the Dalmatian coast except the city of Zara. Italy gets the Istrian region between Trieste and Pola and both these ports, also the islands of Cherso, Lussin, Unie and Lissa. The Italian line extends along the coast clear to the city limit of Fiume, which is to be free and independent

leading to it and the coast connecting with it, and since the city is now Italian in population owing to the expulsion of most of the Slavs during the d'Annunzio régime, this virtually means that Fiume is to become Italian in every sense except possibly the political.

It was President Wilson's proposal that Fiume should be made a free city under the supervision of the League of Nations, but the Italians refused to concede any such control to the League, so there will be nothing to prevent the future annexation of Fiume by Italy except the fear of losing the trade of the hinterland and incurring the wrath of the Slavs. The relinquishment of the Dalmatian coast by Italy is in accordance with the stipulations of President Wilson, but the boundary agreed upon gives Italy a larger share of Slavic territory than the "Wilson line."

In his note of March 4 President Wilson says that he "would gladly approve a mutual agreement between the Italian and Yugoslav without prejudice to the territorial or other interests of any third nation, but Albanian questions should not be included in the proposed joint discussions." It was doubtless in compliance with this that the conference of Rapallo did not consider the conflicting claims of Italians and Yugoslavs in Albania. On the whole the compromise comes nearer to the Wilson plan of settlement than any hitherto proposed.

## Fiume Question Settled

THE dispute over the possession of the Adriatic port of Fiume, which has kept Italy and Yugoslavia on the verge of war for the past two years, has at last been brought to an end by direct negotiation between the rival claimants. The League of Nations, opening its first general session this week, will find its slate cleared of this controversy that nearly wrecked the Paris Peace Conference and might likewise have proved too difficult for the new-born League.

Before Italy could be induced to enter the war on the side of the Allies she insisted upon their promising her, in the event of victory, the Trentino, Istria and Trieste, a large part of the islands and coast land of Dalmatia, and extensive territory in Turkey and Africa. Since Dalmatia and Istria were chiefly inhabited by Slavs whom the Serbs were fighting to free it was necessary to keep this agreement, known as the Pact of London, secret from the Serbs as well as the rest of the world. Even President Wilson, as he testified to the Senate committee, was not told by the Allies of the existence of this and other secret treaties which provided in advance for the partition of the spoils of war among the victors, until after he went to Paris. Then finding that these agreements were incompatible with the Fourteen Points and the other peace aims to which the Allies had subscribed and upon which Germany had agreed to capitulate, the President threatened to withdraw unless they were regarded as abrogated by the mutual acceptance of the principles the Allies had ostensibly accepted. He went so far at one time as to order the "George Washington" sent for his return to America, but was induced to remain on the promise of certain concessions to his ideals.

The sharpest disagreement came over the question of the Adriatic, where two of the Fourteen Points, namely, those insisting upon drawing national boundaries on racial lines and upon giving each country an outlet to the sea, favored the Slavs and thwarted Italian ambitions. Fiume is the only suitable seaport for the southern Slavic hinterland and so the Pact of London had expressly conceded it to Croatia, while giving to Italy the port of Trieste to the north and the Dalmatian coast to the south of Fiume. But the Italians, finding their sacrifices in the war greater and their victory more complete than they had anticipated, demanded also Fiume. The population of the city was predominantly Italian before the war, but the suburbs and surrounding country is Slavic, and to have extended the Italian annexations to include Fiume would have involved bringing many thousands of Slavs under Italian rule. Mr. Wilson proposed a compromise line, following more closely the ethnographical frontier than the Pact of London line, and proposed to make Fiume a free city under the League of Nations. But Premier Orlando would not listen to any compromise and the Italian delegation withdrew from Paris in wrath. The British and French Premiers agreed with the President as to the merits of the case, but felt themselves bound to carry out the Pact of London if Italy insisted upon it, tho they were unwilling to go further and grant also Fiume to Italy.

Feeling that Orlando had failed at Paris the Italian people turned against him and he was replaced as premier by Nitti.



Underwood &amp; Underwood

Gabriele d'Annunzio, the flying poet and dictator of Fiume, refuses to accept the agreement between Italy and Yugoslavia signed at Rapallo. His troops have taken possession of Sussak, the Slavic suburb of Fiume, and other territory that by the Treaty of Rapallo were conceded to the Yugoslavs





© Keystone View

Classic dances interpretative of the ideals of the League of Nations celebrated the first meeting of the League Assembly at Geneva on Monday, November 15

He was a more moderate minded man and might have succeeded in coming to an agreement with the Yugoslavs if it had not been for Gabriele d'Annunzio, the dramatist aviator, who seized Fiume with a band of devoted followers and has held it for over a year. Altho this was plain mutiny and his capture of Adriatic shipping to maintain his food supply was plain piracy, the Italian Government was powerless to oust him, for he had the sympathy and secret support of the Italian army and navy. No other power was willing to intervene and the League of Nations has no force of its own. It is still uncertain whether d'Annunzio will accept the Rapallo agreement or hold the fort in spite of it.

## Venizelos Defeated

THE Greek election was fought over the personality and policy of Premier Venizelos. He is regarded by the outside world as one of the shrewdest of living statesmen and he has secured for Greece an immense increase of territory, altho the Greeks took little part in the war. But in carrying out this policy he has made many enemies, partly because he has ruled with a strong hand and partly because he found it necessary to depose King Constantine in order to bring Greece in on the side of the Allies. King Alexander, who was put in the place of Constantine, recently died from the bite of a pet monkey and since his unborn child is the legal heir to the throne, the friends of Constantine are hoping to call him back from exile. But probably Great Britain and France would never permit the restoration of Constantine.

The election returned anti-Venizelist members of parliament by more than two to one. The Premier and all but two of his ministers were defeated in their home districts. Consequently Venizelos has resigned and the Government will pass into the hands of George Rhallis, an octogenarian and ex-premier, a supporter of Constantine and a pro-German.

## League of Nations Launched

FORTY-ONE nations were represented at the first general assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva, November 15. There will probably be fifteen other applicants for membership, including Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria. If these are admitted there will be left outside the League for the present Germany, Soviet Russia, Mexico and the United States. The question of the admission of Germany may be brought up by Hjalmar Branting, the Socialist chairman of the Swedish delegation, but the

French opposition to such a proposal is too strong to be overcome. Dr. Müller, the German Foreign Minister, declares that he will not enter anyway until certain changes are made in the constitution of the League.

Various projects for the improvement of the League are under consideration and Premier Leygues of France has publicly expressed his hope that the Covenant may be modified. Three concrete amendments have already been moved by the Scandinavian representatives. One of these provides that the same state shall not be twice in succession represented on the Council of the League as one of the four councilmen elected by the Assembly. The second amendment would eliminate the word "generally" from Article 13 and so make all questions subject to arbitration. The third provides that no member of the League shall be obliged to join in the blockade of a recalcitrant nation if in danger of invasion by that nation. This last amendment will be opposed by the French on the ground that it would paralyze the only effective weapon the League possesses, the power of blockade.

The announcement that the Union of South Africa would be represented by Sir Robert Cecil aroused heated protests among the French, who insisted that the five British dominions should be represented by delegates of their own, not by Englishmen. But when Sir Robert Cecil presented his credentials they were accepted without objection, for it was the general feeling of the delegates, as expressed by Signor Tittoni, that a state had a right to send to the Assembly whomever it liked. The danger apprehended by the French that the South African representative would add to the British vote is not likely to be realized, for Lord Robert Cecil opposes Premier Lloyd George on some of the most important questions before the League.

## The Opening of the Assembly

THE city of Geneva, suddenly become the capital of the first world-wide organization of nations, is overcrowded with its guests. The official Japanese delegation alone numbers over a hundred and some of the others are almost as large, besides which there are thousands of journalists, lobbyists and tourists. The Hotel National has been taken over as headquarters of the League, but the sessions of the Assembly are being held in the spacious Hall of the Reformation, which was erected in honor of John Calvin.

In the voting for permanent president Hymans of Belgium received thirty-five votes, Motta of Switzerland four, Bourgeois of France one, and Ador of Switzerland one.



The first contest took place over the question of considering the applications of Austria, Bulgaria and Albania for admission to the League. These nations did not appeal for membership until after October 14, the date set by the Council as the limit for such applications to be considered at this session. For this reason President Hymans ruled them out, but Lord Robert Cecil took the ground that no nation should be shut out on a mere technicality and Signor Tittoni of Italy supported him. So the Assembly reversed the ruling of the President and referred the applications to the committee on membership. Thus early was it made evident that the Assembly is not to be altogether subservient to the Council, but that it is to have a mind of its own.

Among the most important topics on the League program are the question of mandates, the supervision of agreements as to traffic in women and opium, the establishment of sanitary control and the suppression of typhus, the plans for a permanent court of justice, the reduction of armament, the reorganization of commerce and finance and the apportionment of the budget.

## America and the League of Nations

ACCORDING to Article 1 of the Covenant the first Assembly of the League of Nations was to be opened by the President of the United States, but owing to the President's physical incapacity and the refusal of the Senate to ratify the Treaty of Versailles he could not fulfil that function and the United States is not represented at Geneva even by an observer.

But tho President Wilson is absent in person he is present in the minds of the members of the Assembly and their first act was to send him a message of greeting. President Motta in welcoming the Assembly in behalf of Switzerland proposed such a message and the suggestion was received with applause. M. Motta continued:

I would add to this message of thanks the hope, or rather the keenly felt desire, that the United States of North America should before long take her rightful place in the League. A country which is a world in itself, which is blessed with all the riches of the earth, a democracy which absorbs all the races of the world and has given them a common language and a common government, a people which is affected always by the highest ideals cannot abstain from concurrence in the great ideal and work which we are met here to forward.

America, which at the critical moment of the war hurled her weight, ideas, resources and armies into the scale and thus decided the fate of continents, and Europe in particular; the native land of George Washington, the father of liberty, and Abraham Lincoln, champion and martyr of the cause of brotherhood—this country cannot and surely does not intend to turn its face against the appeal made by the nations who, while retaining their independence and sovereign rights, intend to coöperate in the furtherance of the peace and prosperity of humanity.

Paul Hymans of Belgium, who was elected permanent president of the assembly, said in his reply to the welcome of the President of Switzerland:

We are far from believing that the institution set up by the covenant of Versailles is perfect and that time and experience cannot lead to a betterment of its working and efficiency. We are far from believing that we are going to change the world with a wave of a wand, for the world changes slowly, and most slowly men change.

Above all it is well to affirm once more that the League of Nations is not and will never be a superstate which will absorb sovereignties or seek to reduce them into tutelage. Our aim is to establish between independent states frequent and friendly contact and meetings from which affinities and sympathies will follow.

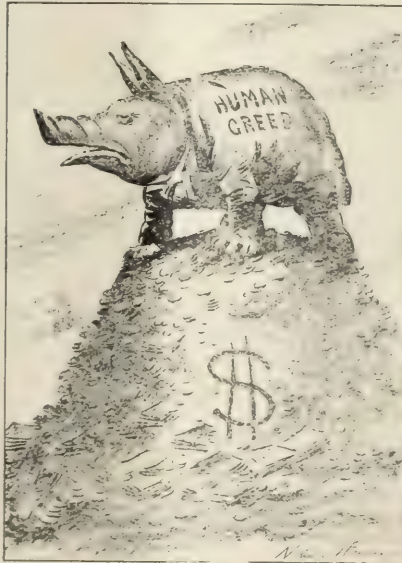
At the beginning of the session of the first afternoon

G. N. Barnes, the British labor leader, asked to have a telegram sent to President Wilson in the name of the Assembly, expressing hope for the recovery of his health and for the continuance of his work for the League of Nations idea. The proposal was adopted and President Hymans in approving it referred to President Wilson as "the spiritual father of the League."

## The Haiti Inquiry

THE Naval Board of Inquiry which is investigating the alleged misconduct of the American army of occupation in Haiti has held a number of meetings since it was constituted under the authority of Secretary Daniels in October. General Barnett testified that the charge of "indiscriminate killings" by the American marines was based on two cases of unlawful execution of natives. He said that 2250 Haitians had been killed by the Americans since the occupation of the island began in 1915 (the number first reported was 3250, but this appears to have been erroneous). Nearly all of these deaths took place during a single campaign in 1919. Major Turner testified that there had been 1132 rebels and bandits killed since October 1, 1919, in 298 battles, skirmishes or other encounters with the marines. He said that previous to that date no accurate statistics had been kept. He testified further that strictest orders had been issued to the American marines not to mistreat prisoners or native civilians.

President Dartiguenave of the Republic of Haiti also took part in the inquiry. His testimony blended praise and blame of the American régime. He admitted that the natives of Haiti "with a few exceptions" rejoiced at the American occupation and that he had no official knowledge of unlawful killings by American marines. On the other hand he blamed the continuation of the system of compulsory labor on the roads for much of the banditry which has disturbed the nation, and complained that the American Minister to Haiti and his financial adviser had usurped the functions of the native Government to a greater extent than was contemplated by the treaty between Haiti and the United States. He urged that there be a Congressional inquiry in addition to the investigation by the Naval Board.



Harding in Brooklyn Daily Eagle

Is this to be our War Memorial?

## Mexico Tries to Be Good

ONCE more revolution has broken out in Mexico; this time in the guise of a radical labor

movement. The trouble is worst in Yucatan, a tropical district in the extreme south of the republic where socialism (in various shades of red) has been for years an important political factor. Yucatan is so distant from the center of government that national authority has been notoriously weak and it was easy for a revolutionary movement to gather head. It is reported that over 150 lives were lost in a clash between the Socialist and Liberal parties. The Government promptly sent six hundred troops to quell the outbreak. Probably the Yucatan uprising, like the recent revolt of Lower California, has only local significance.

Somewhat more serious, because nearer to the heart of Mexico, was the strike of dock workers at the port of Vera Cruz. The Communist Federation voted to call a general sympathetic strike in consequence. The Government of-



ferred its mediation between the dockmen and the shippers and immediate trouble was averted, but the occasion gave rise to much incendiary talk in Vera Cruz and Mexico City. The Government has also been forced to take over the coal mines temporarily in consequence of a wages dispute between the miners and the owners. Many of the mines, as well as many of the docks and factories of the Gulf ports, are owned by foreign capital and this places the Mexican Government in a very delicate position. If strikes occur and are followed by violence, as is apt to be the case in Mexico, valuable foreign properties will be in danger of destruction and there will be a cry for intervention to save foreign interests in Mexico from being swamped by anarchy. On the other hand when the Government takes over industries tied up by labor troubles it not only assumes dangerous responsibilities but runs the risk of being charged with confiscating private property.

To avert the danger of a hostile attitude abroad, President De la Huerta, President-elect Obregon and other leaders of the existing Government are taking a very moderate and conservative line with respect to economic policy. General Obregon has given out an interview assuring the world at large that he had no hostility to large industries and no intention to break them up by unfriendly legislation, that the Mexican Government recognized its duty to pay all just foreign claims and would welcome the creation of a commission to pass on their validity; and that Bolshevik propaganda would not be tolerated. He favored the introduction of new methods of agriculture and the creation of a class of small landowners, but opposed any premature attempt to break up large estates. President De la Huerta went so far as to say: "Our country opens its arms to foreigners in the same manner that it does to its own nationals, inviting them to come and share in our riches, to aid in the development of our natural resources, and favors all enterprises willing to recognize the great truth that the natural resources of a nation belong to the nation itself." As a part of the Mexican campaign of conciliating foreign opinion, Felix Palavicini was sent on a special mission to England, France, Belgium, Italy and Spain to sound out the opinion of European governments on the new régime in Mexico. He professed himself well satisfied with the results of his mission.

Roberto Pesqueira was sent on a similar mission to the United States. He bore with him a letter in which he stated that both the President and the President-elect were of the opinion that the new Mexican constitution adopted under Carranza "is not and must not be interpreted as

retroactive or violative of valid property rights." Mention was also made of "a joint arbitration commission to pass upon and adjudicate the claims presented by foreigners on account of damages occasioned during the revolution." Secretary of State Colby referred to this letter as "a very gratifying and reassuring statement of the attitude and purposes of the new Government of Mexico." He even ventured so far as to express the hope that "the Mexican question will soon cease to be a question at all."

Nor is the Mexican Government less anxious to win the good will of the incoming administration in the United States. When he learned that President-elect Harding would spend his vacation on the Texas border, President-elect Obregon announced that he would be glad to confer with him "in the event Senator Harding visits any of our cities." Even if the assurances and friendly overtures of the Mexican Government are due rather to a desire to secure recognition and foreign loans than to disinterested good will, it is none the less gratifying that the present Mexican Government has abandoned the hostility to the

United States which marked the régime of Huerta and Carranza. Never before has Mexico striven so anxiously to be "on its good behavior" in the eyes of foreign nations.



Morris for George Matthew Adams Service

Looks like I'll have to recognize the little fellow

## Building Scandals in New York

WHY were rents so high in New York that the legislature was forced to intervene by drastic legislation against extortionate landlords? Why has building been so costly and so slow? Why has the city government been running so deeply in debt? A

very sinister answer to all three questions is now becoming apparent. Thanks to an investigation, facilitated by evidence published by the New York World and other metropolitan newspapers, a great conspiracy of fraudulent builders and grafting labor leaders has been uncovered. The purpose of this conspiracy "in restraint of trade" was to keep prices up and prevent any low bids for construction. A labor leader, Robert P. Brindell, is alleged to have taken advantage of the plot to feather his own nest, by threatening to call strikes unless duly paid his blackmail.

The most sensational turn to the new disclosures is the suggestion that the great Wall Street explosion may have been due to a labor war arising from the building conspiracy. The theory is that a house-wrecking operation was in progress in Wall Street under a contractor associated with Brindell and employing men from Brindell's union. A rival union, whose members had been forced out of employment by the conspirators, planted a bomb with the purpose of killing the house-wreckers. It should be added that the police discredit this theory and stick to their original hypothesis that the Wall Street explosion was the work of anarchists or other "reds."

It is known that the city authorities were hoodwinked and victimized by the building conspiracy into paying extravagant prices for construction. Mayor Hylan confessed that at the suggestion of John T. Hettrick, agent for the limestone building interests, he had urged the Board of



International

The President-elect took a vacation as strenuous as those of Rooseveltian tradition in the weeks after his election. With his host, R. B. Creager, of Point Isabel, Texas, he went tarpon fishing in the border wilderness and "stuck it out on this line" until he hooked a big one. But Mrs. Harding took the honors by catching the largest fish of all



Education to substitute limestone for terra cotta in public school contracts. Without any investigation whatever he took the assertions of Mr. Hettrick as his own and sent them over his own signature to the Board of Education. Under cross-examination the mayor candidly admitted "I was being fooled, all right." The exposure of the relations of the city administration to the building ring is the heaviest blow that even the Hylan administration has yet experienced and may result in the defeat of Tammany Hall in next year's municipal elections.

## Shipping Board Tangles

PRESIDENT Wilson has at last completed his list of appointments to the new Shipping Board. As previously announced, Admiral William S. Benson will be chairman. The other six appointees are Frederick I. Thompson of Alabama, Joseph N. Teal of Oregon, John A. Donald of New York, Chester H. Rowell of California, Guy D. Goff of Wisconsin and Charles Sutter of Missouri. Admiral Benson and Mr. Donald are members of the present Board. Mr. Teal is a lawyer and banker of Portland, Oregon, who has written extensively on transportation problems. Mr. Thompson is a newspaper publisher. These four appointees are all Democrats and, as the law permits only four members of the Board to be of the same political party, the other three members are taken from the Republican ranks. Mr. Rowell is a newspaper publisher, Mr. Goff is general counsel to the Shipping Board and Mr. Sutter a business man of St. Louis. The members of the Board, in compliance with the law, are distributed geographically as well as politically in such a way that two members represent the Pacific coast, two the Atlantic, one the Gulf states, one the Great Lakes region and one the interior.

Three men formerly appointed to the Board declined to serve and thus made necessary new appointments. They were Gavin McNab of California, Democrat; Martin J. Gillen of Wisconsin and Theodore Marburg of Maryland, Republicans. The Board will start to work at once, without waiting for confirmation by the Senate. Many Republicans have criticized the personnel of the new Board and the fact that the longer terms have been assigned to the Democratic members, so it is possible that some of the appointments may be delayed or rejected in the Senate. Admiral Benson outlined the immediate program of work before the Board. Action must be taken with respect to the discriminatory rates authorized by law but, according to President Wilson, forbidden by treaty. The much-discussed contracts between the Harriman line and the Hamburg-America line and between the North German Lloyd and the United States Mail Steamships company must be acted on. The case of the "Leviathan," the great German merchant vessel so long inactive in port, must be decided, and the disposition of the Hog Island shipyard determined.

While the new Board is making plans for the future the past of the Shipping Board is under investigation by a Congressional committee. Many charges are made of waste, inefficiency and "graft." Mr. Meehan of the division of investigation of the Board testified that 2400 cases of alleged corruption and petty dishonesty were being investigated and that many would result in criminal prosecutions. He even asserted that "practically all" of the private contractors who dealt with the Government were guilty of illegal and fraudulent practices. The charges are too manifold to make it possible to specify them all; they include the awarding of contracts to irresponsible firms, the sale of Government property at nominal prices, the em-



International

Baseball has declared for a one-man rule to build up the sport after the scandals and consequent upheavals of this fall. Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis was unanimously chosen by the sixteen American and National League clubs to become head of the controlling board and he accepted the offer at a salary of \$42,500 a year with an additional \$10,000 for expenses. Judge Landis will keep his present position as a Federal jurist, in which capacity in 1914 he presided in the great legal battle of baseball, the Federal League's fight upon the National and American Leagues

employees in the shipyards was the inevitable consequence of the expansion of the shipbuilding force in nine months' time from 40,000 to 385,000 men under the stress of war conditions.

## The Crusade Against Home Brew

BIT by bit the net of prohibition is drawn tighter around Demon Rum. In the days of state-wide prohibition many found relief by importing liquor "in the original package" from license states or foreign countries, but Congressional legislation cut off this avenue of relief. Then came war-time prohibition, the eighteenth amendment and the Volstead Act. The Governors of New York and New Jersey pinned vain hopes to "liberal" state legislation which would permit the sale of wine and beer until the Supreme Court upheld the supremacy of federal law over local nullification. But one way of escape remained. The householder could make his own intoxicants. True, the home brewery was rarely a success with respect to the quality of the liquor, but there was a suspicious increase in the sale of hops, malt and other means to a well-understood end. Beverage manufacturers complained that their sales were decreasing, because they were compelled to keep within the alcoholic content limits of the law, whereas the home brewer got all the alcohol into his product that was possible.

The Bureau of Internal Revenue therefore issued a statement pointing out to tradesmen and the public that the Volstead Act prohibited the advertisement, manufacture and sale of "any utensil, contrivance, compound, substance, formula, direction or recipe" intended for use in the unlawful manufacture of intoxicating liquor. This provision, the statement made plain, does not affect the sale of hops and malt for any legitimate purpose, but only the advertising and sale of such materials, or of home brew apparatus, for the purpose of evading the prohibition law. In sum:

The so-called home-brewed beer manufactured in the home for beverage purposes, even tho for the sole use of the family and bona fide guests, is under the bureau's construction of the law illegal, and the sale of materials for the purpose of such manufacture is likewise illegal.

ployment of untrained and unfit workmen and officials, the careless keeping of accounts and audits, the padding of expense accounts, the approval of unseaworthy ships, the intimidation of honest inspectors, and the regular practice on the part of supply firms of giving gratuities to stewards and other ships' officers.

On the other hand Mr. Piez, former Director General of the Emergency Fleet Corporation, asserts that the Walsh investigation committee has been playing politics and exaggerating scandal to discredit the Shipping Board. He said no charges had implicated the members of the Board or the officials under them and that such incompetence and graft as did develop among the minor em-



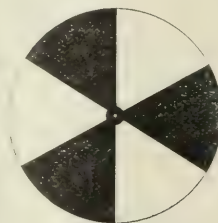
A Little of Everything

By Jerome Lachenbruch

The reason for the need of a shutter at all lies in the method used to show the individual pictures in succession.

In the accompanying strip of film, showing a few inches of Will Rogers in the Goldwyn picture, "Almost a Husband," you will observe four little holes on each side. These fit over a sprocket wheel. Now, when the film is being shown, each frame (as the individual pictures are called) is pulled into position by an automatic claw that clutches the holes of the film and drags it down. During the dragging process, a blind wing of the shutter covers the light, and the audience is spared the streak impression that would otherwise be created. It must be remembered that motion pictures *do not move* in uninterrupted succession. Each picture is exposed for a fraction of a second, then pulled out of position by the mechanical claw, thus automatically bringing the next frame into place. This feature of motion picture projection is known as "intermittent feeding." No doubt, many devotees of the motion picture will be surprised to learn that each frame is actually stationary part of the time necessary to pass from one picture to the next. When the film actually moves, one of the opaque wings of the shutter hides the movement. We perceive, or think we perceive, the motion of the film itself only because our retinas have the power to retain a visual impression of the photograph in one particular frame until the next one appears. Were our sight sharper and the "persistence" of our vision reduced to zero, the motion picture would appear on the screen as a series of jerks.

London is troubled with acute congestion. The old low buildings are utterly inadequate as well as intolerably inconvenient for the needs of modern business and the narrow crooked streets are choked with motor vehicles. The city must expand either up into the air or roundabout. The proposal to erect steel skyscrapers on the American model meets with furious op-



A diagram of the shutter of a moving picture machine. The black segments are the blind portions of the shutter which cover the light while the film is in motion from one position to the next.

To my mind the Bush Building is the most perfect example of its class. It is lovely by day, lovelier by night, when its gem-like crown queens it over the proudest of the city's monuments. The structure and design of the tower, thru its long ascent of thirty stories, are of the simplest; a couple of courses of bricks relieves the monotony of surface and color, and a delicate tracery of windows and open stonework does the rest. It looks so light and is so solid, has dignity and strength, with a touch and suggestion of exquisite fragility. Having so lovely an ornament and so mighty a temple of business, London would never again rest content with the squat designs, the rococo ornament, the



© Underwood & Underwood

"Radicalism" or Art? This "Little Lady of the Dew" has just been placed in St. Mark's churchyard, at East Tenth Street and Second Avenue, New York City, arousing much discussion thereby. Its sculptor is Solon Borglum, famous brother of the famous sculptor Cutzton Borglum. It was ordered by William Norman Guthrie, rector of St. Mark's, and placed in the old churchyard where Peter Stuyvesant is buried. Dr. Guthrie answers those who question a nude statue's position in a churchyard out of his conviction that art and religion are closely bound together, that for the sake of beauty, which includes both, one may "live, fight and die."



waste of priceless ground, which disfigure and nullify her architecture.

Another plan for the relief of London is to construct a series of satellite cities in concentric rings. Each would be limited to 100,000 or 200,000 inhabitants and so planned as to make overcrowding impossible. Each of the satellite cities would be sufficiently large to have its own social and business life and they would be connected together and with the main metropolis by swift subways and express trains. Around each city would be a belt of land that could never be built upon, but devoted to recreation, gardening and agriculture. Power would be provided from central plants and every factory would have direct railroad connection. Industries of the same class or interdependent would naturally concentrate in the same city.

## A Really Circulating Library

Having successfully solved the problem of furnishing meals for its citizens thru the medium of a community kitchen, Evanston, Illinois, is now en-



Not ice cream cones nor yet "hot dogs," but a library on wheels, with books for all tastes and ages. Evanston, Illinois, has this unique institution

gaged in the unique task of providing them with brain food in the form of books carried to their doors by an automobile truck. A library on wheels is not to be found in every town. The one at Evanston is a community effort, the truck having been donated by various women's clubs and civic organizations.

To people who live in the older sections of Evanston the public library has always been central enough. A walk of a few blocks at most is all that is necessary to put in their possession whatever books they wish for pleasure or study. It was realized, however, that to the people in the newer parts of the town, the distance to the library was so great as to discourage any general use of its facilities. Moreover, there was discovered in Evanston a situation which exists to a greater or less extent in numerous other towns thruout the country: there were many families in which there was complete ignorance of the fact that its members were entitled to the use of the books in the public library. These people, largely newcomers to America, had not lived in countries in which the benefits of

the public library were available to the whole people. They had grown accustomed to seeing all the good things of life appropriated by others more fortunately born, and saw nothing unusual in the provision of a library for the limited use of certain groups of people while its advantages were denied to others. Now thru the medium of the library on wheels they are being instructed not only in the use of books but in the principle of public institutions in America and their right to free partnership in all things that are bought with the public funds.

During the few weeks in which the Evanston traveling library has been in commission it has proved a wonderful success, books having been issued at the rate of one a minute during all stops. It covers different districts on different days of the week, usually between the hours of 3:30 and 8:30 p. m., and carries a complete stock of books on a variety of subjects, besides many books printed in foreign languages for such grown-ups as prefer reading in their own language.

As was to be expected, the greater part of the patronage of the traveling library came at first from the children of the districts served by it. But children carry an immense amount of information to their elders and there has been a distinct gain in this way. More recently, the entire family from mother to baby came out to welcome the arrival of the book automobile and its interesting cargo. No longer are the people shy of the "library lady" who is in charge of the distribution of books. The tired eyes of the women have a new light in them as they crowd round her, while the children greet her vociferously. Even the men-folk, who at first kept out of sight, now regard the occasion as a red-letter day.

As a contribution to the general Americanization movement the library on wheels should be a very valuable institution, not only because of the facility in the use of English that will be developed, but in the impression upon the minds of the people who have



Wide World

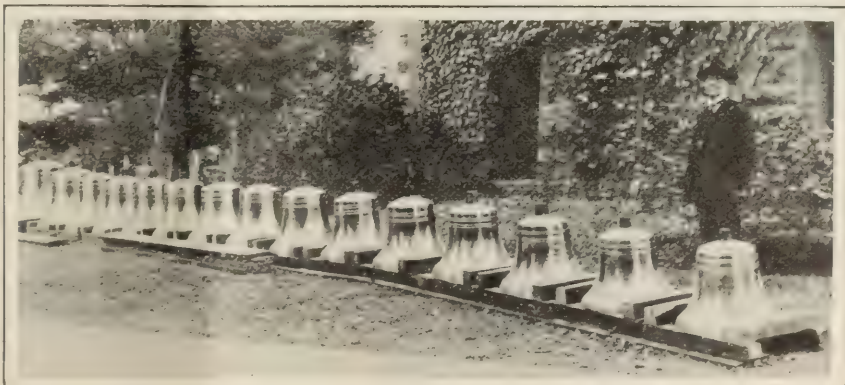
### WHERE THE FLYING FISHES PLAY

These human flying fishes left their respective boards at precisely the same moment at the Balboa Swimming Pool, Panama. Poise in mid-air is shown by all three, especially the one in the center

not had quite so much access to the resources of a city as they might have had, of the facilities at their disposal. They will see that the principles of freedom and equality on which the American government is founded, apply to the use of public institutions of every sort.

## Nature Harnessed Again

The problem of perpetual motion still remains unsolved, despite the centuries of time and effort devoted to its solution. But J. H. Martin, of Spring-



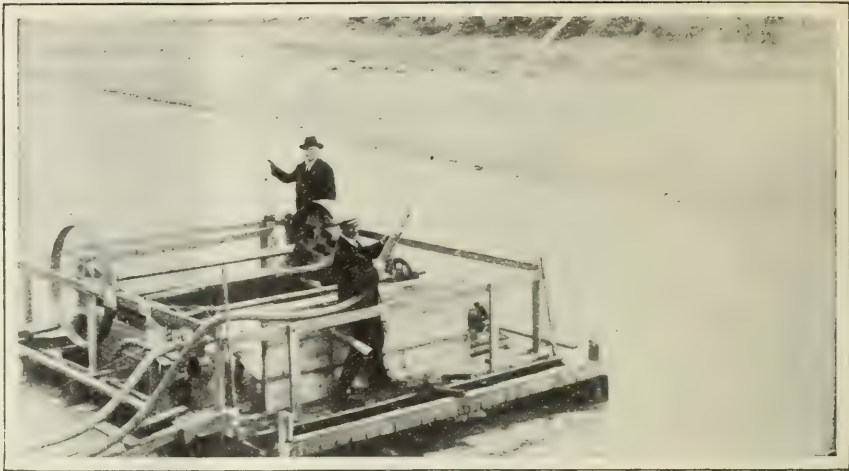
The aged village sexton and the big bell in the church tower are things of the past. These Chicago University chimes, the largest and most complete set in the country, are a \$12,000 memorial, made possible by seven graduating classes and the United States School of Aeronautics, to whom one of the three largest bells is dedicated. The other two are dedicated one to President Emeritus Edward James, the other to the university. The chimes had their dedication on October 30, at the tenth annual "home-coming" of the institution, and played as their initial performance the college song. There are fifteen bells, weighing from 500 to 3000 pounds each, and covering a range of an octave and a half



field, Missouri, appears to have solved another problem, for many years regarded as fully as baffling, in the invention of a machine which can be operated by river current and made to produce actual power.

Mr. Martin's contrivance consists of a wooden framework about 16 feet long by 12 feet wide, which is floated on two buoys and is secured to the bank of the river by cables. Inside the framework are slung two sets of sprocket wheels attached to each other by chains. Attached to the chains, at equal intervals, are four big wooden paddles or vanes, 7 feet long and 2 feet wide, each giving a surface of 15 square feet. They are so placed that when two of them are above the water, the other two are underneath, furnishing resistance power for the river's current. The vanes are attached to two 100-gallon force pumps, and with a six-mile current, 5 feet deep, these pumps will force water thru a three-inch pipe to a height of 100 feet and at the same time operate a 4 K. W. dynamo to full capacity. The two pumps generate about fifteen horsepower.

It is easy enough to force a broad resisting surface along with a reasonably strong current of water, Mr. Martin explains. The problem comes when the paddle is lifted out of the water, at the same instant that the paddle at the other end of the framework is descending into the water. The resistance represented at one end will invariably



As long as rivers flow to the sea, Mr. Martin has here his own solution of the problem of perpetual motion

neutralize the movement at the other end, thus causing a cessation of movement altogether.

Here is where a knowledge of hydrostatics was necessary. Mr. Martin rigged up some auxiliary paddles on each of the main vanes, slung on hinges. Then by the addition of ratchet arrangements on the big vanes, he forced the latter to assume a perpendicular position while under the water, the vanes being automatically released at the instant the sprocket wheel begins to lift them out. Hence the double resistance was eliminated, and the problem of water current power solved.

A four-mile current is enough, according to Mr. Martin, to make a force of 100 gallons a minute, pumped a hundred feet above the surface of the river. A contrivance attached to the machine enables the operator to vary the depth at which the current will take effect, thus regulating the speed and consequently the strength of power.

The value of this invention lies in its ability to pump water with sufficient force to insure irrigation power for any farm or ranch in a dry section, and in the fact that it will work continuously so long as there is a river to run it. One of these machines will irrigate about forty acres, as in twenty-four hours it pumps 288,000 gallons of water.

Samples

The best reflector of all metals is brass.

There are fifty different religious denominations represented in North Carolina.

Over 200,000 Jews served in the American army and navy during the Great War.

Before the Great War the United States stood third in coal exports; now it stands first.

The Island of Manhattan is thirteen and one-half miles long and has an average breadth of one and three-fifth miles. In this small portion of the earth live 2,284,103 people.

The high air currents explored by the balloons sent up by the University of Wisconsin weather bureau show that a velo-

city is often maintained of over 140 miles an hour.

A man bought a mink-lined overcoat in 1915 for \$500; sold the lining in 1917 for \$1,000, and replaced it with nutria for \$150. In 1919 he sold the nutria lining for \$250 and substituted muskrat for \$55, and sold this in turn for \$300. He still has the overcoat and \$845 profit on his timely exchanges of the fur lining.

What It Used to Cost to Go to School

The small cost of a college education in America at about 1800 or before often supplies the fathers and mothers of today with a subject of most interesting comment. Just for itemized proof of expenses in Bowdoin College as short a time ago as 1845 glance thru the following term bill which is taken from a student's account:

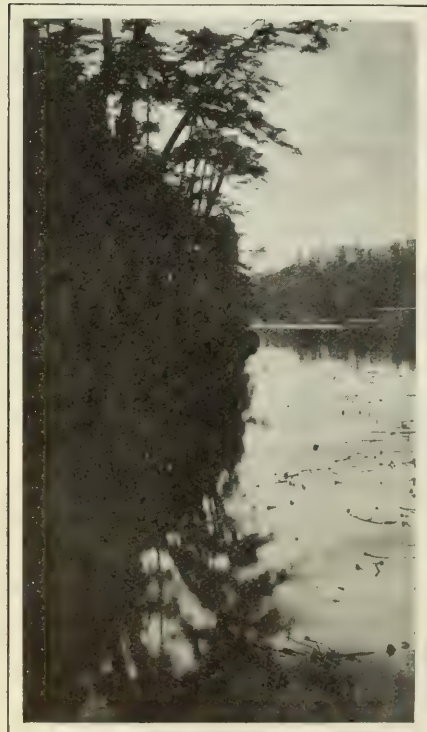
To the President and Trustee of Bowdoin College, Dr.

To his first term bill, ending December 18, 1845.

Interest to be paid, if not discharged within one month after the commencement of the next term.

	Dollars.	Cents.
Tuition .....	8	..
Chamber rent .....	3	34
Repairs .....	..	10
Average of repairs .....	..	69
Sweeping and bed-making....	1	..
Library .....	..	50
Monitor .....	..	11
Catalogues, Order of Exercises, and Commencement Dinner ..	..	50
Books .....	..	50
Bell .....	1	20
Reciting room and lights....	..	85
Chemical lectures .....	..	25
Wood .....	..	..
Library fine .....	..	..
Assessment for absence from college .....	..	..
Advance standing .....	..	..
Commons .....	..	..
	16	68

The recipient of the bill apparently was a well-behaved youth, for neither fines nor assessments are charged against his name. But it is entirely possible that the modest charges for "repairs" and "average of repairs" are the only remaining evidence of some long forgotten story of undergraduate escapade.



The Swiss Family Robinson should have camped by the waters of Puget Sound. The seaweed that floats there not only looks well in a picture; it may be used for a fertilizer, braided for cord or fishlines, burned for the iodine and carbonate of soda in its ashes. And when the long fibrous leaves have all been put to some practical use, there still remains a central fleshy bulb which can be cooked up into a delicious candy



## Is This Good Business?

(Continued from page 291)

were held to their original contracts.

Fares were increased, in the face of public opposition, in over five hundred cities, but it was soon found that increased fares did not result in proportionate increases in revenue from a resentful public. Increased fares did not afford a solution.

The investigations of the Federal Electric Railways Commission covering more than a year have established that the two things needful for a permanent solution of the traction problem are credit and coöperation. Restored credit would permit the companies to rehabilitate themselves, to pay off their maturing obligations and to provide for normal replacements. Coöperation with labor would permit them to render continuous service, uninterrupted by strikes or lockouts, to effect operating economies and to bring into their treasuries the full amount of revenue collected from the street car riders.

Coöperation with labor is the first step toward coöperation with the public, bringing with it, as it does, courteous treatment of the public by the men on the cars who are the companies' direct representatives. Such coöperation is to be secured by giving employees a living wage—something they have not always had in the traction industry—and humane hours of labor and working conditions. The right to organize and to deal collectively with their employers should not be denied them. Collective bargaining, properly employed, will be found an effective strike preventative.

First class credit and the full coöperation of their employees, if properly utilized to better the service, would give the traction companies an almost impregnable position in their relations with the public and would be a powerful influence in overcoming the antagonism against them. The demand for public ownership would lose much of its force if capital and labor in the business of electric transportation performed their respective services freely and well.

The experience of the past few years has chastened the traction companies. They are willing now to listen to any plan the public may propose that will permit them to live. They cannot go on, they now realize, unless they are able to pay adequate wages to both labor and capital and at the same time to give progressively better service to the public.

How can it be done? It is all very well to say "restore credit and coöperation"—but how? I was invited recently to answer this question in detail before a meeting of the citizens of Grand Rapids. The franchise of the street railway company was about to expire. The question agitating the city was whether the franchise should be renewed, and if so, upon what terms. As a former mayor of Grand Rapids I have always had a keen interest in the city's problems. Its street car



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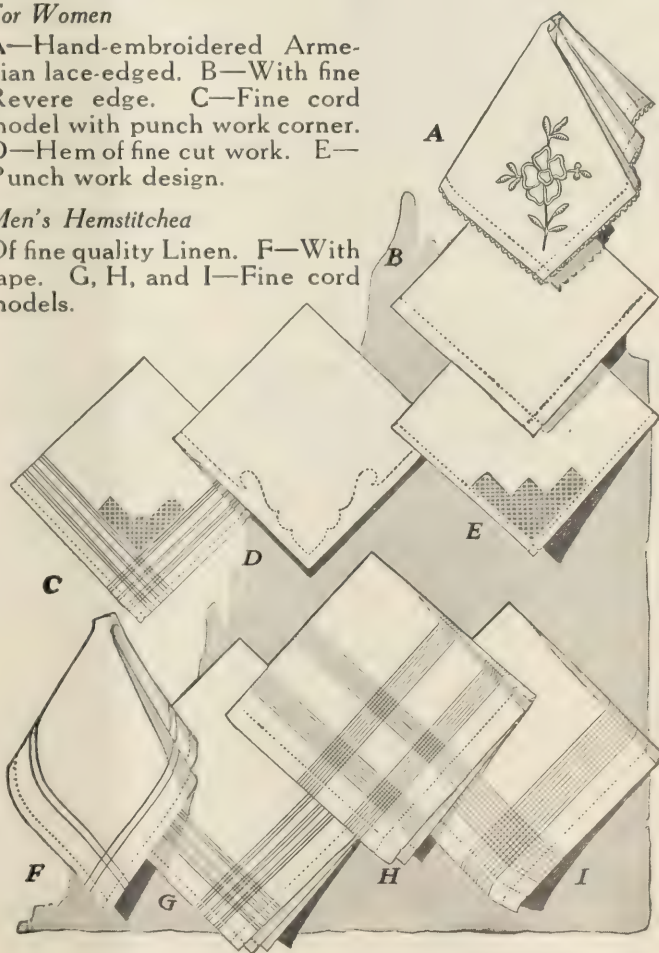
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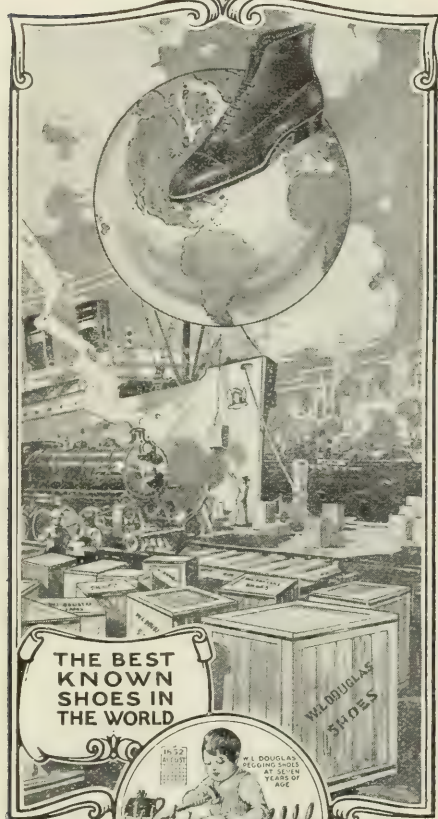
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and \$5.50



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President

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problem is essentially the same as that which confronts every other community in the United States.

The citizens of Grand Rapids were quick to agree that the street railway company, like every other utility, is entitled to a fair return on the value of all its property used in the public service. There is no question that any American city will cheerfully pay whatever rate of fare is necessary to maintain good service, if it is sure that it is paying only proper operating expenses, proper maintenance charges and a proper return on the capital actually invested. There is only one way to have assurance on these points. That is by having an honest valuation of the property made to start with, and thereafter maintaining strict public control of all new issues of capital and extraordinary expenditures, with public supervision over management, operation and service.

Street railways are analogous to a city water supply and other public utilities. The fares paid by the car riders, like the rates paid by the water consumers, should, as a matter of sound public policy, be as low as is consistent with good service. Special assessments against the companies for street sprinkling, paving and for the construction and maintenance of bridges should be eliminated so far as practicable. These are burdens that should be borne by the entire community, and not shifted from the automobile rider to the street car rider who is usually less able to bear them and whose personal use of the public highways is less.

If it is wrong, as it certainly is, to permit the operation of street railways for the profit of private corporations, it is equally wrong that their operations should be for the profit of the city in the sense that the funds collected from the street car riders in excess of legitimate taxes on the street railway properties, should be turned into the municipal treasury. If at a given rate of fare profit results, it should go neither to the private corporations nor to the city, but should be reflected back by the automatic reduction of the fare paid by the car rider.

One more point, before considering specific plans. Extensions of street car lines into new territory are expensive. Less than a mile of double track laid in Washington recently cost over \$230,000. Under the present system such extraordinary expenses are met by the flotation of new securities. The interest on these securities, constituting a permanent burden, must be paid by the car rider as a part of the fare. But who benefits from these extensions? Is it the whole body of those who use the cars, or is it only the property owners in the districts in which the extensions are made? An extension of the New York subway system, costing \$7,373,000, increased the value of property in the neighborhood by \$49,200,000, an amount upwards of seven times the cost of the improvement. It seems evident, there-



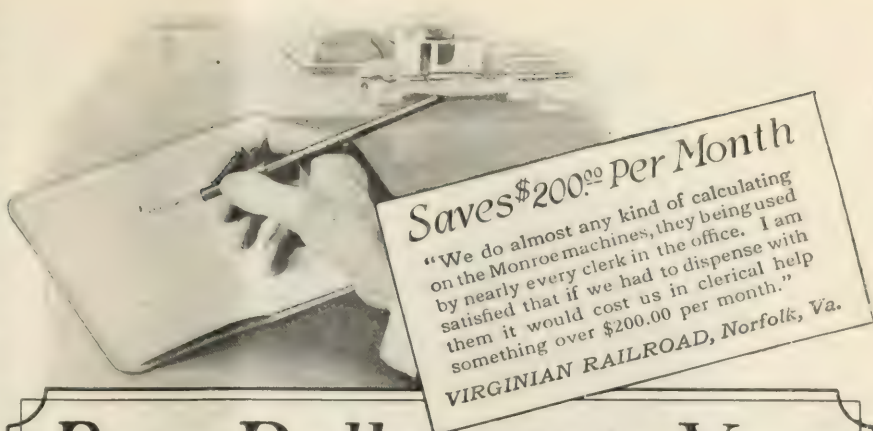
fore, that extensions should be paid for, not out of new capital, but from special taxes assessed against the owners of property, the value of which is enhanced by such extensions. This is no new principle. Property owners are accustomed to contributing to the cost of building streets and other improvements out of the increase in the value of their property. The principle is peculiarly applicable to electric transportation, because of the enormous increases in real estate values created thereby.

First secure a valuation of the property, this figure to serve as the basis of calculation should the city decide at some future time to purchase the lines, and then relieve the company (or more properly the car rider) of the burdens that should be borne on other shoulders. From this commonsense basis it is possible to go ahead with plans designed to secure street car service at cost.

Service-at-cost agreements have been entered into with electric railway companies by the cities of Cleveland, Cincinnati, Dallas, Montreal and a few others, and they seem to have worked well during the most difficult period in the history of the street car industry. The books of the companies are open and their operations are under the supervision of public officials in whom the people have confidence. The cards of the companies are face up on the table. These agreements are calculated to be successful in just the degree that the people as a whole understand the game.

The agreements vary in detail but their purpose in each instance is the same. It is to adjust fares quickly and automatically to the varying cost of service. There is set aside in the treasury of the company a special "barometer fund" of say \$100,000. Should increased operating expenses cut into this fund, fares would be increased a fraction of a cent, by raising the rate for tickets, to make up the deficiency. Should this fund, on the other hand, show an increase after all proper operating expenses, including a fair return on actual investment, had been paid, fares would be automatically lowered. The assurance of an automatic adjustment of fares to cost would go a long way toward restoring the confidence of the public in the company and the confidence of the investor in the company's securities.

With the value of the properties fixed there could be no further dispute as to capitalization or excessive profits, because the people would know exactly what they are paying for, and many of the causes of friction between the public and the companies would thus be removed. Under service-at-cost contracts the opportunity for municipal corruption is reduced to a minimum. The idea of speculative gain is put aside, and the companies are placed upon a commonsense business basis where the people pay the exact cost of the service they get and where the opportunity for private profits no longer exists, since economies and lower



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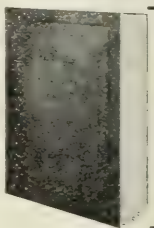
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operating costs are reflected in reduced fares.

Service at cost may not be the only solution of the traction problem. There may be other plans under which cooperation and credit can be restored. It is doubtful whether public ownership and operation would be successful under present conditions in most of the cities of the United States. It should be understood, nevertheless, that if no solution is made practicable under the present ownership and control, only one course will remain open—the transformation of the electric railway industry into a Government business.

Washington, D. C.

## Our Pilgrim Legacy

(Continued from page 293)

riotous pleasures, and the coarser sins were utterly abhorrent as seen from their spiritual point of view. They made every effort to keep their thinking on a high plane and to set before themselves and their children the noble ideals of religion. Therefore they held their ministers, their spiritual leaders, in the highest respect, and made the church the center of their social life. But even there they demanded that power come from the congregation and not from external authority. Their church must be a free, self-governed church. The light must shine truly from the souls of the people. They must lead their lives as if in the eyes of God. Such a religion gave them a calm, serene faith, and a deep trust in the final triumph of God's goodness, influenced their characters.

Duty to their fellows, conscience, and the thought of an over-shadowing Providence made the Pilgrims the most idealistic of all the early colonists of America—and their idealism influenced the development of the typically idealistic American spirit.

Courageous in every adversity the people of Plymouth always refused to flee before trouble. They were ready to sacrifice themselves for their ideals. It is no accident that Massachusetts gave the colonies great religious leaders; that the Massachusetts men gave spirit to the American Revolution; that her speakers opposed slavery; that, in the Civil War, practically every Massachusetts town sent more than its quota of troops, as did every Massachusetts town in the Spanish War.

Out of Puritan New England have come great names—idealistic poets, far-seeing and substantial statesmen, and a God-fearing people. President Taft said: "The purpose and spirit of the Pilgrims gave the United States the highest ideals of moral life and of political citizenship!"

William Bradford, the great leader of the Pilgrims, the strong man of old Plymouth, the Roosevelt of that day, a man whose like America needs at all times, wrote, as if in prophetic vision:

As one small candle may light a thousand, so the light here kindled hath shone to many, yea, in some sort, to our whole nation.

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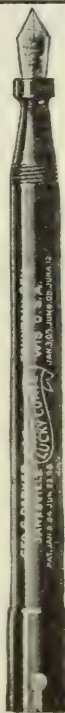
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Associate in the School of Journalism,  
Columbia University

This address, which was given before the History Section of the New York State Teachers' Association at Rochester, November 23, 1915, has been published in pamphlet form and will be furnished free to teachers.—Write to The Independent, 311 Sixth Avenue, New York.



## Breaking the Hindenburg Line

(Continued from page 297)

artillery. In the neighborhood of one crippled tank it was that the trio of non-commissioned officers of the Machine Gun Company of the 107th Infantry, Eggers, Latham and O'Shea, performed the act which will keep their names bright thru future years.

In the confused fighting thru the Hindenburg system, one battalion of Colonel De Bevoise's regiment eventually forced its entrance to Le Catelet, but it was so far ahead of the rest of the division that it was entirely cut off for a long time. Another battalion, this of the 108th Infantry, established itself in the enemy's trenches south of Bony, where it had a desperate struggle to hold its position until joined by Australian troops. The support regiments, Colonel W. A. Taylor's 106th Infantry and Major C. W. Berry's 105th Infantry, were reinforced while mopping up by the 3rd Australian Division, which then advanced to the support of the forward American units and took over control of the sector during the following night. For four days thereafter the Australians waged a continuous battle before completing the occupation of Le Catelet and Gouy and the reduction of the Hindenburg works and the canal tunnel in the division sector, and during a large part of the struggle they were aided by about 1000 men of the 27th Division who remained with them. The 30th Division having been relieved on its objective by the 5th Australian Division, General Read's corps was withdrawn during the night of the 29th-30th to the Peronne area to refit, the 27th Division having lost about 5,500 men and the 30th Division very considerably less.

The accomplishment of the two American divisions had been very important. Before the attack the German high command had emphasized the value of this defensive zone in an order, a copy of which was captured, in which the troops were told that

"We must show the British, French and Americans that any further attacks on the Siegfried Line will be utterly broken and that that line is an impregnable rampart, with the result that the Entente Powers will condescend to consider the terms of peace which it is absolutely necessary for us to have before we can end the war."

Having nothing to bargain with in a peace parley excepting their lines on the Western front, the Germans naturally exerted every effort to hold them. On the other hand, the British Commander-in-Chief in his official report estimated the importance of the victory of the following language, written regarding the situation on October 5th, after the capture of the third and last German trench zone.

"The great and critical assaults in which during these nine days of battle the 1st, 3rd and 4th Armies stormed the line of the Canal du Nord and broke through the Hindenburg Line mark the close of the first phase of the British offensive.



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The enemy's defense in the last and strongest of his prepared positions had been shattered. The whole of the main Hindenburg defenses had passed into our possession and a wide gap had been driven through such rear trench systems as had existed behind them. The effect of the victory upon the subsequent course of the campaign was decisive."

Having had five days in rear area, General Read's corps again took over the fighting sector from the Australians on October 5th, with the 30th Division only in line. The Australians, since relieving General Lewis' and General O'Ryan's men around Nauroy and Le Catelet, had driven the front ahead some four miles, breaking the last German trench zone, the Beaurevoir-Fonsomme Line, and had come up to the eastern edge of Montbrechain, where the Americans again entered the battle. In this sector the enemy had now no more prepared positions into which to retire but there were numerous villages and farmsteads, also woodlands and marshy streams which offered good defensive positions for rear guard fighting in the generally open country, over which the Americans must now advance toward the Sambre River and canal at Catillon, 15 miles northeast of Montbrechain. St. Quentin having fallen to General Debeney's 1st French Army on October 1, the general object of the Allied attack in this region was now to master the remaining fragments of the Hindenburg Line, to capture Cambrai and Laon by outflanking them and to cut the enemy's lateral line of railroad communication from Metz by Mezieres to Lille, which, in the sector of General Rawlinson's army, passed west of Catillon and through Le Cateau—a small city and important junction 5 miles northwest of Catillon.

The actual attack did not begin until the morning of October 8, when the 1st French Army and the 3rd and 4th British Armies attacked together, the 2nd American Corps being the center one of the three corps of the 4th British Army. As had been the case on the 29th of September, a morning mist favored and the Americans, following the tanks and covered by a strong barrage, went forward with the 117th Infantry, Colonel C. F. Spence, on the right and the 118th Infantry, Colonel O. R. Wolfe, on the left. The first stubborn resistance of the Germans soon weakened and before evening General Lewis' men had gained about three miles, capturing the villages of Pre-mont and Brancourt, while similar progress was made by the British corps on the flanks.

Next day the attack was pressed vigorously all along the line, the British 6th Division, to the right of the Americans, taking the immense German depots at Bohain, while in front of General Lewis' troops the enemy was burning ammunition and supply dumps all over the open country. Four miles of progress was registered and the Americans crossed the enemy's lateral railroad line and occupied the villages of Busigny and Becquigny. The enemy fought with more determination as he approached



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the Selle River, on the hills east of which he had established a temporary line of resistance. On the 10th the Americans brought their front squarely up to the west bank of the Selle, clearing the towns of St. Souplet, Vaux-Andigny and St. Benin and the following night the 27th Division relieved the 30th on this line.

To the north, Cambrai had now fallen into British hands, while to the south the French took the St. Gobain Forest and entered the fortress city of Laon on October 13th. The New York Division, confronted, so it was estimated, by five entire German divisions and fragments of six others, held its position without offensive movement until the 16th, when the 30th Division returned to line and took over the right half of the sector. With only about 15,000 infantry left for duty in both divisions, the advance was resumed at 5:25 o'clock on the morning of the 17th, in fog and slow, cold rain. The Germans fought doggedly to hold the slippery river banks and, these lost, to cover the withdrawal of their artillery. But even vigorous infantry counter-attacks covered by barrages failed to check the American progress. The Germans were driven steadily eastward, the 27th Division clearing out the fortified Jonc de Mer and La Roux Farms and approaching the St. Maurice River and the 30th taking Ribeaupville after an obstinate struggle, while the British 13th Corps was gaining possession of Le Cateau.

The southern flank of the American front paused that evening within two miles of the Sambre River and, a little later, General Lewis' troops took Mazinghem in the moonlight, aided by a supporting attack on the part of the 27th Division. The next day patrols pushed forward all along the front, those of the New Yorkers reaching the west bank of the little St. Maurice River and those of General Lewis' division the ridge above the Sambre at Catillon. On this line the 30th Division was relieved by the 1st British Division on the night of the 20th, and the 27th by the 6th British on the next night, the Americans retiring to Amiens for rest. They were preparing to return to the pursuit when the armistice was signed on November 11.

Excepting five days, one or both of the divisions of the 2nd American Corps had been in action continuously since September 29th. They had taken 16 miles of ground, including that gained in breaking the Hindenburg Line, had captured nearly 90 field guns, more than 700 machine guns and 5,359 prisoners, while the 27th Division lost 8,137 officers and enlisted men in casualties and the 30th, 7,343 officers and enlisted men. The work of the American troops in the operations of Marshal Haig's armies, commended by their British commanders, contributed in no small degree to the succession of brilliant victories which forced the Germans back beyond the frontiers of Belgium on this portion of the front by the dawn of Armistice Day.

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## Independent Opinions

We have received the following communication from Professor R. J. McKnight of the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of North Pittsburgh, Pa.

At the great International Congregational Council, held in Boston, June 29-July 6, Dr. Charles E. Jefferson, Lyman Beecher lecturer at Yale, made one of the principal addresses, on "The Broad Horizon in Missionary Work." He began by saying, "I wish to fly over technicalities, denominations, races and entanglements, carrying you high enough to see the world-work of the church in its full dimensions. Our work is God's work, and Christ's work—to bring a lost world back to God, to get the mind of God into the mind of mankind, to build the will of God into the common life of all nations." Then, further on, he said, "Life from top to bottom is one. We cannot be Christians in our homes and pagans in our politics. The Golden Rule is for all nations. The Great Commandment is for all people."

This is what millions of men are thinking if they can only get some one to say it for them. Dr. Jefferson touched bed rock. "Is Christ divided?" Why should a man think for a minute that he can serve Christ in his home and Apollyon in politics? Yet there are myriads of Christians who are right at heart but who have never been led to consider the inherent obligation which rests upon them to carry their religion to the finger tips of social and civic life. Howbeit, when the mind of God gets into the mind of mankind, it will irradiate, we may be sure, in every direction, and the will of God will find expression in the common life of every nation. We have been neglecting the moral and spiritual welfare of the great corporate personality called the state. We have been leaving that to politicians. But politicians, since they are at least wise enough to know that a "kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation," have been satisfied to leave such delicate tasks as the extradition of demons to the tactics of Beelzebub. With what results we need not stop to say. But it is certainly high time that the spirit, the essence and the principles of genuine Christianity should be carried thru and past the individual, the home, and the church, right into the very heart of the state, so that the first purpose of both national and international assemblies of the world around shall be to honor Christ, and do His will "in earth as it is in heaven." "The Golden Rule is for all nations, the Great Commandment is for all people."

Nor is the other side of this vast problem being lost sight of. There is a movement on foot to get the teachings and love of our blessed Lord so thoroly ingrained in the hearts of men that they will not only carry the elements of righteousness into every phase of political activity, but go on to complete the process by writing the Name which is above every name into our fundamental law. And what a splendid consummation that would be—Christ in the hearts of our citizens, one and all, their "hope of glory," and then, as a consequence, a public profession of that stupendous fact in our Federal Constitution?

We of course desire like Professor McKnight to see American politics permeated by the spirit of Christ, but until such a transformation is completely accomplished it would be meaningless to insert a formal religious profession in the constitution.



## What British Labor Wants

(Continued from page 295)

strenuous hours in factories either too soon before or too soon after their children are born; but it is of no use simply to forbid them to work; it is no use making them a parsimonious grant for the period of their absence from the factory; they must be given an allowance which will be adequate for them to meet their extra expenses, to obtain ample nourishment, and to perform the most important task in the world with a mind entirely free from the anxieties of ways and means.

There is also the important question of housing—and the housing of the people has an untold influence upon the welfare of the nation. The nationalization of state industries such as mines and railways and land will also have to be dealt with.

There will be plenty for a labor government to do and no one knows better than labor that the tasks before it cannot be achieved by wizardry or the making of clever speeches. But the rulers of today need have no fear of the fitness and ability of the rulers of tomorrow. The employing classes have no monopoly of brains, and labor has not only brains but also experience—practical experience of the everyday work of the great mass of the population, and the great and inspiring task of the labor government will be to do its utmost toward making the country which was worth fighting for a country which is also worth living for.

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## Pebbles

Money used to talk. Now it whispers.—*New York World.*

What is it you must keep after giving it to someone else?

Your word.—*Boys' Life.*

Quartermaster—Aye, aye, sir, we have their fleet bottled up.

Admiral—Corking, corking!—*Dirge.*

Prof. (in history class)—Togo, what great struggle occurred about 275?

Togo—Hon. prohibition, sir.—*Princeton Tiger.*

Parent—What is your reason for wishing to marry my daughter?

Young Man—I have no reason, sir: I am in love.—*London Opinion.*

"Look here, I ask you for the last time for that five dollar bill you owe me."

"Thank heavens, that is the end of that silly question."—*Leigh Burr.*

Sunday School Teacher—Now, Bobbie, who is it that tho we have never actually seen we know is always with us, because of the evidences of His work all around?

Smart Pupil—Please, miss—the profiteer.—*Sydney Bulletin.*

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Of all the investment opportunities offered there are few indeed not open to criticism. Absolute safety is the first requisite and adequate and uniform return equally important, and these seem inseparable. Aside from government bonds, the return under which is small, there is nothing more sure and certain than an annuity with the METROPOLITAN LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY, by which the income guaranteed for a certain lifetime is larger by far than would be earned on an equal amount deposited in an institution for savings, or invested in securities giving reasonable safety. Thus a payment of \$5,000 by a man aged 67 would provide an annual income of \$823.60 absolutely beyond question of doubt. The Annuity Department METROPOLITAN LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY, New York, will give advice as to the return at any age, male or female.

### DIVIDENDS

## American Telephone and Telegraph Company

A dividend of Two Dollars per share will be paid on Saturday, January 15, 1921, to stockholders of record at the close of business on Monday, December 20, 1920.

G. D. MILNE, Treasurer.

## AMERICAN TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY

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Coupons from these bonds, payable by their terms on December 1, 1920, at the office or agency of the Company in New York or in Boston, will be paid in New York at the Bankers Trust Company, 16 Wall Street.

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# How to Study This Number

## THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

### English, Literature and Composition

### History, Civics and Economics

#### I. The Hall of Fame.

1. Mark Twain. Write an essay on one of the following subjects: (a) Mark Twain as an American; (b) Mark Twain's friendship with William Dean Howells (don't do this until you are familiar with Howells' personality and writing); (c) Mark Twain in England; (d) Mark Twain as chronicler of life in the Mississippi valley. Or, if you like, take still another subject, one suggested by any of these or one that you think of yourself.
2. Roger Williams. Write a biographical sketch of him. Be sure to know thoroly Mr. Law's article in the connection.
3. Augustus St. Gaudens. If you haven't a St. Gaudens statue in your town, you must have seen one in the nearest big city. Write a description of the one you know best. If you don't know any, write either a description of some public monument, or a critical discussion of public monuments in general, using all the first hand material you have. Or, if you can, you might compare St. Gaudens' public statues with those by other sculptors.
4. Patrick Henry. Since we entered the war we have talked and heard a great deal, in different connections, about "free speech." Write an essay about Patrick Henry and Free Speech in the Revolution, bringing out as many connections as you can find with the present situation.

#### II. Our Pilgrim Legacy.

1. If you feel any sympathy with the hatter's widow of Mr. Law's essay, imagine yourself back in her day, in such difficulties as you would characteristically get into, and write a letter to a friend of your own age telling all about it.
2. Mr. Law refers to several outstanding Pilgrims. Get up a group program in which each member of the group talks for two minutes on one of those men as "One Type of Pilgrim."

#### III. Leaves.

1. Is this in form anything like a sonnet? In just what ways is it like or unlike? Consider not only rime and meter, but also the division of idea into the different parts of a typical sonnet.
2. What are two classic sonnet forms? Read Rupert Brooke's war sonnets for a study of their form.
3. Pick out the ten words in "Leaves" that seem to you most fitly and fully descriptive. And have your reasons for each choice.

#### IV. Breaking the Hindenburg Line.

1. If you have any personal knowledge of any part of Captain Hanson's story, write your own fuller account of that part.
2. Write a war story, either fact or based on fact, that happened not in battle or in exciting action, but quietly in your own town.
3. Captain Hanson's material could have been written into a dry campaign report, into highly impressionistic narrative, or into something happily between the two. What do you think Captain Hanson has done?

#### V. The Promotion of Literature by Dynamite.

1. Prepare an oral biographical sketch of Alfred Nobel.
2. Get hold of the writings of Knut Hamsun and decide for yourself his claims to the Nobel prize.
3. Read as much as you can of the writing of one other of the prize-winners. You will surely be interested if you choose Selma Lagerlöf; "The Girl from the Marsh Croft" is a good book to start on.
4. See if you can add any names to the list of "famous men whom America has entertained unawares."
5. Organize a group to report on this list of famous men with special emphasis on the obscure years spent in America.

#### VI. Fallen Idols—The Story of the Week.

1. Lloyd George "more than any man knows how to trim his sails in a stormy sea." As a class, pool all the information relative to this statement that you can find in newspapers and periodicals; then divide Lloyd George's career into sections, each of which includes some important crisis in which his "trimming" faculty displayed itself. Appoint a member of the class to report on each section.
2. (a) Find words synonymous with annihilation, booty, virtually, generally. Have they just the meanings of their synonyms?

#### I. Light Railways—Is This Good Business?

1. Is there a system of electric trolleys in your town? If so, is it publicly or privately owned? Is it in a prosperous condition or running into debt? Does it charge more or less than the typical five cent fare?
2. List all the causes mentioned by Mr. Sweet for the financial condition into which city transportation has fallen.
3. Prepare a brief for the affirmative or negative side of a debate on the question: Resolved, that the five cent fare be abandoned and new rates established in keeping with the increased cost of service.

#### II. British Labor—What British Labor Wants. England's Sobering Strike.

1. What is the "Triple Alliance"? Show how such a labor combination would "make possible a national strike by which the whole life of the country could be brought to a standstill."
2. What, in Mr. Spargo's opinion, were the causes which brought about the failure of the coal strike in England? Compare it with one of the recent great strikes in the United States.
3. What is the British system of national insurance? Should similar laws be adopted in the United States?
4. What program does Mr. Thomas think would be adopted by a labor government in Great Britain? Show how this program continues the reforms already achieved by labor which are mentioned in Mr. Thomas's articles.
5. Imagine a Labor party triumphant in the United States. Can you pick a cabinet of labor unionists which would be adequate to the duties of government? What policies, in your opinion, should such a party work for first?

#### III. American History—Our Pilgrim Legacy.

1. In what sense was the Mayflower Compact "the first written constitution"? Did England have a written constitution at the time? Has England one now?
2. What was Governor Winthrop's definition of liberty? Do you agree that this is a proper definition?
3. Point out the importance of emphasizing the principle of law and order in a frontier community, such as seventeenth century New England. What would have been the historical consequences if the men who came over in the "Mayflower" had been lawless or disorderly men such as have settled many other new countries?

#### IV. The League of Nations.—League of Nations Launched. The Opening of the Assembly. America and the League of Nations.

1. What is the Assembly of the League of Nations? What does the Covenant say about its powers and duties? How does it differ from the Council of the League?
2. Why do you suppose the French object to the admission of Germany into the League of Nations? Why is there less opposition to the admission of Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria?
3. Is the League of Nations "dead"?

#### V. Southeastern Europe—Venizelos Defeated. Fiume Question Settled. The Treaty of Rapallo. Sevastopol Surrendered.

1. Who is Venizelos and why is his defeat at the polls a matter of world-wide significance?
2. On what basis has the Adriatic question been settled? How does it differ from the Pact of London? From President Wilson's proposals?
3. What attempts have been made to overthrow Bolshevik rule by "counter-revolutionary" Russian armies? Can you account for their uniform failure?

#### VI. Latin America—Mexico Tries to Be Good. The Haiti Inquiry.

1. Why do labor troubles in Mexico endanger the international position of the country? What steps has the Mexican Government taken to conciliate foreign opinion?
2. Do you think non-intervention in Mexico or intervention in Haiti better represents the correct American policy in dealing with disorderly Latin American countries?

#### VII. The Graft Problem—Shipping Board Tangles. Building Scandals in New York.

1. What would be your definition of "graft"? Illustrate it by reference to the Story of the Week items.



# The Independent

FOUNDED 1848

## Introducing a New Poet

The Independent has always been glad to notice the arrival of a new star in the brilliant galaxy of American poesy. A large number of the major and minor poets of the past three generations, both in America and England, have made their debut in our columns. The author of the poem which we herewith present to our readers has long been a figure in American journalism and has taken a commanding part in public affairs, but his poetic gifts have hitherto been overlooked by the general public. The medium of his message is, of course, *vers libre*: no one ventures to write anything else nowadays. A careless printer set it up as solid prose in the newspaper from which we have taken it; but the strongly marked rhythm, the cadenced phrases, the whole metrical plan, were so clearly evident that we were able without altering a single word to restore the original form of the text. To avoid the invasion of any copyright which the newspaper may have had, we have contented ourselves with reprinting only about one-fourth of the original poem as recited by the author at New Orleans on November 18, but we can assure our readers that the extract we have taken is quite typical of the whole.

While the reader cannot fail to be impressed by the normalcy of the thought, the patriotism of the theme, and its other merits, it is not to these qualities so much as to the stately, measured gravity of the meter and the sonorous orotundity of the style that we would call attention. It is much that a busy man of affairs should turn from the political problems which beset him to burn incense at the shrine of the Muses.—*The Editor.*

## Thrift and the Cosmic

### Harmonies

#### A Free Verse Lyric by the President-Elect

I believe the American people have come to realize  
That we must face momentous problems—  
World problems—  
But more particularly our own problems—  
And must face them with resolute courage  
and practical wisdom  
And patriotic determination.  
There must be no reason for pause,  
No excuse for despair,  
Nor place for pessimism . . .  
Inevitably there must be reconstruction.  
Unavoidably there will be readjustment . . .  
We may have to bend our backs to new burdens.  
Surely we are going to be called upon—  
Nationally, collectively and individually—  
To renounce extravagances

## Including Harper's Weekly

Hamilton Holt  
Editor

Edwin E. Slosson Associate Editor	Hannah H. White Managing Editor
Franklin H. Giddings	Norman Hapgood
Shailer Mathews	Talcott Williams
Preston Slosson	John Spargo

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And learn anew  
The old lessons of thrift and providence . . .  
There is no substitute for the reward of merit—  
There can never be—  
But in the scales of justice  
We must see  
That reward balances evenly with merit.  
Then class will be banished with caste,  
Tho there will continue to be  
Varying degrees of inspiring success,  
And varied measurements of wealth,  
As there must be  
Unless inspiration is to die  
And the human procession is to halt  
In hopeless paralysis.  
No law can alter nature  
Or change her varying moods.  
We haven't yet learned to combat destructive weather,  
And the law of supply and demand is eternal,  
But we may soften their rigors  
And minimize their penalties . . .  
We want Southern factories to be attuned  
To the music of the mills of the North . . .  
There is no sectionalism in righteous American ambitions,  
I could heartily say  
East and West as North and South . . .

## Remarkable Remarks

J. FRANK DAVIS—If you can't laugh—grin!  
JAMES W. GERARD—Revenge is the mother of wars.  
REV. E. S. SYNOTT—Many of the men in my parish are women.  
EX-KING CONSTANTINE—I cannot help being related to the Kaiser.  
HAROLD MACGRATH—Her voice was like the G string of an old Strad.  
REV. JOHN ROACH STRATON—Divorce is essentially an immoral proceeding.  
FULLER BULL—I care not who makes the nation's laws so long as they are not enforced.  
W. H. TAFT—Had I been a Senator I would have voted for the Covenant just as submitted.

## Opening Nights

One of the most successful musical debuts this year was that of *Vasa Prihoda*, a Czech violinist, who has both perfection of technic and a youthful fire in his playing. His tricks and trills were exuberant, but balanced by a mellow depth and dignity at times. (Carnegie Hall.)

*The Half Moon*, a tuneful musical comedy. Joseph Cawthorn as the wealthy, unlettered father who achieves an education via the encyclopedia is funnier than ever, and he is ably seconded by Miss Oliver as the haughty widow who attempts to put him in his place. (Liberty Theater.)

*Jimmie*—a musical comedy to delight the T. B. M.! Frances White shines in some new "rompers" songs and proves her versatility by dancing a graceful ballet figure. But the dancing honors of the show are Rita Owin's. Ben Welch and Harry Delf furnish Hebrew humor. (Apollo Theater.)



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# The Independent

December 4, 1920

## When Green and Orange Mix

A Message from the British Nation to the American People

By the Rt. Hon. C. A. McCurdy, K. C., M. P.

Food Controller of Great Britain

**I**T is probable that no British Parliament will ever find a solution for the Irish problem. For the last thirty-five years the most patient and persistent efforts have been made by British politicians to give Ireland the peace which thru all the centuries of her recorded history she never seems to have known. But, as a house divided against itself cannot stand, so peace can never come to Ireland by any act or statute of the British Parliament, but only by the healing of the feuds and hatreds which surge in the breasts of the Irish people themselves. Heaven knows that British statesmen of the last thirty-five years have done their best. Many millions of the British taxpayers' money have been expended in the attempt to make Ireland contented and happy. The country has been transformed and transfigured. Those thirty-five years, as the late Mr. John Redmond acknowledged when speaking at a banquet to Australians in Dublin in July, 1915, have brought about a social revolution in the conditions of the Irish people.

There is today no quarrel between the English people and the Irish. Go into any English workshop or factory; the Irishman enjoys a degree of friendship and popularity which no citizen of any other part of the British Empire receives. There never was, in fact, a quarrel between the English and the Irish people. Centuries ago, long before the English people had any share or part in the government of their own country, to say nothing of that of Ireland, Plantagenets and Tudors and other sovereigns and their courtiers undoubtedly committed crimes against the Irish people. But it is hardly fair to impute blame for what was then done to the sovereign British democracy of today. Even in those days the cruelty was not all on one side. When the great English poet, Edmund Spenser, was sent by Elizabeth as one of her Irish Governors the Sinn Feiners of those days were responsible for burning his little daughter alive.

But these sad, unhappy stories of a far distant past, tho never forgotten by the Irish people, whose capacity for remembrance is unique among the races of the world, have little relevance to the situation as it has existed in Ireland for the past

thirty-five years. The cardinal and essential difficulty in dealing with Ireland is the fact that Ireland is inhabited, not by one race, but by two, both of whom are in every sense entitled to be regarded and regard themselves as Irishmen. It was in the reign of James I, when the island of Great Britain was becoming too small for the English and Scotch peoples, that, a few years before the Pilgrim Fathers set sail for America, another band of emigrants made the Ulster Plantation in the north of Ireland, and founded the chief industrial center of the country, and formed that stock of sturdy Puritanism which has, thru all the centuries that have followed, kept itself distinct in tradition, religion and character from the southern Irish.

Perhaps they ought never to have gone; but the fact remains that they went, and four centuries of uninterrupted occupation of any part of the world's surface, whether in Ireland or America, must for practical purposes be regarded as giving settlers full and equal rights to the soil which they have inhabited side by side with the original inhabitants.

My first interest in politics was roused as a boy by

the emergence of the Irish problem in the Home Rule elections of 1885 and 1886. In those days the majority of the British people were all in favor of granting to Ireland the full measure of home rule which the Irish Nationalists demanded, and which Mr. Gladstone was willing to settle. The opposition came from two sources; from a section of English opinion which feared that home rule would inevitably lead to separation, and to the intolerable menace of an Irish army and an Irish navy, and to the possibility of the Irish ports being closed to this country, or even open to the enemies of this country in time of war. But it was not that fear which defeated the efforts of the great Liberal statesmen to give autonomy to Ireland.



Whitelaw in London Passing Show  
IT'S A PROBLEM

John Bull: "For heaven's sake, give that infant what he wants."

Nurse David: "I would if I only knew what it was!"



It was the ceaseless and effective opposition of the Ulstermen, whose political capacity is no less than that of the rest of Ireland, perhaps as high a compliment as may be paid to any body of politicians.

For twenty years, from 1885 to 1906, the Liberal party paid for their unflinching adhesion to the question of Irish home rule by complete exclusion from any share in the government of this country. In 1910 the Liberals again attempted to handle this thorny and difficult problem. By 1914 Mr. Asquith's Home Rule bill had passed thru all its stages in the House of Commons. By all the precedents of British history home rule for Ireland would within a brief space have become the law of the land.

At that stage the opposition of the Ulstermen assumed a new and surprising form. Unionists of the nine counties of Ulster declared by solemn covenant their intention to resist by force of arms the grant of autonomy to their own people. The words of Ulster's League of Covenant, signed as part of solemn religious services organized thruout Ulster and the three counties, Cavan, Donegal and Moneghan, were as follows:

Being convinced in our consciences that home rule would be disastrous to the material well-being of Ulster, as well as of the whole of Ireland, subversive of our civil and religious freedom, destructive of our citizenship and perilous to the unity of the Empire, we, *men of Ulster*, humbly relying on the God whom our fathers in days of stress and trial confidently trusted, *do hereby pledge ourselves in solemn covenant* thruout this our time of threatened calamity *to stand by one another* in defending for ourselves and our children our cherished position of equal citizenship in the United Kingdom, and in using all means which may be found necessary to defeat the present conspiracy to set up a Home Rule Parliament in Ireland. And in the event of such a Parliament being forced upon us we further solemnly and mutually pledge ourselves to refuse to recognize its authority. In sure confidence that God will defend the right.

It was followed, as everyone knows, by the importation into Ireland of large quantities of rifles and by other preparations for civil war. A situation of great peril was suddenly and unexpectedly interrupted by the outbreak of the great European war. All parties agreed that the Home Rule bill should remain in suspension until the national peril which threatened every part of the British Empire had been averted. Southern and northern Ireland alike forgot for the moment the political questions affecting their own country, and loyally came forward to assist in the defense of Europe.

In September, 1914, a month after the outbreak of war, a Suspensory bill was introduced which provided that the Home Rule bill should not be put into operation until we were thru with the war. In introducing this bill in the House of Commons on September 10, 1914, Mr. Asquith made a declaration of great importance. He declared in the first place that the Home Rule bill should not and could not come into operation until it had been so amended as to secure general con-

sent both in Ireland and in the United Kingdom. He declared in the second place the employment of any kind of force for the coercion of Ulster to be an absolutely unthinkable thing. Speaking for himself and his colleagues, he declared that the coercion of Ulster was a thing to which they would never give countenance or consent.

From the day when that declaration was made the attitude of the British people with regard to Ireland may be said to have been crystallized and definite. So far as the United Kingdom is concerned the English and Scottish people only ask that national unity shall be maintained; that there shall be no separation involving the possibility of rival armies or rival fleets confronting one another in the ports of the sister islands. Subject to that they have been willing, they are willing, to give the Irish people any measure of local self-government, of autonomy, of home rule, upon which the Irish people can themselves agree. Unfortunately the prospect of the Irish people agreeing in the near future upon any measure is not probable. Repeated efforts have been made to secure such agreement by discussion between all parties concerned. In 1917 Mr. Lloyd George offered to set up a convention of Irishmen charged with formulating a constitution for Ireland, and undertook that in the event of that convention coming to substantial agreement the Government would take steps to give legislative effect to that agreement. The convention assembled on July 25, 1917, and reported on April 8, 1918. An agreement was not reached.

At the general election of 1918 the present Government pledged itself to a settlement on the basis of self-government, ruling out only schemes which would involve the coercion of Ulster or the complete severance of Ireland from the British Empire. In that election the Home Rulers, the party of Butt and Parnell and Redmond, were hopelessly defeated at the polls. Ireland returned to the British Parliament a body of Ulster Unionists on the one hand and of Sinn Feiners on the other, whose aims, so far as I understand them, involve a break up of the United Kingdom, and with whose methods the whole civilized world is now unhappily familiar.

The present campaign of organized murder and outrage does not make the Irish problem any easier to solve. It does not render agreement between the Ulstermen and the other sections of Irish opinion at all probable. It makes it still more unthinkable

that the military forces of Great Britain should ever be called upon to dragoon Ulster into compliance with the demands of Mr. De Valera and the Sinn Fein chiefs, and on this point Mr. Asquith's solemn declaration, made on behalf of the British Government in September, 1914, still stands.

Mr. Asquith himself, it is true, appears to have forgotten that declaration. His recent proposal, which possibly has yet to receive further explanation and comment before its full purpose and meaning is revealed, proposes to grant to the [Continued on page 351



(After Tenniel) Saturday Westminster Gazette

#### THE IRISH BABY

"Speak roughly to your little boy  
And beat him when he sneezes;  
He only does it to annoy  
Because he knows it teases"



Tenth article in The Independent's Industrial Series on the big plants that are finding a successful answer to the problems of labor unrest



The Industrial Court of the Rochester Clothing Industry in session. A "Shop Chairman," elected by the employees, is pleading for the reinstatement of a fellow-worker discharged for absenting himself from work without notifying his employer. At the left of the table are seated the union representatives and witnesses, at the right the labor manager and witnesses. Dr. William M. Leiserson, Chairman, Labor Adjustment Board, is at the desk

## To Their Mutual Advantage

By Professor John R. Commons of the University of Wisconsin

In collaboration with A. P. Haake, O. F. Carpenter, Malcolm Sharp, Jennie McMullin Turner, Ethel B. Dietrich, Jean Davis, John A. Commons

"COLLECTIVE bargaining is past; instead we have the beginning of joint control in industry." Thus Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, voices the hopes of the union for the new labor agreement in the men's clothing industry. The hope of the employers is no less optimistic—"to substitute natural adjustment for constant friction," as one of the labor managers has put it.

While it is too much to say that the agreement signed in February a year ago between the Clothiers' Exchange of Rochester and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers has made a duarchy of industrial control, yet it has substituted for the old autocratic method of issuing orders to labor a joint conference of employers and union officials with power to draw up a general labor policy which shall apply to all factories belonging to members of the Exchange. There is to be no more changing of orders at the whim of superintendent or foreman; each separate decision must be in harmony with the agreement, and the employer guarantees to introduce no radical change in his factory organization without first bringing it up for discussion in the joint conference. In case there should arise a difference of opinion as to the interpretation of the agreement, the question comes before an impartial board, and the decision reached here is binding on both parties.

The agreement marked the beginning of a new stage in the development of the men's clothing industry—that of an organized labor market. Establishment government came in with the Hart, Schaffner & Marx agreement in 1910—the Rochester agreement applies the same principle to a larger sphere. It establishes first the right of employees to organize and the recognition of this

organization by the employers. The employers promise to deal collectively with their employees thru the agency of the union. But they do not bind themselves to employ only union members—the open shop is maintained. The employer retains also the right to discharge, but the employee receives the right to go to arbitration if he feels that his discharge is unfair.

It is specifically set for in the agreement that there shall be no strikes or lockouts in the industry. Each plant has its establishment organization for adjusting the complaints of employees. And when the representatives of firm and of workers cannot agree on an issue, there is further machinery in the market to handle differences between employers' interests and the union.

In brief, the policy is one of mutual dealing between the employer and employee, in the individual shop and in the market as a whole.

The execution of the policy is given over by the employers to a new functionary, the labor manager, the expert in adjustment trained not in the apprenticeship to the trade, but in the school of liberal arts, by a culture of mind and soul which develops a broad sympathy with humanity. And there should be something of the sociologist, of the philosopher, of the poet in that one of the firm's representatives who must see first the *man* in the employee, and so be able to guess at the human motives for the attitude he takes to his work and to his life. The new labor manager has brought into industry something vital which has been missing until this time.

The atmosphere of the adjuster's office is hardly that of the factory, it rather bears the marks of the professor's study. The bookcases are well filled, the periodicals on the side table are of [Continued on page 344

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Next Month — Why They  
Tend to Their Knitting

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# The American Watch on the Rhine

By Hamilton Holt

**I**N President-elect Harding's famous Des Moines speech in which he turned his back upon the League of Nations, he said regarding our boys in Germany: "They haven't any business there, and just as soon as we declare formal peace we can be sure they will be coming home, as they ought to come."

I have met no one since I returned from Europe who seems to have any very distinct idea where, or why, our army is in Germany. Perhaps, therefore, it may interest the readers of *The Independent* if I explain the reasons why our boys are there and show what they are doing as I saw them on my visit to the American Rhineland sector, where the American flag flies on the highest point on the Rhine, and where 16,000 American troops are now stationed in compliance with the terms of the armistice.

One day last August I left Paris, with my two daughters, and, after an all night's journey, during which I was once or twice tempted to emulate the late President of France and jump out of the window—such are the abominations of travel since the war—we arrived at Coblenz at noon the next day.

This was my second trip to Coblenz in eighteen months. When I attended the Peace Conference a year ago last February, my wife and I visited the American army on the Rhine. It was only a few months after the armistice. No one knew how badly Germany had been beaten. The Allies were taking no chances. The Americans had several hundred thousand troops in the sector. They not only occupied Coblenz and the neighboring cities, but they were swarming in every little town and cross-roads village. I found at that time that there was considerable friction between our troops and the French, who held the adjoining sector centering at Mayence to the south. Our General in command was evidently more of a fighter than a diplomat. He did not have the reputation of being a Frankophile and there was considerable misunderstanding between the higher commands. Our men, moreover, had felt that the war had been brought to a victorious conclusion and they were impatient to get home. Peace was getting on their nerves.

I was delighted to find that since my former visit the situation had entirely changed. I found that the old American army of occupation, which had fought its way thru the Argonne to Sedan and then marched on

to Coblenz, had been sent home—almost every man of them—and a new set of recruits, specially enlisted for the purpose, had taken their places. Major-General Henry T. Allen, who commanded one of our fighting divisions during the final German retreat, had superseded General Dykman, and had an entirely new personnel under his command.

General Allen sent his aide to meet us at the station. It seemed like old times to get into a coffee-colored Cadillac limousine, with "U. S. A." painted in white letters on the side and the two red stars betokening the General's rank on the windshield. We were whisked away to the beautiful Coblenzer Hof, the finest hotel in the city, on the banks of the Rhine almost directly opposite Ehrenbreitstein. This hotel has been requisitioned by the American army, which, according to the usage of war, is privileged to take over any private or public building in the occupied territory. The hotel is reserved exclusively for army officers and official guests of the United States army. The bill is sent to the German Government afterwards.

My daughters and I were given two sumptuous rooms with a connecting bath and were charged 150 marks a day for them, which at the rate of exchange was less than \$1.50 per room. The price of meals, fixed by army regulation, was ridiculously low in dollars and cents. The Army of Occupation is in the rather happy situation of being entirely supported by Germany while in the occupied territory, and I may incidentally call the attention of the American taxpayers to the fact that they will have to foot the bill for their armies' upkeep if President Harding calls home the troops.

The first thing we did after we had removed our travel stains and had eaten luncheon was to inquire what was going on that afternoon. It seems we had arrived at the most opportune week of the season, for the great Horse Show was at that moment in progress. So my daughters and I hired a hack—there seemed to be no automobiles in the city except those owned by the American army—and rattled along the shore road until we arrived at the spacious athletic parade ground which the American engineers had constructed and where all the chief sports except polo are held. On almost every street corner, whether there appeared to be heavy traffic or not, stood either an American M. P. or a German policeman acting as a "traffic cop." The Americans



WHERE AMERICAN TROOPS KEEP THE WATCH ON THE RHINE

The most conspicuous object for miles around is Old Glory flying over Ehrenbreitstein, the fort which is the American headquarters. The pontoon bridge across the river is a masterly piece of the United States Engineering Corps' work. At the right is the famous statue of Kaiser Frederick which our soldiers amused themselves by shooting at from the fort on the other shore







© Schutz, from Underwood & Underwood

This band stand in front of the Royal Palace at Coblenz is now the center of doughboys' entertainment—concerts, boxing matches, movies and so on

have taught the Germans all their tricks of trade and the latter take their duties so super-seriously that it was fun to motor past them. They would stand rigidly facing the approaching vehicle and then swing both their hands horizontally with such a snap and a click toward the direction which the vehicle was required to take that I suspect even old Hindenburg himself would have been compelled to grunt approval. There was nothing to compare with these traffic police in either the French or English occupied territories.

The athletic grounds were beautified by numerous white flag poles, from which fluttered not only the American flags but the ensigns of our Allies. No German flags are allowed in this part of Germany except by special permission. We were driven up to what I supposed was the grandstand, and as I got out to inquire whether we could buy tickets to witness the events, a young officer came up and introduced himself and invited us into the General's private stand. General Allen is a tall, lithe, handsome and polished American officer. I shall never cease to be grateful for the Administration in letting General Pershing have an absolutely free hand in selecting his officers. Almost every American general I met in Europe was one of those thoroughbred West Pointers with stout legs and a strong stomach, a man who could hike and share hardships with the best of the doughboys. None of these old pot-bellied, bald-headed fellows who have been strutting about the Army and Navy Club at Washington for a decade before the war! It was evident that General Allen was not only a soldier but a statesman. After I came to know him better and had checked up my opinion of him from others, both Americans and Europeans, I came to the conclusion that he was just the right kind of "benevolent despot" for the place. He has reestablished the most cordial relations with the neighboring French and English armies and all that fault finding and criticism that was so prevalent when I was at Coblenz a year before had entirely disappeared and the good feeling between the Allied armies is as cordial as it was during the last days of the war.

I had no idea that a horse show so far away from Madison Square Garden could be really so fine. The chief event of that afternoon was the competition of artillery horses. The English, the French and the Belgians had sent their best teams to compete with ours and I never saw such thoroly scrubbed chamois polished carriages, such well groomed glistening chargers, and such immaculately garbed men sitting like ramrods

on the high horse of each pair or with folded arms on the gun caissons.

It took the judges a long time to make their decision, but when after much comparing and arguing and feeling of the horses' feet and rubbing their white gloved hands in the cannon's mouth, the blue ribbon was finally pinned on the great raw-boned, dappled gray team of the American army, there was a great cheer. When I visited the various Allied armies behind the fronts in the dark days of 1918, the American and French troops looked so sloppy as compared with the English that I did not believe that within two short years any army on earth could have taken a prize in smartness away from the English army. But General Allen told me that we had been winning about every competition we had gone into, so our British and French friends had no doubt learned to expect it and were not unduly disappointed.

Besides the horse show competitions, the American army goes into every conceivable kind of sport. It "pulls off" boxing bouts in the center of the public square every Thursday afternoon. It maintains a regular baseball league of teams representing the various sections of the army. The officers support several crack polo teams. The weekly boxing bouts are a sort of a free for all. Anyone who thinks he can box is permitted to try his luck and if he wins the count he must accept challenges of men of his class until he is beaten. The French and English armies send down their best boxers to fight with us, and a good, hard and sometimes bloody time they have of it, tho so far there have been no serious accidents. The officers tell me that boxing is a good thing for the men, and such an honest sporting spirit has been cultivated on the part of both fighters and spectators that no dirty work has taken place at all in the ring, nor would the audience permit it if attempted. The visiting French or English boxer is given just as much applause for a plucky fight as his American antagonist.

One afternoon we witnessed a competition in cavalry teams in a part of the athletic field especially constructed for the purpose. There were hurdles and sand pits and lakes and elevated plateaus, and every kind of "bunker" to test the grit and agility of a cavalry horse. It was very exciting to see the officers riding over these obstacles and jumping over ditches in pairs. A man runs a pretty good chance of breaking his neck if his horse slips, but the zest in which all the young officers enter this competition shows that danger is not one of the things prominently in the mind of an American army officer.

We also witnessed one afternoon an international polo match between England and America, and as usual America won. It was as fine polo playing as I have ever seen, and all non-German Coblenz [Continued on page 347]



Wide World

The Commander of the American Army of Occupation, Major General Henry T. Allen



# Our Share of Foreign Trade

A Message from the United States Government to the American People

By Joshua W. Alexander

United States Secretary of Commerce

**W**HY should the average American, the small business man, the wage worker, be interested in world trade? He has nothing to sell in foreign markets and they have little he needs to buy. What concern has he with import and export figures? Is foreign trade really any of his affair?

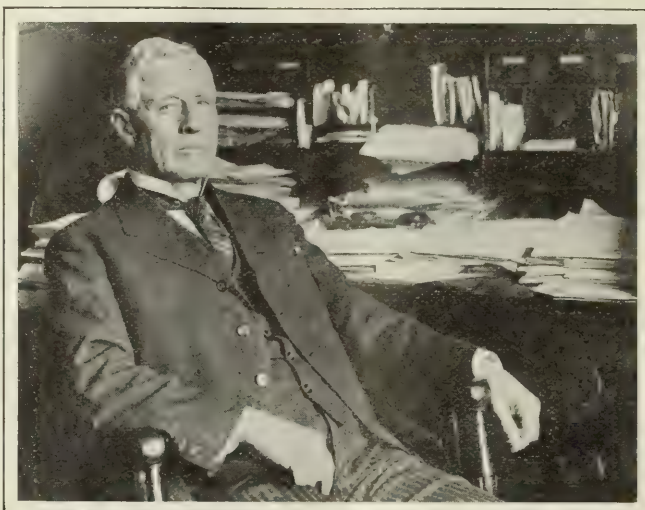
The subject is a new one to most Americans. Even the Government, until somewhat recently, had given it little thought. In the past we could afford to neglect the whole matter, but now we have come to a day when the measure of our foreign trade is of vital importance to all of us. The Government is taking an active interest in its promotion and our industrial leaders are giving the subject more attention than ever before. Why?

The reason is a simple one. The continued expansion of our industries has brought us to a point where they are turning out a considerable surplus, over and above our domestic requirements. In certain industries the output was multiplied many times during the war. Today we are producing machine tools, motor trucks and staple dyes, for instance, in quantities very much larger than we can use at home. For these, and hundreds of other excess products, we need an outlet. The obvious outlet is the foreign market.

American foreign trade was enormously expanded by the war. Whereas the value of American goods shipped abroad in the fiscal year 1914 was \$2,364,000,000, in the fiscal year 1920 it was \$8,111,000,000. How many men, how many factories, how many acres of land were employed to produce the goods and commodities this total represents? And what would happen to these men, factories and farms if this business were suddenly taken away?

Up to this time the average producer, big and little, has failed to appreciate the true relation of foreign trade to the welfare of the nation as a whole. He has not realized how he and his family and his work would be affected if the avenues of export should, for any reason, be closed.

The necessity for building up a large foreign trade, or rather of establishing upon a permanent basis that which the war gave us, comes at a time when we are better prepared to meet it than at any time in the past. We have ships, 16,000,000 gross tons of them, a fleet second only to that of Great Britain. Our system of delivery to foreign markets is already functioning. Before the war only 8 per cent of our goods sold abroad was delivered in our own bottoms. Now we are carrying 60 per cent of our commerce under the American flag.



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Secretary Alexander makes in this message the first announcement of plans for developing Manila as a great American commercial base in the struggle for Far Eastern trade

To maintain our splendid merchant marine we must have a large foreign trade. Shipping cannot thrive without cargoes to carry. Neither can it thrive carrying cargoes only one way. Our import trade must be developed along with our export trade. Our ships cannot go laden with goods and return in ballast. If they do freight rates will be doubled, and neither our trade nor our fleet will survive in competition with other nations. We cannot long continue to send goods abroad without receiving approximately equal amounts of goods or cash in return.

The important thing in the promotion of foreign trade is that it be developed systematically. American manufacturers must learn that they cannot get into foreign trade today and out tomorrow and in again the next day. Permanent selling organizations must be developed in foreign countries and these agencies must not be left unprovided with goods to sell.

To the industries that have asked it, my advice has been that they set aside a certain proportion of their annual production—the proportion that is in excess of the normal domestic demand—for export. If for any reason, or combination of reasons, the domestic demand shows an abnormal increase it should not be met by cutting into the export allotment, but by increasing production. A merchant in Buenos Ayres who orders American goods and does not receive them is not likely soon again to place his orders in the United States. We cannot build a permanent foreign trade by “dumping the surplus” abroad, and refusing shipments if there is no surplus to dump.

Foreign trade, after all, is not very different from domestic trade. The manufacturer confining his operations to the domestic market estimates in advance the demand for his product in the various sections of the country and makes up his schedule of production to meet these demands. If he fails to fill orders for his product in any section, a competitor gets the business. That principle is well understood, so far as it applies to the United States; what needs to be understood is that the application of this principle is world wide.

The United States is itself a vast empire, three thousand miles across. For the manufacturer shipping his product from Connecticut to California, Calcutta is only one step farther, and the principles involved in the trade are much the same. There are, of course, the complications of exchange and trade balances, but when these are understood, the American manufacturer should have very little more difficulty trading in foreign markets than at home.

The promotion of foreign trade [Cont'd on page 350]



# Deflation Not Panic

## The Gain and Risk of Cutting Prices and Profits, But Not Wages

By Talcott Williams

THE men "at the top" are today more anxious than at any time since August, 1914, as to credits and business of all orders—big banks and railroads, little stores and large, two- or three-man shops, factories, trusts. The Federal Reserve banking system, they all believe, will save a sudden smash.

The men below the top, far or near, are called, not to dread, but to saving, retrenchment, no buying not necessary, to meeting falling markets by thrifty purchases, above all to increased production so as to make up for falling prices, thereby keeping up the total receipts.

As they say on "No Admittance" signs—THIS MEANS YOU.

Apprehension as to the immediate future of business and credits exists chiefly at four points in the United States at present. Owing to the fall in cereals and the belief that delay in marketing would increase the quotations in wheat and corn, farmers have delayed shipping and they borrowed money from their banks upon elevator and warehouse receipts, bills of lading, etc., in the West, the practice having been carried further with the aid of sundry Chicago banks in Iowa than elsewhere. The cotton crop, with prices one-third of last June, is being held, to a large extent not fully known, over the South, particularly Texas, with the aid of bank accommodation. So large are this year's crops in proportion to the amount usually grown that this policy has interfered with the shipment of these staples to market. Wool has fallen over one-half since May and New England banks have advanced on mill purchases. Owing to the development of other sources of cereals, cotton and wool, the United States does not enjoy the position it once had, but on the other hand, the Russian supply, a large one so far as Europe's supply is concerned, is cut off. Fourth, automobile corporations have had to borrow heavily and one, General Motors, has changed hands.

The fall in a large number of staples and the probable decrease in iron and steel, with a heavy fall in copper, lead, tin, rubber and many staples, together with the reduction of retail orders due to the determination of the public not to accept high prices, have forced a large number of establishments to reduce their output, or to close altogether, employers laying off a large number of employees. This is true on the one hand of manufacturers, such as automobile manufacturers, who expected in 1920 the same large demand which came in 1919 and who made commitments in regard to the supply of iron, steel, copper, leather, rubber and long staple cotton used in tires when the range of prices was far higher than it is today. In the case of industries in cotton, wool, boots and shoes, other leather goods and articles of minor but general consumption, manufacturers have been forced to go thru a relative reduction in the general demand which existed thru most of 1919, and also to an artificial reduction in public demand owing to a determination this past year, on the part of every family and almost every individual, not to purchase until prices were lower.

The writer, in common with a very large number of men, managed to get thru the summer with a straw hat of the vintage of 1918, and wore a derby of the vintage of the same year until it was abruptly called in last month by his household superior because it was beginning "to show white on the brim." These economies will meet a smiling recognition in every reader. This is deflation in practice. In the streets, in the audiences and in travel, there

is a perceptible letting down of the spruce condition of masculine attire in the post-war boom, and the ratio of new overcoats which came with cold weather has perceptibly diminished. The jewelry trade is under pressure; alarm clock makers cannot fill their orders.

When a hundred million people, who consume more per capita than any other hundred million in the world, begin to economize on this scale, the results are world wide. They are apparent in the reduction of exports from European countries, including England, to this country and in the banking up of goods in Western Europe. Europe east of the Vistula is unable to manufacture anything because the blockade cuts it off from raw materials and customers. In all the countries in Europe our attack on prices has led, first, to a serious falling off of credits and the reduction of the value of the mark, franc and pound, and, second, in the inability of Central Europe to continue meeting reparation claims.

A change of this character, a reduction in prices, and a period in which manufacturers and retailers would be straitened, employment be diminished and credit strained, was inevitable and was sensed in advance by everyone. Retail stores in the United States, and particularly the great establishments in our cities, have prepared for this by sales at greatly reduced prices, sales which will grow in January. In addition, the congestion in the movement of freight which took place in the first half of the current year prevented the shipment of goods ordered in January and February for summer supply. They should have been delivered in March and April. They were not delivered until May and June or even July. Three results followed: Orders were cancelled on an unprecedented scale. Goods delivered came too late to be sold, and prices fell. Percales which were ordered by wholesalers in Chicago in January and February at 35 cents a yard, in many cases could not be delivered until too late to go into the summer trade. By that time these goods had dropped from 35 cents to 30 cents. They continued to drop and the same goods are now selling at 15 cents instead of 35 cents as ten months ago. So all around.

Now is the time to buy, as soon as prices come down, before they rise.

WHETHER these changes bring on a period of economy, frugality and a gradual readjustment without shock, whether only deflation comes or panic follows—bringing in the next four months a smash in business, in manufacturing, in transportation—depends wholly upon the intelligence, self restraint and self direction of the American people.

If a man in regular business borrowed money to the extent of his total outgo and plunged into a new unforeseen effort to save himself from losing all he had, he would have a brisk, lively time while he was spending that money. At the end of that time, he would find himself with an interest charge seriously changing his balance sheet and the necessity of retrenching.

He would have two courses before him. He could try to go on his old scale and old expenditure, buying an automobile every two or three years so as to be up with the last kink in machines, and doing all the other easy things he did in prosperous years. Or he could stop, cut down his personal expenses, put up with less at all points, taking every odd job he could get and gradually bring himself to the point where he was free from the sudden load he had



put upon his own shoulders. If he did not, his credit would be exhausted, his liabilities would be increased and he would go thru sudden and disastrous liquidation.

This is substantially the position of the United States. A whole year's income, very possibly more than this, a year and a half or two years' income was borrowed and suddenly spent. All of that \$40,000,000,000 to \$60,000,000,000 or even \$80,000,000,000 went to somebody. Considerably over one-half (I think two-thirds) went into the hands of labor. In some industries not one-half but three-quarters and upwards went to labor. Part of the whole spent in the war went into profits which were invested or spent. Part of it was burned up in the destruction of war and left behind it millions of tons of barbed wire and steel shells and all the rest of the debris of battle. Pretty nearly one-fifth of the world's shipping went to the bottom of the sea.

The bills are coming due. The people who had money to loan can loan no longer. The people who had money to invest from the dimes that go into savings banks to the big sums that go into big business, have in the case of the rich spent all they can invest after paying profits and income tax. The frugal below \$10,000 a year are buying bonds and shares now.

If everybody faces the situation and saves, the corner will be turned without any more serious burden than a period of abstinence. For one thing the United States is ahead about a billion dollars a year, a sum equivalent to the interest on its debt of \$25,000,000,000, because it passed the Eighteenth Amendment. The big gain is in the increased efficiency of labor; to a less extent in the stoppage of the wholly useless manufacture of 160,000,000 barrels of beer, 164,000,000 gallons of native spirits and 45,000,000 gallons of wine made no longer except in very small quantities; and, third, in the reduced cost of jails, poorhouses and illness. The fact that there were millions of people who were disabled once or twice a month and lost a day or two, perhaps fifteen or twenty days in the year, who are now on their regular jobs every day, is additional evidence that these things amount to, at least, a billion dollars saved a year, unconsciously paying off the interest on the war debt.

People of large means who spend less and most of all, people of moderate means who save waste and useless expenditure, bring down expenses. If working men are willing to do as the Baltimore carpenters wisely did a fortnight ago, when they voted down an increase of wages on the grounds that it was better to go on working at a lower wage than to be idle in the effort to get a higher one, labor will take the right course. Unemployment itself, for a season is better than a reduction in the scale of wages. That was the great victory of the war for the freedom and education of the family. Another unconscious victory of the war was a higher scale of living for families earning \$1,500 a year and less. Both the new scale and the new standard of living should be maintained. They are part of the new freedom. They can be maintained if taxes are shifted still more to profits, incomes over \$25,000, and estates over \$50,000 on probate.

Continue saving, let every one try in every possible way to reduce waste, to maintain efficiency and to work at any job which can be obtained until this hideous loss is in part made up, and the country will go through a period of abstinence, but in the end, as always in the past, emerge prosperous, the many and the few better off than ever.

## Translating English

THE most truthful of us do not say exactly what we mean; there are phrases and idioms which must be taken in a purely symbolical sense altho we use them so often as to be unconscious of this. Thus—

"Two or three" always means three and usually "at least three" or "three and upwards." "One or two" never means one, save by accident.

"In a minute" averages anywhere from five to fifty minutes.

"O, I beg your pardon" (in case of a collision on the sidewalk) means "I am too polite to ask you to beg my pardon for getting in my way."

"That reminds me of a story" means "Now will you keep quiet while I tell my joke?"

"I hold no brief for" means "I am now going to defend—."

"While I do not wish to appear critical" means "But I am going to have my say out anyhow."

"Of course, it's no business of mine" means "But I am simply devoured with curiosity."

"My conduct calls for no apology and needs no explanation" is the usual introduction for an explanation or apology.

"No one could possibly have mistaken my meaning" is what we begin with when it is evident that someone *has* mistaken it.

## An Important Step Toward Christian Union

By Charles E. Jefferson, D. D.,  
Pastor of Broadway Tabernacle, New York

ONE of the outstanding events of the year 1920 was the meeting of the Lambeth Conference in London last summer. It was the sixth meeting of the kind and because of the importance of its pronouncements seems sure to eclipse in the history of the church all its predecessors. The conference was composed of two hundred and fifty-two Anglican and Episcopal Bishops, two-fifths of them from the British Isles, two-fifths from the colonies, and one-fifth from the United States. The conference spoke many valuable words on a variety of topics, but what it said on the subject of church union will create most stir thruout the Christian world.

The Appeal is remarkable in several ways. Its temper is conciliatory and gentle, its tone is sympathetic and fraternal. There is not a trace of haughtiness, not a tinge of assumed superiority from the first sentence to the last. In spirit and intention it is thoroly and genuinely Christian. One feels on reading that the men who wrote it were undoubtedly moved by the Holy Ghost.

The Appeal is addressed "To all Christian People." There are four branches of the Christian church—the Greek Catholic, the Roman Catholic, the Anglo Catholic, and the Non-Episcopal churches. The first three have never hitherto been willing to recognize the Non-Episcopal churches as forming a part of the true church of Christ. The Anglican Bishops have at last surrendered that position. They admit that Non-Episcopal churches are members of the body of Christ. This is their language:

We acknowledge all those who believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, and have been baptized into the name of the Holy Trinity, as sharing with us membership in the universal church of Christ which is his Body.

The Bishops go on to say that it is their belief that God wills fellowship and that it is God's purpose that this fellowship should be manifest in a united society. This united fellowship is not visible in the world today. They express the hope that all the various communions of Christians may be led by the Spirit into the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God.

Having said this, they proceed to say something else equally extraordinary. Too often in the past the Anglican Bishops have looked down upon Non-Episcopal churches



as schismatics and sectarians, wilful and headstrong sinners, chronic mischief makers and disturbers of the peace, while they themselves apparently felt free from all blame. But now a new note is struck—the note of penitence and humility. Self-will and ambition and lack of charity and blindness to the sin of disunion have been factors in creating the present situation, but the Bishops confess that the causes of division are not wholly blameworthy. The church which they represent has had something to do with the creation of the condition of broken fellowship, and they say, "We desire frankly to confess our share in the guilt of thus crippling the Body of Christ, and hindering the activity of His Spirit." This is indeed beautifully Christian. There have of course been wilfulness and factiousness and uncharitableness and impatience on both sides and on all sides, and the Anglican church now takes its place among the penitents who confess their transgressions, and who agree "to forget the things which are behind and to reach out toward the goal of a united Catholic church."

Up to this point there is nothing in the appeal which Non-Episcopal churches cannot accept and rejoice in. The recognition of the Non-Episcopal churches as parts of the true church of Christ is the greatest step toward church union which has been taken within the last four hundred years. The confession that the alleged schismatics have not been altogether in the wrong, and that wrong action on the part of the Anglican church is in part responsible for the present divided Christian world creates an atmosphere in which the heart becomes hospitable and sympathetic and the mind sees more clearly the things which make for peace. It is not till the Bishops suggest a practical way of bringing the separated communions together, that they strike an idea which must of necessity require a deal of consideration, and upon which good men cannot be expected just at present to agree. The Bishops say: "We believe that the visible unity of the church will be found to involve the whole-hearted acceptance of a ministry acknowledged by every part of the church as possessing not only the inward call of the Spirit, but also the commission of Christ and the authority of the whole body." At that point they venture to insert this question: "May we not reasonably claim that the Episcopate is the one means of providing such a ministry?" They realize that this is likely to be a bomb, and so they proceed to clarify their position by forestalling certain objections which they know will immediately arise. Is this the old historic Episcopate of a former Lambeth Conference appeal appearing in a new form? Does this mean that all Protestant ministers outside the Anglican and Episcopal churches must be reordained in order to give validity to their orders? Must we all become Episcopalians in order to obtain this visible manifestation of fellowship which millions of hearts desire? To these questions the Bishops give answers. They do not ask for reordination. They suggest *additional* ordination. They do not call in question the validity of the orders already possessed by Non-Episcopal clergymen. This is their language:

It is not that we call in question for a moment the spiritual reality of the ministries of these communions which do not possess the Episcopate. On the contrary we thankfully acknowledge that these ministries have been manifestly blessed and owned by the Holy Spirit as effective means of grace. God forbid that any man should repudiate a past experience rich in spiritual blessings for himself and others. We shall be publicly and formally seeking additional recognition by a new call to wider service in a reunited church. We do not ask that any one communion should consent to be absorbed in another. We do ask that all should unite in a new and great endeavor to recover and to manifest to the world the unity of the body of Christ for which he prayed.

Here then we have a request for Episcopal ordination on a new ground. In the past, Episcopal ordination has been insisted on as a means of authority and validity. Without the ordination there would be no valid or authorita-

tive ministry. But now Episcopal ordination is suggested solely as an instrument of unity, as a means of bringing all branches of the church together. Three of these branches are already Episcopal churches, and for the sake of satisfying the scruples of these three branches it is suggested that the ministers of the fourth branch accept Episcopal ordination not because they need it to be true servants of Christ or effective ministers of his grace, but in order to make possible that visible fellowship which the modern world craves and needs. What the Bishops advise others to do they confess themselves also willing to do. They cannot on a point of this character speak positively or finally, but they say they are persuaded that "the Bishops and clergy of their own communions would willingly accept from the authorities of other communions a form of commission or recognition which would commend their ministry to their congregations as having its place in the one family life." The Archbishop of York has already publicly stated:

I should esteem it a privilege and an added consecration and of course no repudiation of my orders, if our relations with the Presbyterian Church were such that I could now receive such ordination or commission from the church of my fathers (the Presbyterian Church of Scotland) as would enable me to minister in the Presbyterian Church and to administer the Lord's Supper to its people; and I should feel that no Presbyterian minister would repudiate his ministry if he should receive ordination at my hands, and while still remaining a minister of the Presbyterian Church be able to administer the Lord's Supper in the church of England.

The Roman Catholic Church thru Cardinal Bourne, the Archbishop of Westminster, has promptly turned the Anglican proposal down. The voices of the Non-Conformist ministers of Great Britain are divided. There are many things to be considered before a final conclusion can be reached. The appeal has already been discussed in many local assemblies, and it will be one of the chief subjects for discussion at all the Spring National Meetings. The Anglican Bishops have put forth an appeal sufficiently definite and reasonable and courteous and christian to merit and receive the earnest consideration of every branch of the Protestant church.

## An Invitation

Come ahead, Prosperity, the election is over.

## The First Assembly of the Nations

By Hayne Davis

LAST week witnessed the assembling of the representatives of forty-one nations at Geneva to participate in the first General Assembly of the League of Nations. When these delegates took their seats in the Hall of Reformation, there was visibly manifested to the onlooking world what has been dreamed of by poets and prophets in past ages, labored for during recent decades and actually produced thru the travail of the World War in a Union or Association or League of Nations, for the better establishment of international justice and the maintenance of world peace, in fact for achieving the good objects for which governments are instituted among men.

The eyes of practically the whole world were fixed upon this political child of the twentieth century when it was born on the fifteenth day of this November, eyes of expectation, of hope, of fear, even of hostility. Some there were who sought the young child's life; even declaring that it was dead just before it began to speak. It is a matter of supreme moment whether this child is to grow in wisdom and stature, and in favor with God and man, or whether, as an agency of evil it is to embroil the world in conflicts that would not otherwise have arisen, or whether it is just to pass away in impotent infancy, to be replaced by what international anarchy or a successor more worthy of be-



coming the political savior of the nations? Perhaps no more important political question has arisen since the day that the thirteen revolted colonies of Great Britain in America assembled at Philadelphia in 1787 and proposed the present Constitution of the United States of America.

That convention met six years after the British forces under Cornwallis had surrendered to the American power represented by Washington. Meeting at a period of profound peace (on this side of the waters at least), with ample time for deliberation, and with all the interested states represented or with ample opportunities to be represented (New Hampshire's delegate arrived near the end of the convention and Rhode Island sent no delegate), there was nothing to prevent the formation of as perfect a union of the states concerned as the intelligence then manifested in America could conceive. That convention deliberated a long time. So critical became the situation that Benjamin Franklin himself proposed the opening of the succeeding sessions with prayer. At last an agreement was reached, and a Constitution proposed to the states concerned for their judgment; I do not say approval, because it was recognized that each state had a right to *judge* the proposed Constitution, *i. e.*, to accept it, reject it, or to propose its amendment. Then began, in various states, a struggle somewhat like the one that was waged at Washington when the Covenant of the League of Nations was before the Senate, and throught the country during the campaign just closed.

Very honorable men opposed the adoption of the proposed Constitution; in Virginia, Patrick Henry was one of its opponents. Washington had been presiding officer of the Constitutional convention, and naturally became its proponent in Virginia, along with a great array of political stars of the first magnitude then visible in that part of the southern sky. Washington wrote to the North Carolinians, urging them to ratify the Constitution as an aid to the fight for its adoption in Virginia.

Nevertheless, North Carolina would not then approve the proposed Constitution, and did not enter the Union until after the election and national inauguration of Washington as its first President. It was New Hampshire's action on June 21, 1788, by a vote of 57 to 46, which gave life to the Constitution. Virginia ratified a few days later by the close vote of 89 to 79, New York the next month by a majority of only two votes.

Washington's inauguration occurred in New York on the thirtieth day of April, 1789, thus actually launching the Union. It was in November following that North Carolina approved the Constitution, and so became a member of the existing Union. On May 29, 1790, Rhode Island decided to accept, and also to give the guarantees embodied in the Constitution, and so the Union of all the Revolutionary colonies of Great Britain put out to sea upon the stormy waters of the eighteenth century political world.

The American Union as launched in 1789 was not considered by our forefathers who formed it as perfect by any means. In fact some of the states "at the time of their adoption of the Constitution, expressed a desire, in order to prevent misconstruction or abuse of its powers, that further *declarative and restrictive clauses* should be added." Accordingly the first Congress held under the Constitution proposed to the constituent states twelve amendments to the Constitution, some of which were of prime importance, and ten of which were approved by the legislatures of the required number of states (three-fourths) and were declared in force December 15, 1791. Eight additional and substantial alterations in the Constitution have since been made.

Comparing these facts with those surrounding the formation and launching of the League of Nations, we find that the latter was formed in haste, in the midst of danger, with echoes of the World War still sounding in the minds

of the delegates at Versailles and of the statesmen and people of all the belligerent nations, and in the absence of about two-thirds of the interested nations. How could a more perfect product issue from such a meeting than was evolved by the delegates to the Constitutional convention at Philadelphia? Manifestly, therefore, amendment of the Covenant is to be expected, when amendment of the Constitution was found necessary, and the first General Assembly of the League corresponds in fact to the first Congress of our Union under the Constitution which proposed amendments, ten of which were adopted.

The forces that operated to form and perfect and then preserve the American Union are now operating and with increased intensity, to form, perfect and preserve the international union. The objects of the two are the same, the main lines of the League structure are the same as those forming the fundamentals of our articles of confederation, and also of our present Constitution which superseded it. The nations have begun to deliberate, as members of an organic union, with due provision for periodical assemblies and for consideration and approval of proposed amendments of the organic law of their union. The wisdom now manifested in the whole world is at the service of the international union for its development and preservation. The inherent rights of man constitute the facts which must find adequate recognition in the form and also in the procedure of any union that can endure. The United States of America in its Constitution, in its course of conduct, even in its Civil War, gives the cue to what is needed to perfect the form and properly guide the action of this union of all nations, and now is the time for our people to recall and dwell upon these provisions of our own Union and these events in our political history, which show the way the world should go at this critical hour in human history.

There is no need for any American to be downcast who is for the League of Nations any more than there was for North Carolinians or Rhode Islanders to be discouraged when the Union was launched without their states being on board. The launching was itself a cause for great rejoicing. If the Constitution had been rejected that would have been a reason for renewed effort, not for surrender. But the Constitution was adopted then by the necessary number of states and so is the League Covenant now. The Union was launched then with some states left out. So it is now. Outsiders came in then. They will do so now. The Union as formed then was substantially changed. So will the Covenant be. Effort was made to destroy the Union. So may it be expected now. Righteousness, truth, justice, all the real values of the world have been greatly augmented, here in America, and elsewhere in the world, as a result of the struggle in America to give birth and increasing power and excellency to the United States of America. There will be a repetition of these benefits, effective throught the world, in the formation and in the perfecting of the international union.

### Too Polite

JOHN Bull—Sam, old top, won't you take charge of this Harmeria mandate? Hi would do hit myself only hit would seem too bally himperialistic to take on any more mandates than hi 'ave. Do oblige a chap!

Uncle Sam—I reckon not. You Europeans are welcome to these here Near East mandates for all me. I don't hanker after anything on the other side of the duckpond; just leave me out of the deal and go to it! Guess it's up to you, Frenchy.

Jacques Bonhomme—Messieurs, I am overpower' by your politeness. It ees too much honnair! I beg of you to accept thees mandate with all my heart.

Armenia—Gentlemen, while you are discussing which will have the honor of saving me I am dying.



# On the Outside Looking In



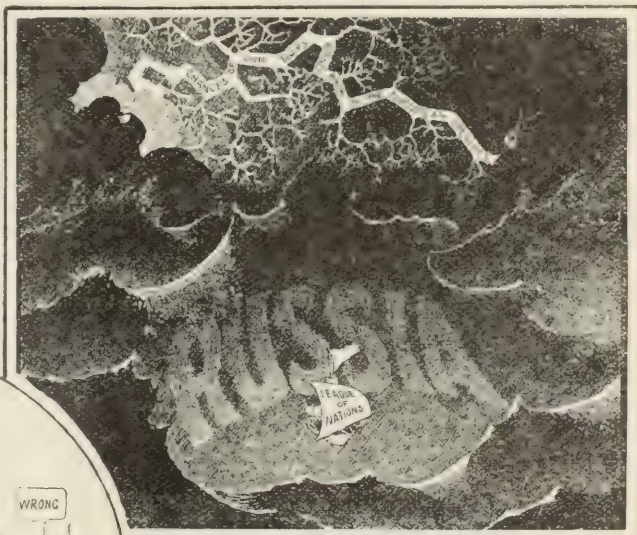
© F. H. Donahey, from George Matthew Adams Service  
THAT ISN'T YOUR CROWD, SAM!



Stinson in  
Dayton Daily News

HE MUST  
CONTINUE TO  
BE A TWO-  
GUN MAN'

This cartoon, published in the newspaper owned by Governor Cox, shows Uncle Sam headed down the Road of Isolation and of Distrust



© by Star Company

A ROUGH SEA

"Why ship on a ship bound for shipwreck?" This cartoon from a Hearst newspaper presents the opposite extreme of opinion on the League from that of the "Two-Gun Man" above

Thomas in Detroit News

THE SOLEMN REFERENDUM

It was almost too openly arrived at



Harding in  
Brooklyn Daily Eagle

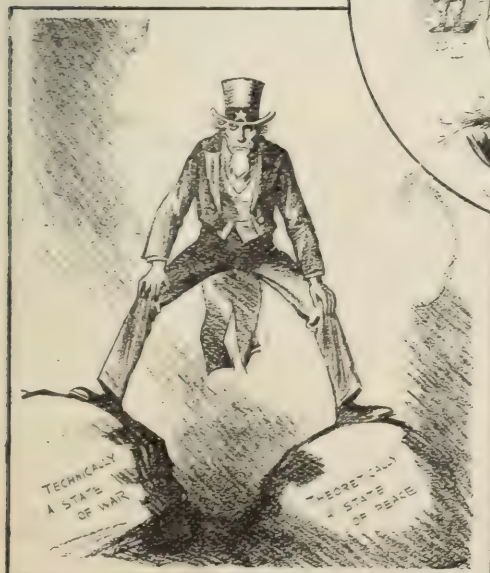
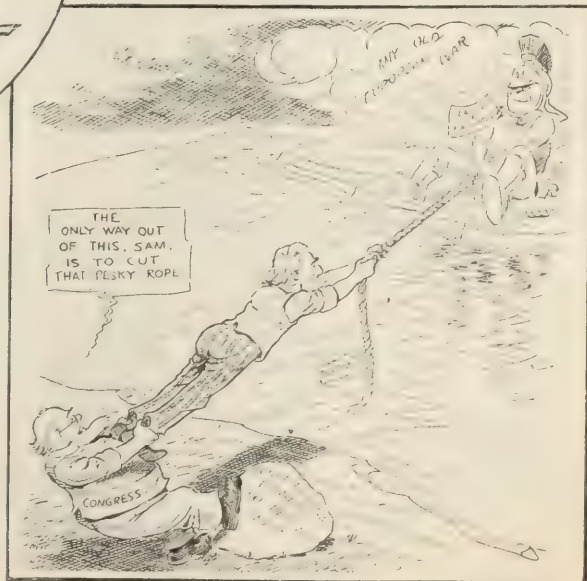
"HAY FOOT, STRAW FOOT"

The opposing Republican generals, Johnson and Lodge, each see only one foot in the G. O. P. drill on the League

Wahl in Sacramento Bee

Right: A TEST CASE

Let us assume we have ratified the League—here's the way it would work



Kneiff in Dallas News

A DIFFICULT POSITION



# The Story of the Week

## Hoover on Reconstruction

THE American equivalent for "Let George do it" seems to be "Let Hoover do it." As head of the Belgian relief work, Federal Food Administrator during the war, adviser on economic questions to the Paris Peace Conference, post-war director of relief work to half of Europe and large part of Asia, and member of the second Industrial Conference, his days have been crowded; to make no mention of his not altogether successful venture into politics. But new duties have been accumulating. The Federated American Engineering Society has chosen him president. The executive council of the American Federation of Labor has called him into conference as the one man, associated with "big business," who could give them advice at once practical and sympathetic as to how labor can retain its improved standard of living in the period of industrial depression which appears to confront the nation. The European Relief Council, a federation of eight of the largest relief organizations in the country, has made him chairman. Franklin K. Lane, former Secretary of the Interior, is treasurer. There is much talk of a cabinet appointment for Mr. Hoover, and tho there is a divergence of opinion as to which department he could most usefully head, there will be deep disappointment among the rank and file of the Republican party if President Harding does not in some capacity associate him with the incoming administration.

In his address before the American engineers, Mr. Hoover outlined a program of industrial reconstruction and discussed the problems of the day. He declared that both the Socialist solution of government ownership of industry and "the unrestricted capitalism of Adam Smith" had proved themselves bankrupt in practice. He said that economic control was passing into the hands of several

great types of voluntary organization such as the labor union, the associations of bankers and manufacturers, the farmers' associations. Unfortunately these groups were in frequent conflict, tho the whole well-being of the nation depended on their coöperation. The engineers, from their scientific and unprejudiced standpoint, could do much to reconcile the "great groups of special interests" to unite on the common task of production. "The American Federation of Labor," he said, "has publicly stated that it desires the support of the engineering skill of the United States in the development of methods for increasing production."

He declared that unemployment was the result of industrial maladjustment and instanced the bituminous coal industry in which there is an average employment of labor of only 180 days a year. The Government had the duty of greatly developing the system of Federal and local labor exchanges. Collective bargaining was now accepted in principle "by all sections of the community." Industrial disputes should be settled by arbitration and publicity, but compulsory arbitration was of doubtful utility. The best length of the working period will vary in different trades, but there was a technical limit to the extent to which the labor week could be decreased and it was a fallacy to expect that the shortening of labor time could give employment to more workers. On the other hand the seven day week and twelve hour day system was "inhumanity."

With respect to the determination of wages, Mr. Hoover said in part:

The suggestion I wish to put for your consideration is the possible use of another device in encouragement of individual interest and effort by creating two or three levels of wage in agreements for each trade, the position of each man in such scale to be based upon comparative skill and character. This plan should be developed upon the principle of extra compensation for added skill and performance by an agreed basic wage. In order to give confidence the classification under such scales must be passed upon by representatives of the workers in each shop or department. This plan is now being successfully experimented with.

We must take account of the tendencies of our present repetitive industries to eliminate the creative instinct in their workers, to narrow their field of craftsmanship, to discard entirely the contribution to industry that could be had from their minds as well as from their hands. Indeed, if we are to secure the development of our people we cannot permit the dulling of these sensibilities. Indeed, we cannot accomplish increased production without their stimulation.

## Congress and the Budget

ONE of the principal tasks which lies before the short session of Congress will be the enactment of a Federal budget law. Probably it will be on the lines of the Act described by Senator McCormick in *The Independent*, June 12, 1920. This Act passed both branches of Congress but was vetoed by President Wilson on the ground that it vested in Congress instead of the President the power to remove the Controller General and his assistant. It was then amended to meet the President's objection but Congress adjourned before the Senate had acted on it. This piece of unfinished business stands therefore near the top of the agenda of Congress. Little new business save the Budget Act and the regular appropriations measures will probably be undertaken by Congress, as the Republicans will prefer to await the coming of March 4 and a new Congress in which the party majority is very much greater before undertaking a comprehensive legislative program. Chairman Good of the Appropriations Committee promises



How times have changed!





© 1920, New York Tribune, Inc.

Horseback riding is great for reducing—but it's kinda hard on the horse

a vast reduction in appropriations and forecasts a wholesale dismissal of superfluous Federal employees.

The Appropriations Committee will be merged in the new Budget Committee of the House of Representatives. The new committee will contain the members of the old Appropriations Committee together with the chairman and ranking minority member of each of seven other committees. It alone will have the authority to report measures involving the expenditure of money. Hitherto the other committees have acted independently of the Appropriations Committee in passing bills containing appropriations so that there was no centering of responsibility for expenditures. The United States Treasury will no longer bear the motto "Help yourself"! It took the cost of a Great War to convince the nation that public expenditures required businesslike procedure, but the lesson has been learned.

## The Lower Cost of Living

THE nation appears to have passed the crest of the mountain of high prices, up whose precipitous slopes it has been toiling so painfully for many years. Figures collected by the National Industrial Conference Board show that the cost of living in the United States decreased by an average two per cent from October 1 to November 1 of the present year; since July, 1920, the month of highest prices, the decrease has been 5.2 per cent in all.

This decrease has been very unequally distributed. Fuel and light show an increase of 11.4 per cent since July; this is mainly due to the higher cost of coal which comes with the approach of winter, for the price of coal unhappily tends to vary inversely as the thermometer. The cost of shelter also shows a slight increase, reflecting the rise in rents in some of the great cities. The general decline in prices is due almost altogether to cheaper food and clothing. Food has decreased in price by 9.6 per cent, or nearly one tenth. As everyone knows the bottom has dropped out of the sugar barrel and other foodstuffs have begun, tho with more conservatism, to follow the example set by sugar. Clothing shows an average decrease in cost of 13.5 per cent. This decrease applies to practically all items. Many firms have cut clothing prices from twenty to fifty per cent in retail sales.

The downward tendency of retail prices is paralleled by the decline in values on the stock market. In a single day

on the New York stock exchange 115 stocks made new low records. Bonds also are selling at low rates. The country is passing into a period of liquidation and deflation which will bring much relief to the consumer but threatens hardship to many farmers and unemployment to many industrial workers. Some factories, in the automobile industry especially, have commenced laying off hands. Financial experts seem agreed that, while the downward trend of values is no more an unmixed benefit than was the upward trend of a few months ago, there is little danger of an acute panic or such "hard times" as the country experienced in the early 'nineties. The improved banking system established under the Federal Reserve Board will enable the country to pass safely thru the period of reaction from war-time inflation.

## Labor Versus Radicalism

IT is probable that the American Federation of Labor represents the most conservative body of organized labor in the world. One reason for this is the influence of President Gompers and other chiefs of the Federation who have set themselves firmly against the revolutionary tactics of the American I. W. W. and the French syndicalists and even against the more defensible policy of British labor in organizing as a political party. Another reason is that American labor is prosperous far beyond the European standard and the trades unions grouped in the Federation are prosperous even beyond the average of American labor.

One sign of this conservatism was the recent action of the executive council of the Federation in reorganizing the committee to unionize the steel workers. Two of the leaders of last year's strike, John J. Fitzpatrick and William Z. Foster, were dropt from the committee as too radical and replaced by M. F. Tighe and J. G. Browne, both recognized to be moderates. This step was taken to stop the "boring from within" process by which radicals have attempted to gain control of the regular trades unions. There is also, perhaps, a desire to "stand in well" with the public, which has been irritated by the numerous recent strikes, and with the new administration, which will probably be conservative in a very marked degree. There have been rumors that many manufacturers intend to start a nation-wide drive to restore the "open shop," and that some Republican politicians would follow the lead of ex-Senator Bourne in supporting such a movement. Naturally, the American Federation wishes to head off any such movement and win the good will of President Harding and his chief advisers.



Chapin in St. Louis Star

"I'm glad that feller has quit hanging 'round here for awhile! Now let's get busy!"



The Industrial Workers of the World have not yet made up their mind just how far to the left they wish to go. A referendum of the organization is now in progress to determine whether or not it shall affiliate with the Bolshevik Third International. Some 50,000 dues-paying members of the organization are taking part in the referendum.

## Telegraph Company Snubs Government

**D**IPLOMATIC relations between these United States of America and the Western Union Telegraph Company have been severely strained of late. The Western Union announced on November 16 that it would not transmit any more official messages unless they were prepaid. The company claims that the State Department has not paid for cable service since August, 1919. President Carlton, explaining the action of the Western Union, declared:

The dispute with the State Department over the payment of cable tolls is of long standing, and the Western Union Company has been forced to require that department to prepay its tolls on cable messages because of the arbitrary policy adopted by the department in dealing with the company's bills. To the company there seems no reason why the business fairness and justice that prevail in commercial life should not prevail in the State Department, and it is not the company's intention that the State Department shall arbitrarily decide what it shall pay and when it shall pay for the use of the company's facilities.

On the other hand, the State Department alleges another reason for the action of the Western Union. It is attributed to resentment at the refusal of the Government to permit the landing of a cable at Miami, Florida, to connect with a British cable from South America. The State Department also contends that it is entitled to a fifty per cent

such refunds because before they can be paid the Western Union Telegraph Company must adjust its accounts with connecting foreign administrations. Some time ago the company's attention was called to the apparently unwarranted delay on its part in making refunds and to the considerable amount of such funds due to the department. . . .

Obviously the United States could not be expected to allow the Western Union Company, an American corporation, to charge for its messages twice the rate charged, for example, to the British Government, nor to accede to a requirement that the ordinary practice of business with respect to periodical settlement of accounts . . . shall be set aside in dealings with our Government. The department has in a conciliatory spirit made clear its willingness to make prompt payment of any funds due to the company on receipt of assurances as to a reasonably prompt payment of the funds due by the company to the department.

Should the Western Union persist in refusing the fifty per cent rebate on official messages and continue to demand prepayments on cables the Government may resort to legal proceedings and other means of coercion. It is suggested that existing permits for landing cables might be revoked, and the Western Union thus be cut off from all cable facilities which lie within the power of the executive branch of the Federal Government to grant or withhold. It is probable that a settlement will be reached before such a step becomes necessary.

## Aid for Armenia

**A**LTHO some Americans profess to regard with contempt the Assembly of the League of Nations now in session it is evident that the leading powers of Europe and Asia take it very seriously. They have sent their best men to Geneva and they are discussing questions of highest importance. The debate over Armenia brought out on the one side ex-Premier Viviani of France, and on the other ex-Premier Balfour of England, while the question at issue involved the treaty of Sevres and possibly the future sovereignty over Ottoman Asia.

The question was raised by Lord Robert Cecil, whose appointment to represent South Africa—it will now be recalled with amusement—was objected to on the ground that he would be a mere echo of England. He proposed that a committee of six should be chosen to consider "what steps should be taken to end hostilities between Kemal and the Armenians." His motion was seconded by Henri La Fontaine of Belgium.

Balfour threw cold water upon the scheme, for the League, he said, was powerless. "Good intentions are the foundations of good politics, but they are useless unless there are means to carry them out." President Wilson had been asked to take the mandate for Armenia and to define its boundaries. He had not accepted the first and he had failed to accomplish the second.

Then Viviani arose, the most eloquent of French orators, who, when the United States entered the war, was sent over here with the French delegation to arouse American enthusiasm. His earnest appeal for immediate action overcame the effect of Balfour's cool caution and swept the Assembly into sympathy with his proposal that the League Council immediately select a power to undertake arbitration between the Armenians and Mustafa Pasha. "When a man is at death's door you call a doctor, not a commission." He blamed Wilson for the powerlessness of the League—quite disregarding the fact that the League was rejected in the American Senate chiefly because of the clauses authorizing the use of force. He told why the League had no military power:

The League has responsibilities without authority. The French peace delegation, headed by Senator Bourgeois, went to the Hotel Crillon during the Peace Conference and asked President Wilson that the League be given an army and a permanent general staff. If France's voice had been heard, the League would not be in a position of impotence today and could send an armed force to save Armenia.

Evidently the only power desirous to undertake inter-



The League of Nations Assembly at Geneva elected as its president the Hon. Paul Hymans, former Belgian Ambassador to England, and representative of Belgium at the Peace Conference. This photograph of the new president of the League shows him (left) at his home in conference with Dr. Charles S. Macfarland, secretary of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America (right), and Chaplain Blommaert of the Belgian army (center)

refund on official messages over the Western Union lines. This customary rebate the Western Union refused to pay and the Government in consequence held up the payment of cable tolls due since August, 1919. A statement issued by the Department of State explains the question from the Government's point of view:

In 1916 the department drew the attention of the company to the fact that the department was not receiving the reduced rate on official messages sent from certain points abroad to the United States. The company thereupon notified the department that the rates on official cable messages were the same in both directions, and it suggested a method by which a refund might be obtained by the department whenever amounts paid to the company by its connecting administrations in foreign countries had been in excess of the established Government rates.

There is naturally some delay incident to the payment of



vention in Anatolia is France, but England suspects French designs in Turkey. So Balfour tried to turn the tide against Viviani by questioning the practicality of the French proposal:

The French proposal appears to be directed solely at saving Armenia, but we would like to know a little more about it. How do the French propose to conduct the negotiations? How are negotiations themselves possible with Mustapha Kemal, unless there is something to offer him? How can anything be offered him without preliminary consultation between the powers immediately concerned? How do we know what he will take? Let us suppose that money or territory is offered to him. Do we know that he will take either or, if not, what he will take? Negotiation is discussion between civilized powers, in which one offers something to the other in return for a concession to their mutual advantage. Can we treat Kemal as a civilized power?

Again Viviani took the floor and again won the Assembly when he declared:

You must fight Kemal or treat with him. There is no other choice. We cannot fight him, for where is the army and fleet with which to do it? If you shut the door against negotiations you may as well let the last Armenian be wiped from off the face of his native land and admit that the League of Nations can do naught to save him.

Mr. Balfour suggests that we are not dealing with a regular constituted state and that we are faced by an outlaw, indifferent to opinion or the economic pressure of the civilized world.

Is that a reason for us to stand aloof? Is it the first time that a civilized power has interfered between a savage and his victim?

You express doubts as to whether Kemal will listen to arbitration. I will take on myself the responsibility of saying that he will.

A storm of applause followed Viviani's speech. Balfour rose to reply, but thought better of it and resumed his seat. Viviani's motion was carried unanimously.

Since Balfour is also a member of the Supreme Council of the League and no action can be taken by the Council without unanimous vote, he will be able to veto any action on the part of the Council in accordance with the recommendations of the Assembly, but the public discussion and resolution of the Assembly in throwing responsibility on the Council may perhaps have a strong influence on the situation.

In the course of the debate the Serbian delegate, Spaleklovitch, recalled that Senator Harding had last May presented a resolution calling upon the President to send American marines to Batum in aid of the Armenians and that the resolution was adopted by the Senate.

## The Riga Conference

ON October 18 an armistice was concluded between Russia and Poland to allow for the negotiation of a permanent peace. In order to carry out this plan the delegates of the two republics met again at Riga to work out the terms of the treaty. But the conference was interrupted on November 21 by the declaration of Adolph Joffé, chairman of the Soviet delegation, that the deliberations could not proceed until Poland complied with the armistice by withdrawing her troops from the twenty-mile neutral strip and by ceasing to support military movements against the Soviet. He asserted that Colonel Ribak, head of the Polish section of the joint military commission, was aiding the Ukrainian army under General Petliura and the White Russian army under General Balakovitch which are operating behind the Russian boundary against the Soviet Government. The Polish delegation assured the Bolsheviks that orders would be given for the retirement of the Polish troops behind the armistice line. But the Poles believe this charge a pretext by the Bolsheviks for breaking up



Harding in Brooklyn Daily Eagle

The world's greatest tottering act, now in its third year

be able or willing to grant them as much military aid as they did then since the Wrangel movement proved such a fiasco.

## Rioting in Bologna

THE recent municipal elections in Italy were anticipated with anxiety because they were regarded as a test of the strength of the new Socialist movement. The Socialist party of Italy is split into two factions. The extremists are determined to follow Lenin into communism and to bring on a revolution at once. The moderates stick to the step-by-step policy and favor political action. The Communist movement has gained strength thru the action of the employees in the northern industrial district, who seized the factories and ran them for a month. The plants were returned to their owners only on condition that the workmen shall be admitted to the management.

Opposed to the Socialists is a coalition of the Liberals and Nationalists, known as the constitutional bloc. A new and important factor in the field is the Catholic Popular party. After the King of Italy occupied Rome in 1870 the Vatican insisted that all good Catholics should abstain from voting, since this meant a recognition of the usurping government. This rule was nominally in effect though commonly disregarded until recently, when the alarming



11 420, Florence

SOMETHING ELSE AGAIN

Visitor: "Where's the boss?"

Workers: "We're boss now. Who are you?"

Visitor: "I am the tax-collector."

Workers: "Oh, you want to see the owner, the man in there."



spread of Socialism led to the organization of a definite Catholic political party.

In elections of November, 3425 communes (that is, town and county councils) were won by the constitutional parties, 1799 by the Socialists and 1264 by the Catholic Popular party. The Socialists won in Milan, Bologna, Leghorn and Cremona, but lost in Rome, Florence, Genoa, Naples, Venice and Turin.

The post-election demonstrations resulted in disorders at various places, often with fatalities. The most serious was at Bologna, the Socialistic center, where Guidi, a railway conductor, was elected mayor. A mob of Nationalists and ex-service men, incensed at his raising the red flag over the public buildings, invaded the chamber where the new city council was then in session.

In the ensuing fight three of the minority members of the council were shot by their Red colleagues. Several of the Bolsheviki in trying to escape from the chamber jumped from the balcony into the crowd below, killing five persons. Bombs and bullets flew freely and after the police had separated the fighting factions there were eight dead bodies left in the square, one of them a girl. The wounded numbered over a hundred.

## British Trade with Russia

LAST July an agreement for the resumption of trade had been drawn up between the commercial envoys of Soviet Russia at London and the British Government, but the negotiations were interrupted on the verge of completion by several happenings. One was the discovery that Kamenev, a leading member of the Soviet delegation, was secretly participating in propaganda work for Bolshevism contrary to the agreement and that a subsidy of \$375,000 had been offered by the Soviet to the *Daily Herald*, a radical labor paper of London. The other reason was that the Polish and Wrangel drives were starting, backed by France, and it would have been unseemly for Great Britain to have treated with an enemy of her Ally.



Central News

All England paid homage to the funeral of an "unknown warrior" whose body was brought from the battlefields of France to be buried in Westminster Abbey on Armistice Day. It was a ceremony of mourning, solemn and reverent. As the gun carriage with the coffin on it came down Whitehall to the cenotaph erected as an altar the great crowds stood in silent prayer, the army of the living making its pledge to carry on the ideals of the army of the dead.



International

Greece has solved temporarily the problem of what to do with its throne. The probable choices of ex-King, Prince, and Republic have all been put aside, and the Queen Mother Olga has assumed the regency

But now the Polish-Russian war has been brought to a halt by the Riga armistice and Baron Wrangel has been knocked out. So the way is cleared for the removal of the blockade that has been imposed upon Russia for the last three years. The French and American Governments are strongly opposed to any sort of dealings with Soviet Russia, but the British and Italian Governments have long favored recognition and restoration of trade. An Italian envoy resides in Moscow and the proposed commercial treaty between Great Britain and Soviet Russia will practically amount to diplomatic recognition.

Both parties agree to admit to residence the official and trade agents of the other nation and to grant them the privilege of free communication with home by code messages and sealed despatch bags. Ships and merchants will

enjoy the customary immunities and protection. Passports and similar documents will be mutually respected.

France has opposed the recognition of the Soviet chiefly because of the fear of losing the immense loans made to the Russian Government for military purposes before and during the war. The Soviet Government is disposed to repudiate all the obligations of the old régime, tho it has several times intimated that it would repay the French debts as the price of peace. France has further objected to allowing the Russia Soviet to ship out gold, securities or commodities to England or elsewhere in exchange for goods on the ground that such valuables were stolen property and should by right be turned over to France in partial payment of Russia's debt.

This difficulty is met so far as England is concerned by the provision in the new treaty that

The Russian Soviet Government hereby declares that it recognizes its liability to pay compensation to British subjects in respect of goods supplied or services rendered to it or to the former Government of Russia, or to Russian citizens, for which payment has not been made owing to the Russian revolution.

On the other hand the British Government agrees not to "take or encourage any steps with a view to attach" the money or valuables sent out from Russia in exchange for imports, on the ground of any claim against the citizens or government of Russia, past or present. Each Government pledges itself not to support "hostilities and propaganda directed against the institutions or interests of the other party."

There is great difference of opinion as to how much trade will result from raising the blockade. It is the view of the American Government that Russia is so impoverished by the Bolsheviki and that the railroads are in such a ruinous state that Russia will have little to sell for a long time. But the British Government takes the opposite view and is looking for a large trade. Contracts for millions of dollars of British textiles and machinery on the one hand and of Russian furs, timber and petroleum on the other have already been made. It is said that the Soviet Government, failing to get railroad material from the United States, has placed on locomotives in Germany to be paid for by \$150,000,000 in gold.



Washington D. Vanderlip, representing a California syndicate, claims to be returning to America with a concession of exclusive rights to the coal, oil and fisheries of 400,000 square miles in northeastern Siberia including Kamchatka and with authority to purchase \$500,000,000 worth of American goods for Soviet Russia to be shipped from Seattle on American vessels. But a consignment of \$2,000,000 in gold bars recently shipped to New York banks was refused by the United States Assay Office on the ground that "Government regulations are still in force which prevent transactions with Soviet Russia."

## Murder and Revenge in Dublin

OF late there has been a lull in the Sinn Fein assassinations. The Government report for the week ending November 15 read: "A gratifying feature is the reduction in the number of police casualties which fell from thirty-four killed and wounded to ten." Premier Lloyd George said in his address at the Lord Mayor's banquet: "Unless I am mistaken, by the steps we have taken, we have murder by the throat." The Government was known to be engaged in collecting evidence of Sinn Fein crimes in preparation for a great round-up of the leaders. But just before the net was drawn the officers and secret service men engaged in this work were shot in their beds at Dublin. The plan for the assassinations had been carefully laid and was thoroly carried out. Some two hundred men were engaged in the conspiracy. They gathered early in the morning of November 21 in bands of ten or twenty before the houses and hotels where their victims were lodging and shot them in their bedrooms or nearby. Captain Newberry was killed at his wife's feet. In this one night's raid fourteen officials of the crown were killed and five were wounded.

### THESE TROUBLED TIMES IN IRELAND

The old peasant at the right is typical of the victims of Irish raids and reprisals. Her home was burned to the ground; a cat and a kettle aren't much salvage for starting housekeeping again at eighty. Below is the "protest procession" of American Irish sympathizers outside the White House. A thousand people marched in the first day of the demonstration which for seventy-two days is to walk silently round and round the fountain in an endless line

© International

Four of the assassins were captured, one having been wounded. But most of them slipped away severally without molestation. The authorities suspecting that they had sought concealment in the crowd of several thousand collected in Croke Park to see the hurley match between Dublin and Tipperary, gave orders to have the spectators surrounded and searched.

Accordingly a large force of police and soldiers with armored cars and machine guns entered the park while the game was in progress with the object of holding the exits and examining each individual as he passed thru the turnstile. But the crowd became panic-stricken at sight of the soldiery and scattered in all directions. Some shots were fired, first by the Sinn Feiners according to the official account, and then the soldiers sent a volley into the mass.

Ten persons were killed and seventy were injured, either by gunshot or by being trampled under in the stampede. One woman was crushed in the melee. There was much shooting in the streets during the night and in this a boy of ten and a man of seventy were killed. Many revolvers were found on the persons searched or in the park where they had been dropt.

The Irish have been especially incensed by the discovery of the body of Father Griffin, buried in a bog with a bullet in his head. He was curate of Bushy Park, Galway, and had been kidnaped from his home a week before by three unknown men. It was supposed that he had been captured to be held as a hostage in reprisal for the kidnaping of P. W. Joyce, a Nationalist teacher, near Galway, shortly before. This is the first priest to fall a victim in the Irish disorders. His body was placed uncoffined before the high altar of his parish church. The priests officiating at the funeral begged the congregation to pray for the repose of the soul of the martyr but not to forget to pray also for his murderers.





# A Little of Everything



## Making Their Own Cigars

By William Leavitt Stoddard

One of the most interesting experiments which has been made in coöperative production is a cigar factory now in successful operation in Boston. It grew out of a strike, resulting in the removal of some manufacturers to set up anew in New Jersey, leaving their employees stranded. They decided to run a cigar factory for themselves. As one of the directors put it: "We started this factory not because we were coöperators: we weren't; we didn't know a thing about coöperation or competition or business management of any kind. We started in because the strike left us flat without jobs, and since we needed work we thought the best way was to supply it for ourselves."

The Boston Coöperative Cigar Factory is a regularly incorporated business with an authorized capitalization of \$100,000, divided into shares whose par value is \$50 each. At present they are sold only to members of the Cigarmakers' Union, but a second issue will be offered more generally. The laws of Massachusetts have long promoted the incorporation of coöperative organizations of all kinds, including banks and the well known, useful and thrifty credit unions. If there is anything revolutionary and radical in the idea of a labor union running its own business, the commonwealth of Massachusetts does not admit it. Rather, the

commonwealth of Massachusetts sanctions it, even to encouraging the creation of a special fund for educating other people in coöperation.

There is nothing particularly distinguishing about the cigars made by the coöperative. I have on my desk as I write a "ten pack" cardboard box of "hand made, union made" cigars turned out by these enterprising cigarmakers. They are very good cigars, good both in workmanship and quality, selling at retail for a trifle over ten cents each when bought by the box. The trademark of the coöperative is printed on the cover—a sun rising out of the ocean with the legend, "The Dawn of Coöperation."

According to the statement of the directors of the Boston Union Cigarmakers' Coöperative, this enterprise is now on its feet. It is said to be the third largest cigar factory in the city, turning out on the average 150,000 cigars a week, or approximately 6,000,000 a year. When the business was started, there were fifty employees. Today there are a hundred and thirty, of whom one hundred are skilled hand-cigarmakers, the rest being office force and girls who "strip" or prepare the tobacco for the skilled workers. Among the plans for the immediate future is the building of a box shop to supply the factory with boxes for packing and shipping.

In practically no respect does the business of the coöperative differ from the business of any regular factory. The general management and control is vested in a board of fifteen directors elected for one year by the shareholders.



© Keystone View

BERTHA KRUPP'S GRAPES

These shrapnel bullets are being lifted by a great magnet in a Berlin munitions works and transported into a melting furnace. The mass will then be molded into necessary peace time implements. Why can't some old John Silver forsake his pirate trade, buy a magnet like the one above and drag the South Sea for buried treasure?

ers. The officers, who are at the same time directors, include a president, a treasurer and a clerk, but hereafter the president will be a paid official, not a member of the board. Five members of the board form an educational committee to promote the principles of coöperation.

The immediate operations in the factory are under the control of the foreman and superintendent, who are elected by the shareholders. The directors employ all the other officers and agents of the business. In short, the directors are active managers, resident on the job, who really direct. They receive each week the reports of the department heads, their appointees. If the services of the department heads are unsatisfactory, the directors may suspend them. However—and here is a bit of trade union democracy—a suspended man may appeal over the heads of the directors to the shareholders, that is, to the owners of the business, who must give him a hearing and who have the power to determine whether the discharge shall be final. A similar provision is made for the rank and file of the employees. The foreman or superintendent may suspend an employee at will. If the employee so desires, he may appeal im-



© Underwood & Underwood

They all came in to spend the night—and the Immigration officials weren't prepared for them or 37,000 others who came with them. Each liner arriving at New York swells the immigration lists, which have reached the high figures of days before the war



mediately to a committee of five, two named by himself, two named by the directors, and the last chosen by these four. The majority of this committee has final decision as to the discharge.

The cigarmakers' cooperative is strictly a business concern, 100 per cent trade union. This is literally true, for there is a rule that each employee must belong to a union provided a union exists for his or her particular trade or craft. The cooperative is a closed pro-union shop. The wages are set in accordance with the regular scale decreed by the union. Some day industrial unrest may enter even this shop; but so far all has been peace and quiet.

I asked Mr. Moreli, the chairman of the board of directors, to tell me in a word why he considered that the cooperative had succeeded. He said:

"In the first place, we own our own business and therefore our own jobs. In the second place, we have been in operation for a year and the business is growing and we have mastered the things that bothered us, particularly cost accounting. In the third place, all of us have learned that the working-man is very ignorant about business and that he must gain a great deal of knowledge if he is to play the proper part in the next years. Lastly—we are happy. The girls are always singing while they work."

There is no soviet in this establishment—in the sense of a grotesque plebscite of the workers determining intricate questions of marketing or credit.



© Keystone View

GOING UP!

Mr. J. B. Evans, the elevator conductor in the Washington Monument, has gone three times around the world—if you estimate it in miles. He has been the "elevator boy" at the Monument for forty-two years—and yet they speak of labor unrest!

The per capita currency in the United States is estimated by the Treasury Department at \$51.06. Have you a little fifty dollars in your home?

Of the alumnae of Barnard College 58 per cent are holding paid positions, 30 per cent are married and only 12 per cent are "living off the old folks."

The principal rope materials are: common hemp, Manila hemp, sisal hemp, Phormium hemp, Sunn hemp, Jubbulpore hemp, jute, coir, flax, Agave fiber, cotton.

The China Year Book estimates that for the adequate instruction of all the Chinese children it would be necessary to increase the present supply of 50,000 teachers to 1,500,000.

The Census Bureau estimates that the

## Small Talk

The New York subway is 75 miles long and has 220 miles of track.

There are more than 7,000,000 automobile owners in the United States.

About half of the world's coal reserves are located in the United States.

The total damage done by rodents every year to crops and grain in the United States is estimated at \$300,000,000.

Only 70,000 dwelling houses were built in the United States during 1919, altho a million new couples set up housekeeping that year.

The New York subways have carried 4,300,800,000 passengers during the last sixteen years, or three times the population of the earth.

Two Belgians wrote to the New York Police Department to inquire whether American policemen used clubs made of rubber or of ivory.

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city population of the United States is increasing seven times as fast as that of the rural districts.

During 1919 fewer persons were killed on American railroads than in any year since 1898 and fewer injured than in any year since 1910, in spite of enormously increased volume of traffic.

Of 210 colleges and universities in the United States only fourteen had fewer students in 1920 than in 1914. The total increase in attendance during those six years was from 187,000 to 294,000.

The lowest point of dry land in the world is on the shores of the Dead Sea in Palestine, 1200 feet below sea level. The lowest point in the United States is Death Valley, California, 276 feet below sea level.



## A Novel Entrance

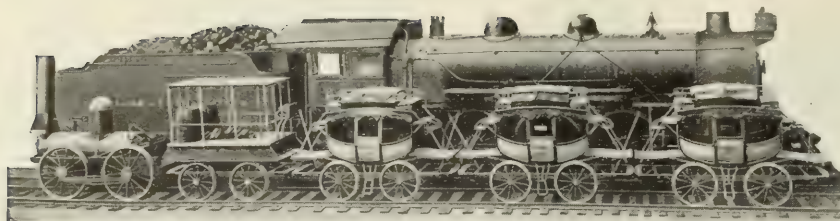
Something unique has been accomplished in the completion of the entrance to the Southwest Museum in Los Angeles. The building is situated upon a high hill and up to the present year it has been necessary for pedestrians to make a long and laborious climb up the hill to reach the main entrance.

Now, however, the climb has been obviated by an artistic as well as practical improvement. A tunnel, two hundred twenty-four feet long, was bored



After more than four years' work Lorado Taft, the Chicago sculptor, has just completed the great "Fountain of Time," which is the first step in an ambitious scheme to transform the famous Midway of the World's Fair of 1893 into an artistic formal boulevard. The "Fountain of Time," composed of eighty-nine figures, typifies the human procession passing in review before the great immovable figure of Father Time. A warrior on horseback forms the center of the group, which fades off at the ends into creeping infancy and withered figures of old age. There is a suggestion of joyous onward movement in this procession and of the splendor and pageantry of life. The fountain stands at the west end of the Midway, a grassy strip a mile in length and 1000 feet wide, and Mr. Taft is now at work on a companion piece, "The Fountain of Creation," which is to adorn the east end. Between the two, in a depression in the middle of the boulevard, will be a canal connecting the lagoons of Jackson and Washington parks. Across this canal will be built three bridges, dedicated to the "Sciences," "Arts," and "Religions," while on either side, on the higher ground, will be statues of the world's greatest idealists.





© Kadel &amp; Herbert

Perhaps your grandfather rode in this very train—the first steam train in America, which is hereafter to be on permanent exhibition. The old-time engine and supply car—it carried a barrel of water and an armful of wood to “stoke up” with—and the three coaches are about the size of a present day engine

into the hill and ended in a large octagonal waiting room, on one side of which is a twelve passenger electric elevator of the automatic type. The elevator makes a climb of one hundred and eight feet, delivering the passengers directly into the main hall of the museum.

The architecture of the tunnel is also both unusual and attractive. The outer end of the bore is faced with a massive portal patterned and decorated in replica of the ancient Mayan art of Mexico, this instance being that of the facade of the Casa de Monjas, at Chichen Itza, Yucatan; a striking example of the wonderful development of the ancient peoples of Mexico. The interior of the tunnel will give a visual description of the habits and customs of the aborigines of North America, especially those of the Southwest. Fourteen niches will contain replicas of their institutions and customs, while a series of carved pilasters will illustrate with symbolic panels their drawings and inscriptions.

## The Stamp of Approval on Peace

At Madrid the Union Postale Universelle Congress is considering the plan of a St. Paul man, Mr. J. W. Hamilton, for a permanent peace stamp, of distinctive design, which will carry with all correspondence and at the option of the purchaser, a definite message of peace.

The stamps will be printed by each nation in one, two and five cent denominations, and will be good only when mailed within the boundaries of the issuing country, so that there can be no illicit speculation owing to any oscillation in the exchange. The figure of Justice is suggested for the one cent; the head of Hugo Grotius, the father of international law, for the two cent; while for the five cent, there is a very strong demand amongst the South American delegates for a picture of the statue of the Christ in the Andes.

For a motto—“Pax Per Legem.”

This plan will permit the people of every nation to vote for peace with the purchase of every stamp; and it is the only feasible method by which they can constantly voice their horror of war and their determination that, so far as their influence counts, it shall not be. The increasing percentage of peace postage purchased as compared to the

regular issues, both of which will be on sale concurrently, will influence all governments and all peoples, for the stamp will continually advertise peace, international arbitration, and the gen-

eral support of the League of Nations. Señora de Costa of Buenos Aires, the founder of the Association Sud American de Paz Universal, has arranged for the first stamp of this issue, portraying “The Christ in the Andes,” President Irigoyen having authorized.

Mr. Hamilton does not claim that World Peace Postage will prevent war. The Hague Tribunal, arbitration treaties and solemn covenants, have not done so, but if the shadow of the statue of Christ across the boundaries of two great nations should prevent but one war between Argentina and Chile, it would have justified the highest hopes of its authors, and if the influence of World Peace Postage will in the future prevent but one war, it will surely have justified itself.

## —Take an Inventory—

# Ten Tests of a Town—

*Questions that people ask about YOUR town before they decide to make it THEIR town.*

### 1. ATTRACTIVENESS

Shall I like the town—its “atmosphere”? Does it have the beauty of shaded streets and other beautiful features? Is it a quiet, roomy, airy, well lighted town? Does it have attractive public buildings and homes? Is it well paved? Is it clean in every sense?

### 2. HEALTHFULNESS

Will my family and I have a reasonable chance to keep well in that town? How about its water supply? Its sanitary system? Its methods of milk inspection? Its health department? Its hospitals? Is it without any congested district?

### 3. EDUCATION

Can I educate my family and myself in that town? How about its public schools—present and future? Its institutions of higher education or of business training? Its libraries? Its lecture and concert courses? Its newspapers? Its postal facilities?

### 4. PEOPLE

Shall I like the people of the town? Are they “home folks” without false exclusiveness? Are they neighborly and friendly? Is the town free from factionalism? Does it have strong religious, fraternal, and social organizations?

### 5. RECREATION

Can I have a good time in that town—I and my family? How about the theaters, museums, gymnasiums, parks, etc.? Are there active agencies for providing good entertainments, athletic contests, etc.? Are inviting opportunities for pleasure drives afforded by well paved streets?

### 6. LIVING

Can we live reasonably and well in that town? Are the best of modern conveniences available for its residents—electricity, gas, telephones, etc.? Are the housing and shopping conditions favorable? Rents, taxes, and prices fair? Hotels good? Home and truck gardens and dairy products plentiful?

### 7. ACCESSIBILITY

Can we go and come easily? Does the town have adequate railroad connections and train service? Street car lines? Interurban lines? Well marked automobile routes and hard-surfaced roads?

### 8. BUSINESS

Can I make good use of capital in that town? Are there good banking facilities? Manufacturing interests? Up-to-date stores? Good shipping facilities? Favorable labor conditions? A prosperous farming territory? Fair real estate values? Reasonably cheap power? Active coöperation among business interests?

### 9. EMPLOYMENT

Can I get a job in that town at fair pay and with good prospects for the future? Can I count on coöperation from organizations making it their business to help introduce and establish new commercial interests and to welcome new citizens?

### 10. PROGRESSIVENESS

Shall I find that I am in a live town having a progressive city government, active civic organizations, modern fire protection, and a pull-together spirit in everything—a town with a future?

*You can not control the climate, natural scenery nor historic associations of your town; but if, in other respects, it does not measure up to the standard that will be applied to it by intelligent town-buyers, get busy and HELP MAKE IT MEASURE UP. The first big job of a good town-salesman is to see to it that his “commodity” is right.*

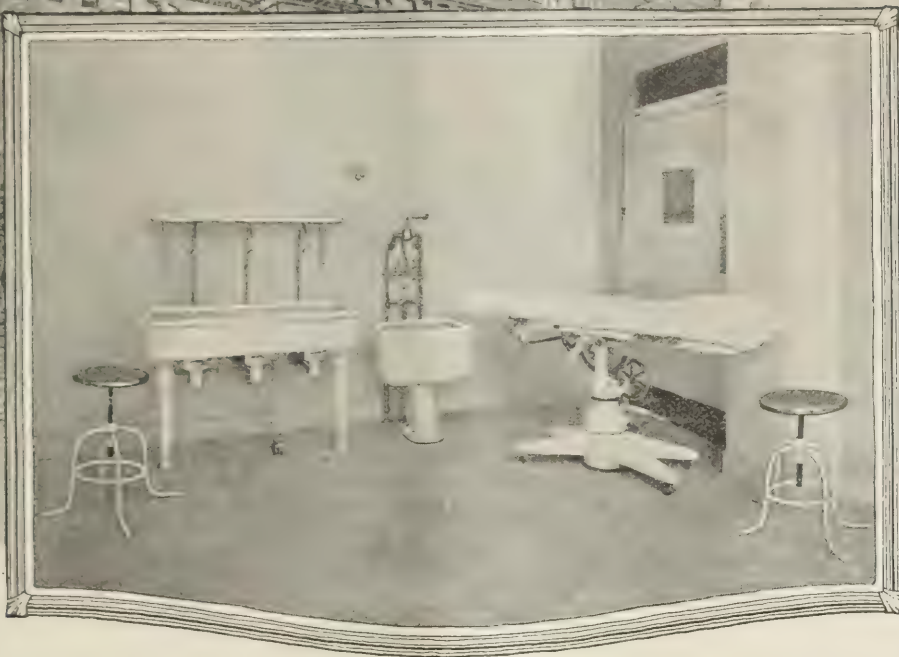
## —Help Make It Better—

From “Selling Your Town,” by L. N. Flint, Department of Journalism, University of Kansas, Lawrence.



# CRANE

Hospital  
Operating Room  
Installation



## Central Sources of Supply

The prospective builder, whether interested in a home, office building, apartment, hotel, factory, hospital or other public institution, can have his plumbing and heating requirements filled with uniform convenience and reliability at any of the sixty-one Crane branches located in principal cities.

Crane Service is broad not only in scope of products supplied, but also in the assistance it gives to buyers and the trade through easily accessible branches and showrooms.

We are manufacturers of about 20,000 articles, including valves, pipe fittings and steam specialties, made of brass, iron, ferrosteel, cast steel and forged steel, in all sizes, for all pressures and all purposes, and are distributors of pipe, heating and plumbing materials.



Crane Service is also at the call of industry. It covers special as well as all standard pipeline requirements, the accompanying photo of a motor-operated gate valve being indicative of Crane ability to meet unusual specifications.

THERE IS A NEARBY CRANE BRANCH TO GIVE YOU CRANE SERVICE

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836 S. MICHIGAN AVE. CHICAGO  
VALVES-PIPE FITTINGS-SANITARY FIXTURES

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23 WEST 44<sup>TH</sup> ST. AND 22 WEST 45<sup>TH</sup> ST., NEW YORK CITY  
TO WHICH THE PUBLIC IS CORDIALLY INVITED

BRANCHES: SIXTY-ONE LEADING CITIES • WORKS: CHICAGO, BRIDGEPORT

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BROOKLYN  
PHILADELPHIA  
READING  
NEWARK  
CAMDEN  
BALTIMORE  
WASHINGTON

SYRACUSE  
BUFFALO  
SAVANNAH  
ATLANTA  
KNOXVILLE  
BIRMINGHAM  
MEMPHIS  
LITTLE ROCK  
MUSKOGEE  
TULSA  
OKLAHOMA CITY  
WICHITA  
ST. LOUIS  
KANSAS CITY  
TERRE HAUTE

CINCINNATI  
INDIANAPOLIS  
DETROIT  
CHICAGO  
ROCKFORD  
OSHKOSH  
GRAND RAPIDS  
DAVENPORT  
DES MOINES  
OMAHA  
SIOUX CITY  
ST. PAUL  
MINNEAPOLIS  
WINONA  
DULUTH

FARGO  
WATERTOWN  
ABERDEEN  
GREAT FALLS  
BILLINGS  
SPOKANE  
SEATTLE  
TACOMA  
PORTLAND  
POCAHELLO  
SALT LAKE CITY  
OGDEN  
SACRAMENTO  
OAKLAND  
SAN FRANCISCO  
LOS ANGELES

1855

1920



# Why have Coughs?

**BROWN'S BRONCHIAL TROCHES** prevent or quickly relieve colds, sore throat, coughing, hoarseness, loss of voice, catarrhal and asthmatic conditions. At the slightest provocation of throat trouble or at a later stage, these lozenges are always effective.

Public speakers and singers, for over **SEVENTY YEARS**, have found them highly effective in promptly relieving hoarseness and irritation of the throat caused by vocal exertion. Unsurpassed for clearing the throat.

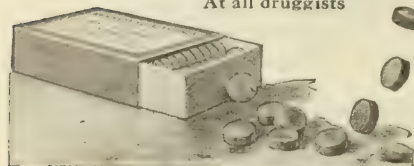
## BROWN'S BRONCHIAL TROCHES

Not a confection, but a genuine cough remedy. Contain no opiates or harmful ingredients—safe for children. Will not stain hands or gloves. Handy for carrying in pocket or purse—to be used as occasion requires.

**JOHN I. BROWN & SON**  
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General Sales Agents:  
**HAROLD F. RITCHIE & CO., Inc.**  
New York—Toronto

Four Sizes:  
15c—35c—75c—\$1.25  
At all druggists



## To Their Mutual Advantage

(Continued from page 325)

the literature which would interpret life—significant in the workroom of a human relations man. More often than not the labor manager is to be addressed as "Doctor." The labor manager is there to listen to grievances, to judge them with reference to the agreement and with reference to the causes behind them. His training disposes him to look for more than one possible cause for every phenomenon. His contribution to an understanding of the labor problem ought to be valuable.

The worker has access daily to the labor manager, to whom he may bring any complaint. The union member has also the recourse of carrying his grievance to his shop chairman, who may settle the trouble himself, or may report it to the union organizer. The organizer, in turn, may order the matter dropped, or he may take it up with the labor manager. Of course many of the "grievances" which come thru to the labor manager are requests for increased wages. As the scale of wages is fixed by the agreement for each class of workers, the trick is to prove that one belongs in a higher class than that to which the foreman has assigned one.

Another common grievance is of the man who has taken an unannounced vacation and who wishes to be reinstated with all former privileges. In such cases the advice of the union official is decisive. He may discipline the man in the interest of the agreement by compelling him to seek employment elsewhere.

Some workers have been impatient and unwilling to wait for the machinery to take care of their grievances. Sometimes a group walks out, but in such cases the union official has always ordered them back so that the grievance might have due process of law. Manufacturers and unions are coöperating in the attempt to prove the agreement a success—both sides prefer natural adjustment to constant friction. And both sides claim that the agreement has resulted in increased production.

Not only in the case of a grievance, but also for the building up of a general market policy labor managers and union officials meet in conference. For the attempt is being made to establish government where anarchy has reigned. It is a new thing for representatives of the different employers of the city to meet weekly for discussions leading to a common plan of labor management—and for each of the six labor managers to ask for the advice of his companions on the Board of Labor Managers. It is perhaps more unexpected to find union officials meeting with this board to coöperate in the development of such a plan. So all along the line, from a shop difficulty to a market policy, the two sides come together to effect a settlement.

There are, to be sure, matters on

which the labor manager and the union official cannot agree; then both go together to the impartial chairman for a decision. The impartial chairman, Dr. Leiserson, is employed jointly by the Clothiers' Exchange and the union. An equal division is made also of the rent and other expenses of the office. The office is well supplied with chairs for the witnesses which either side may call in. Here before Dr. Leiserson's desk the opposing parties argue at the bar. The procedure is for the labor manager and the union official each in turn to examine the witnesses. Smoking is permitted. The object is informality.

Neither of the advocates are lawyers, at times they anticipate the decision. For under the agreement they have been arriving at compromises, and it is becoming instinctive to each to see both views, to strive at a just settlement rather than at a victory in a trial of strength. And if the two sides come closer together before the judge is ready with his decision, surely he is just as well satisfied that it should be so. Indeed, the chairman is intended to be less of an arbitrator between opposing parties than an interpreter of the law inaugurated by agreement between these two parties, and responsible for application of this law to specific cases. Whenever questions come up before the chairman which do not seem to be covered by the provisions of the agreement, the chairman calls for a discussion between representatives of the two sides as to what they believe the law should be; his aim is to avoid judge-made laws.

This "impartial machinery" is for the union and the members of the Exchange. As it has nothing to do with the one clothing house outside the Exchange, so also it does not offer an advantage to the unorganized worker in the employ of a manufacturer who has signed the agreement. There may be such employees; for while the agreement recognizes the union, it does not abolish the open shop; union and non-union workers are employed indifferently. But only the union member votes for the shop chairman, since this officer is elected at a regular meeting in the union hall. There is no "shop union" in the sense of an *ipso facto* membership for each man employed; the agreement is not between the employer and his employees, but between him and the union which represents the majority of these employees. The unorganized worker has no representative; he may take his complaint personally to the labor manager, but if this official decides against him, his only chance for a revision is in joining the union.

Thus each factory has its own shop organization, made up of workers and the union official who represents them; and at the same time each factory is linked with the larger organizations on the outside, the Clothiers' Exchange,



# WHAT I THINK OF PELMANISM - By George Creel

**P**ELMANISM is the biggest thing that has come to the United States in many a year. With a record of 500,000 successes in England, this famous course in mind training has been Americanized at last, and is now operated by Americans in America.

Pelmanism is neither an experiment nor a theory. For twenty years it has been teaching people how to think; how to use fully the powers of which they are conscious; how to discover and to train the powers of which they have been unconscious. Pelmanism is merely the science of thinking; the science of putting right thought into successful action; the science of that mental team play that is the one true source of efficiency, the one master key that opens all doors to advancement.

I heard first of Pelmanism during a recent visit in London. "Are you a Pelmanist?" was a common question.

It was T. P. O'Connor who satisfied my curiosity and gave me facts. By 1918 there were 400,000 Pelmanists, figuring in every walk and condition of life. Lords and ladies of high degree, clerks and cooks, members of Parliament, laborers, clergymen and actors, farmers, lawyers, doctors, coal miners, soldiers and sailors, even generals and admirals were all Pelmanizing and heads of great business houses were actually enrolling their entire staffs in the interest of larger efficiency.

## Not a Mere Memory System

**T**HE famous General Sir F. Maurice, describing it as a "system of mind drill based on scientific principles," urged its adoption by the army. General Sir Robert Baden-Powell and Admiral Lord Beresford indorsed it. In France, Flanders and Italy over 100,000 soldiers of the empire were taking Pelmanism in order to fit themselves for return to civil life, and many members of the American Expeditionary Force were following this example.

Well-known writers like Jerome K. Jerome, Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, Max Pemberton, the Baroness Orczy and E. F. Benson were writing columns in interpretation of Pelmanism. Great editors like Sir William Robertson Nicoll and educators such as Sir James Yoxall were going so far as to suggest its inclusion in the British educational system.

Pelmanism *can*, and *does*, develop and strengthen such qualities as will-power, concentration, ambition, self-reliance, judgment and memory.



GEORGE CREEL

Pelmanism *can*, and *does*, substitute "I will" for "I wish" by curing mind wandering and wool-gathering.

Pelmanism today is the one known course in applied psychology, the one course that builds mind as a physical instructor builds *muscle*. There is nothing really new in it. All of its truths are as old as the hills. But it reduces these truths to practical use. It puts them into harness for the doing of the day's work.

It teaches how to develop *personality*, how to build *character*, how to strengthen *individuality*. Instead of training memory alone, or will-power alone, or reasoning-power alone, it recognizes the absolute interdependency of these powers and trains them *together*.

It is not, however, an educational machine for grinding out standardized brains, for it realizes that there are wide differences in the minds and problems of men. It develops *individual* mentality to its highest power.

There is nothing arduous about the course, and it offers no great difficulties, but it does require *application*. *Pelmanism has got to be worked at.*

## The Science of "Get There"

**I**T is the science of Get There—getting there quickly, surely, finely!

Not for men alone, but for women as well. Women in commercial pursuits have the same problems to overcome as men. Women in the home are operating a business, a highly specialized complex business, requiring every ounce of judgment, energy, self-reliance and quick decision that it is possible to develop.

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Besides the constant calls upon his time in connection with the administration of the agreement, the labor manager has the supervision of the employment department and of such institutions as are a heritage from the era of "welfare." There is in each factory an employment executive, subordinate to the labor manager, but in a well established position of his own. In the various industries of Rochester there is a live group of employment managers who meet periodically at the Chamber of Commerce to talk over common problems and suggestions for a progressive policy. In the clothing industry the employment executives coöperate closely thru the agency of the Clothiers' Exchange. No clothing worker is employed until after he has been formally released from the firm which last employed him. Even in these days of pressing demand for labor, employment has been refused to good workers who have tried to slip out of their jobs without a release—with a consequent lessening of the labor turnover. At the office of the Clothiers' Exchange is kept a catalog of the payrolls of members, and a clerk at the telephone answers any question of an employment executive concerning an applicant's previous position or cause of separation.

This year, because of the acute shortage of skilled labor, it was felt to be necessary to establish training departments for beginners. Formerly the tailor learned his trade in the sweat-shop as "helper" to a home-worker; now that coats are made in the factories the training must be given there. Rosenberg Brothers took the lead among Rochester plants by opening at Fashion Park a vestibule school in a small cottage on the grounds.

In most of the factories there is a lunch room and a grocery store where provisions are sold at wholesale prices. But these things are felt to be rather expressions of the general spirit of coöperation than ends in themselves. There is also the first aid room, with a rest room for the girls.

The Rochester agreement was a step in advance. It was followed in May by the organization of the Chicago market. Labor managers and impartial chairmen began to function in Baltimore and in New York. But this was not the final step in the organization of industrial government in the clothing industry. The unprecedented demand for the product led to rivalry between markets to attract labor at any price. The result was steadily increasing labor costs which were becoming more and more embarrassing to the industry as a whole. The markets saw that they were working at cross purposes; they were ready to consider coöperation. The result has been a federation of the exchanges and boards of employers in the different markets which now includes all but three or four of the important firms in the country. The executive board of the

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national federation is made up of one manufacturer and one labor manager from the Rochester, New York, Chicago and Baltimore markets. Final and complete coöperation in labor matters is hoped for from a joint labor council consisting of the manufacturers on the one hand, represented by the officers of the national federation, and by a committee of the union on the other. This council plans to meet monthly to exercise supervision over the impartial machinery, to legislate amendments to the agreement, and to develop a general labor policy to be applied over the entire country. Rochester is represented on the council by an employer, Mr. Samuel Weil, and by Dr. Meyer Jacobstein, chairman of the local board of labor managers.

The national board is hailed by both sides as the logical outcome of collective bargaining, as the expression of democracy in industry. And the union sees it as the triumph of industrial unionism. President Hillman has pointed out to his constituents that so comprehensive an agreement could never have been accomplished by a craft organization. Perhaps there is more than one possibility before the One Big Union, after all.

Madison, Wisconsin

### The American Watch on the Rhine

(Continued from page 327)

was there. It was a very smart affair and tea was served in the clubhouse in regular English fashion at 4:30. A second match was played between two American teams, General Allen himself being one of the competitors, and he let none of the younger officers, I can testify, outstrip him. I was told that the General can muster a complete polo team from his own family that can hold its own with any average American or British team. His son and both his daughters play about as well as he does.

It was very evident that Coblenz was the one place on earth for an American officer and his wife to be at this moment. Army life at Coblenz has two great advantages over all other army posts within the jurisdiction of the United States. In the first place, it is not monotonous drill, drill, drill all the time and make-believe war, such as one would experience at Fort Leavenworth, or the Presidio. The army in Coblenz is on a real war footing and yet without the hardships, brutalities and agonies of war. And, second, the rate of exchange is so much in America's favor that the ordinary officer and his wife can live in Coblenz on a scale that \$10,000 or \$15,000 would afford in America. Even the lowest paid buck private can exchange his \$35 per month for 1800 marks, an amount three times the salary of the burgomaster of Coblenz before the war. No wonder every American officer's wife is moving heaven and earth to get her husband transferred to Germany, and no wonder that every



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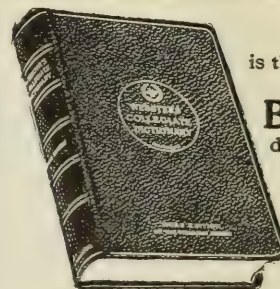
one of the 16,000 soldiers at Coblenz hope that Mr. Harding was talking for campaign purposes only when he said he would bring the boys home the first chance he got. Not only is our army happy in Coblenz, but the German population wants to keep them there indefinitely in their midst. And as for the young ladies of Coblenz, they are not in the least backward in pressing their various charms upon the flower of American youth. General Allen told me that fully a third of our boys had already married German girls, and that scarcely a day passes by that he does not get a pathetic letter from some fraulein, begging him to let her marry a soldier. Many unmarried German girls become mothers so that the military authorities cannot refuse to let them marry American husbands.

While the soldiers fraternize with the German population, especially the women, there is no social intercourse whatsoever between the officers and the upper classes of German society. But as there are over 300 American wives, sisters, cousins and aunts with the American army, one can imagine that there is no dearth of gayety and social whirl.

The small dancing parties are held almost every night in Coblenz, twice a week the officers give a grand ball in the Coblenz Club, which the Americans have taken over from the Germans. This is one of the finest clubs I have ever seen. Its beautiful ballroom is ornately decorated in white and gold, the full military band plays the latest American jazz and in the interludes the couples walk out in the moonlit garden, in the center of which a fountain plays while efflorescent lights are thrown upon it representing all the colors of the rainbow. I never saw such a gorgeous spectacle. With all the women wearing their prettiest gowns and all the men in their uniforms and decorations, it was a "scene of revelry by night" that doubtless could not be surpassed even in the olden days at Brussels which Byron described in his Waterloo poem.

From Coblenz we took several motor trips—one up the Rhine to Mayence and Wiesbaden and another down the Rhine to Cologne, thus giving me another opportunity to visit the French and English armies of occupation. There is probably no more beautiful motor road in the world than that which skirts the Rhine from Cologne to Bingen. It was fine to see again the old castles on the cliffs, to view the sunny mountain-sides beautiful in their serried rows of grape vines, and to pass the many pedestrians with knapsacks on their backs, evidently out for a week's holiday in the country. The country of Germany looked well cultivated. The crops are better this year than at any time during the war. The Rhine seemed to be almost choked up with barges and steamers filled with coal and other commodities plying up and down, but I was told that the traffic had fallen off considerably since pre-war days. We saw practically no cattle in the fields and very few horses

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What interested me most in the activities of the American army in Germany is the fact that every soldier has the opportunity if he so desires to secure for himself an education. Most of our people know that every American soldier who is illiterate when he enters the army is compelled to attend school until he can read and write. But General Allen has gone beyond that. He has established a series of voluntary schools which will give men training that will fit them for definite occupation when they return to civil life or will enable them to enter West Point or any other American college. Each man in the army is obliged to state in writing whether he wants to take the course or not, and if he does he is required to study three hours a day, five days a week. There are three grades of schools:

- 1—Unit schools.
- 2—General and commercial school.
- 3—Service school.

The Unit schools correspond to the grammar school in civil life and the subjects taught in them are penmanship, English, arithmetic, geography, spelling, and United States history. This course is six months long. The General or Commercial school corresponds to a high school and the courses are divided into scientific, commercial and army. These all sub-divide into subjects that cover practically anything that an ordinary American soldier might want to take. General Young, who was in command of this whole educational project, states that a very large proportion of the men are thankful for the opportunity afforded them. Before he started out he did not believe it possible that such an interest would be shown as has manifested itself. In other words, the young American in the United States army in Coblenz is not only serving his country and getting that education that comes from mixing with a foreign people, but he is taking courses at the same time that will fit him to become a better American citizen and a larger wage earner when he returns home. It should be added that General Allen is not only solicitous for the common soldiers' education; he has required all his officers to study German.

According to the terms of the armistice Cologne is to be occupied for five years, Coblenz is to be occupied for ten, and Mayence for fifteen years. I wish that as an example of America's friendship for the Allies, and especially for France, we could keep our army on the Rhine for the next ten years. The English, the French and the Belgians would like to have us there, the German people would like to have us there, and the American doughboy would like to be there. Let us hope the new commander-in-chief of the army of the United States will not haul Old Glory down from the top of Ehrenbreitstein until all our obligations under the armistice are fulfilled.

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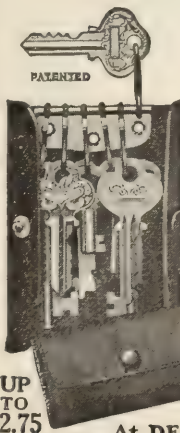
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INTERNATIONAL BANKING, SHIPPING, TRAVEL AND FOREIGN TRADE

## Our Share of Foreign Trade

(Continued from page 328)

is being somewhat hampered at present by conditions growing out of the world war. Europe needs our goods in inconceivably large quantities, but is not able to send us equal quantities of her own products in return. Until she is able to do so, she will buy from us only those things she cannot get along without. And many of these purchases must be made on a credit basis, for she has not the cash to send. Our trade with Europe, therefore, must be limited for a time to the ability of our producers to extend credit.

Europe has been our best customer in the past, but Europe is not the only foreign market for our goods. The South American and Oriental countries present a particularly attractive field. Our trade balance with these countries is adverse. They have been sending us more goods than we have been sending them. Effort expended in Latin America and the Far East will pay us.

In whatever direction we look, however, much of our foreign business must be done on a credit basis. South America was accustomed to getting from European producers before the war three, six, nine and even twelve months in which to pay. We must be prepared to extend the same credits.

And there are other things we must do to develop and fortify our trade with South America. Before the war fine passenger liners sailed between European and South American ports. The South American countries are looking now to the United States for such service. The vessels we built during the war were mostly troop ships and heavy cargo vessels. South America wants the service of fast mail and passenger liners, and packet freighters in addition. By putting such vessels into service we will foster closer relations with all the South American states.

At the same time we must look to the improvement of the cable facilities between the United States and the Orient as well as between the United States and the eastern coast of South America. Adequate communication facilities are one of the first essentials to the development of a permanent foreign trade. I think we can look to the International Communications Conference for some such improvements.

Another series of conferences, holding great promise for our foreign trade, are those between representatives of the War, Navy and Commerce Departments, looking to the development of the port of Manila in the Philippines as a base of operations for the expansion of American trade with the Far East. If the plans being formulated are carried out Manila will become a great clearing house and shipping base, for the exchange of American and Far Eastern commodities.

There will of course be competition between American business men and those of other nations, in their efforts to buy and sell outside their own borders, in their plans for carrying the products of international trade and in

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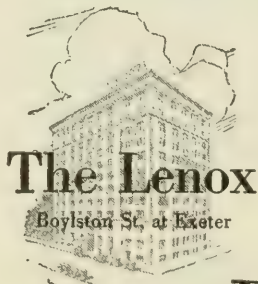
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the investment of surplus funds in foreign countries. This same sort of competition exists today thruout our own and every other industrial country. It is the essence of our commercial life. It is, I think, to be desired, because clean competition means that the consuming public will get the best service, and the best goods at the least cost. It means also that the efforts of competition will prevent stagnation and decay.

There will be international rivalries, but I hope and believe that the United States and all other nations are coming more and more to conceive of international trade as a constructive force, rather than a logical cause for dispute and dissension. There is at present less cause for animosity in connection with foreign trade extension than ever before. The terrific economic destruction of the war has produced an abnormal demand for goods the world over. Then, too, one of the most important factors in world trade during the next generation will certainly be the development of the newer countries with rich resources and sparse populations. Our gains, particularly in Latin America and the Far East, will not necessarily be made at the expense of any other nation. The natural expansion of these markets should provide for the export surplus of all the great industrial nations for many years to come.

Washington, D. C.

## When Green and Orange Mix

(Continued from page 324)

people of Ireland a control over naval and military forces which can serve no useful or necessary purpose, which in certain contingencies might involve great peril to the security of Great Britain, and to which it appears in the highest degree improbable that the Ulster Unionists would ever agree. Mr. Asquith's proposal appears therefore to be quite inconsistent with the undertaking which he himself has given—that the solution of the Irish problem must be one which meets with the general consent of the Irish people themselves.

The policy of the British Government, as embodied in their Bill for the Better Government of Ireland, is to endeavor to do for the warring and conflicting section of Irishmen what they are apparently unable or unwilling to do for themselves; it provides the most complete and immediate measure of self-government for the Irish people; it deals with the practical difficulties of the present situation in what appears to be the only practical and feasible way, by setting up in the first place not one but two parliaments for the two parts of the country; by providing a council in which the whole of Ireland finds representation as a nation, one and undivided, and provides the machinery by which so soon as the Irish people can settle their own domestic differences and so desire it, two parliaments may become one, and Ireland independent.

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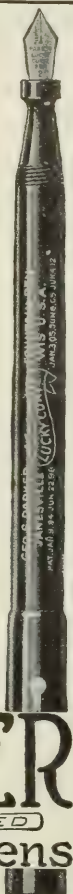
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# How to Study This Number

## THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

### English, Literature and Composition

- I. When Green and Orange Mix.
  1. Organize a debate between Orangemen and Ulstermen, on any aspect of the Irish situation, if possible one suggested by Mr. McCurdy's article. Consider the plan, outlined in his last paragraph, for two parliaments and a common council.
  2. Study the life of Edmund Spenser and his place in history, dwelling especially upon his years in Ireland.
  3. "There is today no quarrel between the English people and the Irish." What do you think Mr. McCurdy means by this statement? Do you think an Irishman or an Englishman would be the more likely to make it? Find everything that bears on it in The Story of the Week.
  4. Find as many names as you can of Irishmen who have been literary patriots as well as political patriots; Terence MacSwiney, for instance, wrote poetry in the Gaelic tongue in his younger years, and was always a writer. Look up W. B. Yeats, J. M. Synge, Lady Gregory, as many others as you can find for yourself. Choose one man, study his writings, and write a paper on him as an Irish patriot.
  5. Was the Sinn Fein movement originally political in its nature? Write a history of it, endeavoring to be impartial on the political side and as sympathetic as possible on the human side.

### II. To Their Mutual Advantage.

1. Write a "Big Business" article of your own, about some business concerning which you have first-hand information. Don't be merely descriptive; look up your facts. And be ready to be either favorably or unfavorably critical, whichever is warranted by the facts and your judgment of them.
2. Which article do you like best—Professor Commons' or Mr. Purinton's in The Independent of two weeks ago? What are your reasons?

### III. The American Watch on the Rhine.

1. Write three letters, each to some friend in America—one from an American officer stationed in Germany, one from an American soldier, and one from a German boy or girl or man or woman living near the American headquarters. If you like, they need have no connection; or they might be three points of view on the same thing; or, if you have enough to say, you might choose to write just one of the letters.

### IV. The First Assembly of the Nations.

1. Write the history of your different states of mind concerning the subject of a League of Nations, going back to the time when you first heard about a League to Enforce Peace. Show very clearly how and why your attitude has shifted—if it has—and make your present position plain.

### V. An Important Step Toward Christian Union.

1. "There are four branches of the Christian church—the Greek Catholic, the Roman Catholic, the Anglo-Catholic, and the Non-Episcopal churches." Arrange a program of short talks on the origin of the first three branches, and of several outstanding non-Episcopal sects.
2. What is the meaning of the following: episcopal, schismatic, catholic.

### VI. Translating English.

1. Add to the list as many examples as you can find of the things people say meaning something else.

### VII. A Little of Everything.

1. Write a description of your town, using "Ten Tests of Your Town" as an outline.
2. Make some suggestions for designs to be used on peace stamps in the United States.

### VIII. Free Verse.

1. If you saw "Thrift and the Cosmic Harmonies" without having read the Editor's note above, would you think it was funny? What is the difference between it and free verse by Walt Whitman or Carl Sandburg?
2. Write a poem in free verse that you seriously mean to be poetry, and write another that is a parody of current free verse. Without labeling them, give them to the class to decide which was your intention in each case.
3. Find some good anthology of modern poetry, such as Harriet Monroe's "New Poetry," and decide from it whether you think that the best modern poetry is, generally speaking, free verse or fixed verse.

### History, Civics and Economics

#### I. The Irish Question—When Green and Orange Mix. Murder and Revenge in Dublin. Fight in House of Commons.

1. How many Home Rule bills have been considered by the British Parliament, beginning with Gladstone's first measure? Have any actually been put into effect at any time?
2. Trace an outline map of Ireland from any geographical atlas. Color green that part of the country which desires national independence and orange the part which is opposed. How does "orange" Ireland differ from "green" Ireland in (a) national origin, (b) religion, (c) politics, (d) industrial development?
3. Can you think of another ease of a country with well-defined geographical limits which is divided, like Ireland, into two or more areas of dissimilar characteristics and traditions? Compare the divergence between "orange" and "green" Ireland with any one of the following with which you feel familiar: (a) North and South in the United States of 1860; (b) northern and southern Italy; (c) Prussia and south Germany; (d) German and Czech Bohemia; (e) Swedish and Finnish Finland; (f) Flemish and Walloon Belgium; (g) German, French and Italian Switzerland; (h) Catalonia and the rest of Spain; (i) French and English Canada; (j) Dutch and English South Africa.

#### II. The Labor Question—To Their Mutual Advantage. Hoover on Reconstruction. Labor versus Radicalism. Making Their Own Cigars.

1. "We have the beginning of joint control in industry." Show to what extent this assertion is justified by the Rochester plan of industrial conferences described by Professor Commons.
2. What is the function of the Labor Manager in the Rochester scheme?
3. Compare the Boston Coöperative Cigar Factory, described by Mr. Stoddard, with the Rochester clothing industry as discussed by Professor Commons. Under which system do you think the public and the worker would benefit more greatly? Is there anything which you would call "socialistic" about either?
4. For what reason in your opinion did the American Federation of Labor call Mr. Hoover into consultation? Do you agree with Mr. Hoover that the technical expert, the engineer, can do much to reconcile the interests of capital and labor?

#### III. League of Nations Assembly—First Assembly of the Nations. Aid for Armenia.

1. Compare the making of the American Constitution with the making of the Covenant of the League. Why did some American states hesitate about uniting with the new Federal Government?
2. What part does the Assembly play in the structure of the League of Nations? What opportunity does the meeting of the Assembly give to the smaller member nations? How many nations are represented in the Assembly?
3. Why was the Armenian question particularly urgent? What differences between British and French policy were evident at the meeting of the Assembly?

#### IV. American Administration in Germany—The American Watch on the Rhine.

1. Why are American troops in Germany? If we made peace now could American soldiers still be maintained on German soil?
2. What other nations have troops stationed in Germany? How long can they be maintained there under the terms of peace? (Hint—look up Articles 428-432 of the Treaty of Versailles).

#### V. Commerce—Our Share of Foreign Trade.

1. "Before the war only 8 per cent of our goods sold abroad was delivered in our own bottoms. Now we are carrying 60 per cent of our commerce under the American flag." What effect should this have on our commerce with Europe?

#### VI. National Finance—Congress and the Budget.

1. What is a "budget"? What reform of national finance is covered by the phrase "the budget system"?
2. Why is a Government or other public body so frequently slow to adopt the sound financial organization of successful private businesses?



# The Independent

FOUNDED 1848

## The Paragrapher's Sprightly Art

Collected from the American Press by L. N. Flint, Professor of Journalism in the University of Kansas

If they keep on establishing republics in the old country at the present rate, pretty soon there won't be any titles left except in American lodge rooms.

Licking war savings stamps leaves a pleasant taste in the mouth. Try it.

The man who got off that stuff about how womankind is advancing by great strides had evidently not seen the new hobble skirts.

We shall soon see whether marriage or drink is the cause of the divorce evil.

The story is that the original owners traded Manhattan Island for a bottle of firewater. If they had preserved the liquor they would now be in a position to make a very advantageous speculation in the same real estate.

These father-and-son banquets are a great improvement on the conferences the two used to have in the woodshed.

In place of rail splitting in American politics we now have hair splitting.

Hereafter political orators will be careful how they appeal to the "plain people." Women are a part of the voting population now.

To the victors belong the broils.

See America thirst.

There little brewery don't you cry, you'll grind sausages by and by.

We shall beat our swords into plowshares, and our corkscrews into buttonhooks.

Of course a cat may look at a king, but it will have to hurry.

Just what was the matter with the last Congress has puzzled the nation, but the fact that a majority looked on tooth paste as a luxury ought to throw some light on the subject.

A statesman is a politician you agree with.

If there's one thing that hurts more than having to pay an income tax it is not having to pay an income tax.

The trouble with the Irish question is that too many of the Irish people want what too many of the Irish people don't want.

Unless somebody is killed, the accident is generally unsatisfactory to the reading public.

What perfectly lovely husbands those returning soldiers who have learned to obey orders are going to make.

There is nearly as much "ire" as "land" in Ireland these days.

Let us confine the waving of the red flag to our railroad crossings.

German naval officers maintain that their fleet was never defeated. Neither was the Chinese fleet.

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## Opening Nights

*Daddy Dimpkins*, by George Barr McCutcheon and Earl Carroll. All about an old bachelor and his seven adopted children. Delightful and wholesome comedy with much heartwarming humor and pathos. (Republic Theater.)

*When We Are Young*. Fair to middlin' conventional comedy featuring three so-called "stars." The story shows how the noble but happy-go-lucky spendthrift hero shovels snow and reforms for a cash register "Princess." (Broadhurst Theater.)

## Remarkable Remarks

BLASCO IBANEZ—When an American laughs, he laughs all over.

NOVELIST BERTHA RUCK—You Americans are not very gracious.

"BUGS" BAER—The price of food is rapidly dropping to abnormal.

DR. N. W. SANBORN—The big cold weather problem is the getting of eggs.

CORNELIUS VANDERBILT, JR.—Why is Los Angeles the largest city in the Far West?

SECRETARY DANIELS—If they put a few hazers in the penitentiary it would be a good example.

ROGER C. CRABTREE—Every American must be a statesman or he is likely to find himself a soldier.

JUDGE LEWIS, of Chicago—Women are like kittens. You have got to pet them to keep them happy.

HERBERT HOOVER—We have just passed thru a period of unparalleled speculation, extravagance and waste.

J. DENNIS BRADLEY—My views on any subject can be stated in five words: "I disagree with most people."

HELEN LOUISE JOHNSON—It would be far more artistic if the skirts went entirely to the knee, instead of half way.

JAMES G. HUNEKER—Considering the price of coal, where does all the money come from that is spent on grand opera?

BARITONE GEORGES BAKLANOFF—If one per cent of American men are virtuous, as the clergymen say, that is a large number.

FATHER JAMES CRONIN—If the employers refuse to grant what is right and fair, labor can and must use force to bring them to their senses.

ISHBEL M. ROTH—New York girls enjoy flipping their powder puffs under the masculine nose and using their lip-sticks without undue camouflage.

SENATOR LA FONTAINE—I consider the earth as a property unique in integrity from which humanity as a whole must derive full advantage in equal manner.

RABBI STEPHEN S. WISE—There are 50,000 Jewish families between 50th and 120th Streets, and I dare say that not 10 per cent are supporters of synagogues.

LORD ROBERT CECIL—It is a waste of time for Americans to think that this League could be scrapped and all nations go to America to form a new League.





Wide World

This is the first photograph of the formal opening of the League of Nations in the Hotel National at Geneva. Among the seated delegates are representatives of forty-three nations. The galleries are crowded with correspondents and newspapermen



Wide World

Half a dozen leaders in the League of Nations, photographed at the League's first session. From left to right around the table they are: De Leion of Spain, Tittoni of Italy, Bourgeois of France, Hymans of Belgium (president of the League Assembly), Drummond of England (secretary of the League), and Fisher of England

# The First Meeting of the League



# The Independent

December 11, 1920

## Taking Banking Out of Politics

Some Inside Information on the Federal Reserve Board and Its Work

By Homer Joseph Dodge

"**T**HE Federal Reserve System is not a candidate."

A Democratic politician, seeking reelection, had just told W. P. G. Harding, Governor of the Federal Reserve Board, that unless the Board made credit conditions easier in his district he would be defeated.

"But the Federal Reserve System is not a candidate. What have we to do with the election?"

These crisp words of the Governor typify the policy of the existing American banking system. They emphasize the fact that for the first time since Andrew Jackson raised a national issue in his Bank of the United States, the monetary question is being kept out of politics to the best of the ability of its incumbent managers.

If the Federal Reserve Board can succeed in this effort, a long step will have been taken toward that emancipation of the money system from partisan wilfulness which Paul Warburg, first vice-governor of the Board, prophesied when the twelve Federal Reserve banks first opened their doors on November 16, 1914.

A bitter grapevine struggle is being carried on to determine this issue. On one side is ranged the Federal Reserve Board; on the other many politicians, some with great names, upon whom pressure has been brought to bear by business interests eager to see political control of money and commercial affairs intermingled. Tho lacking publicity, the struggle means settlement of a great popular issue, an issue between a scientific banking system, controlling rates of credit in accordance with the best interests of the whole people on the one hand, and a system of banks manipulated to serve immediate and selfish desires of particular and momentarily influential groups, on the other.

There has been scarcely a rise and fall of a kingdom in the old world or a political campaign and election in the new which was not closely intertwined with money interests. The 1920 issue should determine whether American politics and American finance are to be divorced or whether the latter is to be the plaything of the former.

To recite details of the incidents in the present con-



W. P. G. Harding, Governor of the Federal Reserve Board, stands for "a scientific banking system, controlling rates of credit in accordance with the best interests of the whole people"

test would involve assertions, recriminations, production of photostat copies of documentary evidence and other paraphernalia of the sort best acclimated to courts of law and rooms of investigating committees. Let it suffice that there is such a record, including messages of the greatest leaders of the Presidential campaign. Probably they are best hidden in the files for they represent a willingness on the one hand to bring to bear on the campaign the power of the Federal Reserve System over American business, and, on the other, the fixed determination of the incumbent official custodians of the system to stick to banking science and let the politicians whistle.

The system dominates American business. Its money theory is based on the volume of commercial credits arising from everyday business. Its currency is designed to expand only at the necessity of legitimate commerce. But the stress of war brought

the lesson that big business or grouped business can, like Napoleon, make circumstances. The Board has learned that, in addition to operating the system to meet legitimate needs, it also must guard against malevolent effects of artificial circumstances created by special groups or by engineered economic tendencies.

The war kept the credit regulating machinery of the Board dormant. Its exigencies dictated certain narrow limits of policy. The body must function purely for war purposes. How strong the pressure to restrict the Board's operation was has not heretofore—indeed could not have with propriety—been printed. But it will be recalled that as the bond issues were floated, the demon of inflation continued to bloat. Economists, bankers, business men, politicians and others who could spare time from winning the war, scathingly attacked the Board for not raising the bank rate, then down around 4½ per cent. The low rate encouraged speculation and increased living costs, it was claimed. The reasons why the Board remained silent under these attacks were two—one coöperative, one coercive.

Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo wanted to sell as many bonds as possible at low rates. It was not known how long the war would last and to raise the bank rate would mean the bond rate also must go up.



With this aspiration of the Treasury, the Board necessarily must be in sympathy. But if it had not been, if it had felt impelled to increase rates to stop speculation, the coercive reason would have become operative. For the Overman Act had been passed. This authorized the President to rearrange any agency of the Government. He could put the Bureau of Fisheries under the Director of the Mint or the Shipping Board under the Librarian of Congress, if he chose. By the same token he could put the Federal Reserve Board directly under the Secretary of the Treasury. This done, the bond-selling Secretary would have sole voice. The change was not made, but the fact that it *could* have been constituted the sufficient word to the wise. The rate stayed down.

After the armistice credit conditions altered slightly, there being from November to January a contraction, valuable in providing proof that Federal Reserve currency would contract. But, with the Victory loan and hundreds of millions in Treasury certificates yet to sell, the Treasury policy of war finance did not change, the bank rate stayed down and the spring boom of 1919 renewed the inflation. But in December, 1919, the Federal Reserve Board determined that the war was far enough behind to justify the banking system in throwing off the Treasury influence. In a speech at Boston that month, Governor Harding announced a declaration of independence of the Board. He gave notice that thenceforward the Board would function in accordance with the business dictates of the country.

Traders in Wall Street will recall the winter of 1919. The Federal Reserve bank rate went up a point and call money rose to 30 per cent. There was a cry that the Board would precipitate a panic by approving the rate increases of the Federal Reserve banks. A pronounced flurry did occur. But, drunk with the post-war boom, the traders could not believe in the earnestness of the Board and the bulling of securities soon began anew. Careless of the interests of speculators, the Federal Reserve banks of Boston, New York and Philadelphia put their rates up in answer and another flurry came. With the issue problematical, the Board got Congress to amend the Federal Reserve Act to provide a progressive discount rate system, whereby the more a man borrowed, the higher interest charges he would have to pay. Not content with the security liquidation

which had been forced, the Board soon shot rates up again, equalizing them for all sections so there could be no interdistrict rediscounting to advantage. Gradually, the traders learned the Board was in earnest. By its rate increases it had proved the system adequate to control business and not a mere note issuing facility. It had squeezed a billion dollars in speculative, inflated values out of Wall Street, this money going inland to enter productive business.

Spring brought the railroad switchmen's strike, tying up goods on which bank loans had been made. The burned speculators were crying discrimination, insisting that commodities also must feel the Board's rod. The goods were not being delivered, their price could not be remitted, the loans for which they were the security could not be paid. Particularly in the middle west acute stringency was felt. The Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City put the new progressive discount system in effect, just at the panic stage and, under its terms, would-be borrowers were restricted to a minimum of accommodation.

The Board called a conference of bankers to meet at Washington, May 18, 1920. Rumor had it the body intended to class certain industries as essential and others not, and extend credit accordingly. Representatives of industries, particularly the automobile industry, took alarm and dashed to Washington to importune the big bankers not to let the Board put them out of business. A dolorous set of bankers and business men sat about hotel lobbies the night before the conference, talking panic in low tones.

The next night the hotel lobbies looked different.

By exercise of that curious influence which leaders who keep their heads and remain unafraid are able to exert over those less well-ordered, the Board had allayed the fears of the timorous. Its members made it clear there was no intention to classify essential and non-essential industry. They merely explained in plain words that speculation and credit expansion in the United States must cease. They pointed out that in previous periods of money stringency here, we could, in a pinch, recoup reserves by selling finance bills in London and Paris. Now, however, not only could no assistance be had from abroad; all the world was clamoring at our doors for assistance. Our banks must be [Continued on page 369]



Underwood & Underwood

The Federal Reserve Board, composed of governors and chairmen of the boards of directors of the twelve Federal Reserve Banks of the United States, in conference in the first of the regular periodic meetings that will enable the board to unite in action against a political, capitalistic control of banking. At the head of the table is Governor Harding. From left to right on the left side of the table: Charles S. Hamlin; W. W. Hoxton, executive secretary; John Skelton Williams, Comptroller of the Currency; D. C. Wills; Caldwell Hardy, agent, Richmond; J. B. McDougal, governor, Chicago; William F. Ramsley, agent, Dallas; R. L. Van Zandt, governor, Dallas; J. Z. Miller, Jr., governor, Kansas City; George W. Norris, governor, Philadelphia; N. B. Wellborn, governor, Atlanta; E. R. Fancher, governor, Cleveland; William McC. Martin, agent, St. Louis; R. A. Young, governor, Minneapolis; Asa E. Ramsay, agent, Kansas City, at foot of table. Right side of table, left to right, A. C. Miller; Edmund Platt; John Perrin, agent, San Francisco; F. M. Curtiss, agent, Boston; C. A. Morss, governor, Boston; R. L. Austin, agent, Philadelphia





Central News

A broad highway. This is a squad of twelve United States Army planes flying in battle formation over Washington, D. C., photographed from the thirteenth and leading plane

Right: A crash at Forest Hills, Long Island. This is only the crowd afterward. An army plane chose to do aerial gymnastics over the crowded grandstand while tennis was going on. When it dropped, just outside the courts, both passengers were killed. But the number might have been dozens



# Can Air Be Too Free?

By Laurence La Tourette Driggs

The president of the American Flying Club suggests in the following article that it's time the American people woke up to the need for aviation legislation. At present it is lamentably legal for a foolhardy aviator to try his stunts just over the heads of innocent bystanders

**W**ITHIN the week two legal questions have been brought to lawyers for an opinion. The first was in the form of a telegram from Barre, Vermont, stating that an aviator was being sued in the local courts for damages arising out of an innocent flight over a farmer's field. The farmer happened to be plowing with a nervous horse, which bolted. Tho one did not see it, one can imagine the nervous horse kept both eyes glued on the roaring contraption overhead and quite forgot the proximity of a barb-wire fence which all his life had stood between his pasture and this plowed field. Thus with considerable contributory negligence on his part, he suffered from numerous abrasions, contusions, cuts, penetrations and shock, after his headlong plunge into the vicious fence.

The farmer, who believed in barb-wire fences, sought to recover damages for the horse's injuries, on the grounds of trespass over his private property where he had an undeniable right to plow with a nervous horse, and on the further grounds that the aeroplane comprizes a public nuisance.

The second request for information as to a citizen's private rights, which are injured by this new science of aviation, was of an entirely different character. On a quiet Sunday morning over a well known golf links near the Hudson River, a mad young aviator appeared just at the crowded time of day when strokes were being economized with due regard to the ball nassau forfeits. Without reverence for the high tension of the golfers' nerves, the pilot, secure in his limitless air,

amused himself with horrid dartings at the players on the green, pulling up on his aeroplane when but a few feet over their heads, and continuing these joyous capers until scores were forgotten and the last of the players rushed to the clubhouse for protection. Then, to show his ability to land on a small spot, the aviator cut off his motor and ran along the fairway, cutting a deep gash in the smooth turf with his tail skid, equal to wounds from a thousand niblicks. Only the confirmed golfer can estimate the depth of golfing anger stirred up by this prank. The following morning the president of the club paid a visit to the office of a lawyer.

It is of small satisfaction to learn that the United States has no laws on aviation; that not even licenses are sought nor granted; that the statute books are silent on remedies and court decisions are lacking on precedents. Can any irresponsible boy fly over our heads in a machine and perhaps cause irreparable injuries to our persons and our property without our having any rights of compensation or protection? If this is so, why isn't something done about it?

The fact is that fundamental laws, limiting the operation of aircraft, licensing air pilots and defining the rights of the public and the aviators, were drawn up by representatives of the several nations at the Paris conference, at the time the treaty with Germany was drawn. The nations of Europe are now operating their aircraft under these laws. But the United States, having discarded the treaty and all the interbound ties connecting it with the League of Nations, is still at war with Germany, and is still [Continued on page 374



Whether You Read It in Your Armchair by the Fire or See It from  
the Fifth Row Aisle

# The Play's the Thing

By Montrose J. Moses

Author of "The American Dramatist"

**I**N 1906, Henry Arthur Jones, the English playwright, made an earnest plea for the printing of plays. He overrode the objections of those who opposed the idea by claiming truly that a body of stage literature worthy in style of preservation in book form would help to purify and make sound the taste of a public which had not yet clearly determined in its mind the difference between "amusement" and "entertainment."

His brief was not written without some effect, for English dramas, one wanted to read after seeing, soon began to appear, and contagion spread to America, where, for so many years, the native efforts of our playwrights were buried in the manuscript-office of some theatrical agent or manager.

It may be said, with scarcely any reservations, that there is no play of any note—unfortunately there are many plays of hardly any worth at all—which cannot be easily obtainable for the library. One is able to examine at close range the charm of a stage story, the virility of its dialogue, the expertness of its structure, the cleverness of its increasing suspense, the truthfulness of its characterization, its acting opportunities, by giving it that close, slow attention on the printed

"Major Barbara," where I revelled in its social satire because I was prepared beforehand to parry the blows of its humor and understand its keen jibes at social condition—an intellectual depth which is wanting in Edward Sheldon's "Salvation Nell" (also published), tho the two plays deal with similar subjects, steeped in somewhat the same atmosphere. And the significant thing about this statement of mine is that you can check it up yourself, as a reader, because both plays are easily obtainable in print. It is possible for a critic to tell you that Shaw's "Widowers' Houses" is better social philosophy than Charles Klein's "Daughters of Men," and you are able to go even further than the statement—by turning to the plays themselves—in determining exactly how much better Shaw's deeply-grounded and intellectually-founded Fabianism is than Klein's snap-judgment in the reading of newspaper files. Such intellectual measuring-up of playwriting and the intellectual enjoyment of the theater is due to the printing of plays.

No advocate of the published play wishes to destroy expectancy when you go to the theater. If the whole value of a play lies in the situation, it is a thousand pities that you have to dispel that expectancy by having it told you, either in the reading before going to the theater, or in the printed review of it which appears in the current papers or magazines. But I claim, with Henry Arthur Jones, that a play so surface as to call for nothing but clever trickery of stagecraft is worthy neither of print nor of our golden evenings nor of a second consideration. For print, like indelible ink, brings out the strength and weakness of a drama, its shades and high-lights. There are many good acting plays, there are a multitude of actor-proof parts, which are threadbare in cold type, and dull in their ink-stained wording, because no spiritual meaning shines behind. "The Two Orphans" reads like mere romantic drivel, "The Lady of Lyons" like swashbuckling fustian. Literary value raises the whole quality of a story into something permanently told.

To read a play is much more difficult than to read a novel; there is more demand on visualization in the imagination; it is the shorthand technique of the novel, sparing of words, reticent in the choosing of heightened moments in the lives of its characters. It is the reader who must supply the hidden values, who must transcribe the dramatist's notes. If he is able to do it well, then he is able, by the reading of a drama, to convince himself that it will act effectively on the stage. But the theater surprises one by the tricks it plays. Sometimes you read a printed play, and you think it is bound to act well; when it is given it is a failure. Again you have doubts about the acting quality of a drama, tho you admire its literary excellencies. You begin to doubt, with some justice, whether the literary value of a drama is necessary in the theater at all. You have probably forgotten the fact that while the printed book appeals to you singly, and may appeal to a hundred thousand like you, individually, the acted play has to appeal collectively to the crowd.

For instance, I read John Drinkwater's "Lincoln"



White Studio

Josephine Victor and Herbert Lomas in one of the tightest moments of that relentless play, "The Skin Game," by John Galsworthy, now playing at the Bijou Theater

page which the theater never allows. We used to go and see Barrie's plays, joyful in their sweet spirit of quaint poetry, and we would come away wishing that at home we might have a closer experience with what we are right in calling "the flavor of Barrie." Well, it is possible for us now to read "What Every Woman Knows," "The Admirable Crichton" and "Quality Street." We got to know Bernard Shaw—if we will ever know him—from his "Plays Pleasant and Unpleasant" long before our managers were convinced—thru the daring plunge of an actor into "Candida" as an escape from musical comedy—of his commercial value; and there has not been a play of his since that we have not been able to examine for its wit before going to the theater to meet an enjoyment no whit the less in value because of our being thus forearmed. I recall my experience at





Henry Travers, appearing in the Theater Guild production of "Heartbreak House," now playing at the Garrick Theater. This play, being by Bernard Shaw, is not one to read before or after—you must read it both times

before I saw it, and tho, in my judgment, I had its phenomenal success in London to prompt me, there was much in it which could have upset me had I been willing to submit the play to a *Broadway* measurement. English plays, however excellent their readable values, do not always go on the American stage: the psychology of national temperament enters. But in Drinkwater's case—I did not measure it with the same rule that measures Mrs.

Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin." I felt that the dignity of its poetry was the right clothing for the dignity of its central character. And I felt that the unity of the soul in Abraham Lincoln would bind together, in a heart-consuming interest, the episodic incidents selected by the Englishman with the same purpose as the old English chronicle play. I brushed aside Drinkwater's historical inconsistencies—Shakespeare is full of such, if we need a higher authority; I brushed aside my doubt as to whether an actor could be found sufficiently trained in the music of verse to read his interludes properly; I read them silently and knew that, like music of the noble kind, they would bear repetition on the stage, and then again in the library. The average American manager dodged the play, and he still can't explain why the play was a success, and why it is likely to be a success for many years to come on the road. Read this play before or after you see it, or before *and* after. No repetition can kill the value of its sincerity, or the sincerity of its style.

The opposers of the printed play are now in the minority; today, I can tell you what dramas to read, and if you read them, you will be following the drama as it is at present in New York, even tho you may never see them as played in New York. This shows that in the insurgency of the theater—away from the theatrically-cut play to the drama of substance, of fine material—the managers are going to the book for the play which has been on the shelf for many years. For

example, John Galsworthy has not had an easy path in the theater. We know how his "Justice" knocked on many a manager's door in vain, and yet we know also that when it was finally given we flocked to the theater to see it with our interest no less tense—because of reading it—for the tragedy. The pity is that often such plays remain so long unnoticed on the shelf that, when taken down and presented, they are a little out of date by reason of the fact that, while the drama in the theater is a reflection of life, life has a way of suddenly changing, especially in these revolutionary days of new social adjustments. The war has altered our standards, has torn down most of our social barriers—until now there are plays by Pinero and Jones and St. John Hankin—all obtainable in print—that sound as impossible as some of the Restoration comedies.

Galsworthy's "The Mob," which has been in book form for several years, was purchased by an actor who saw himself in the part of the stoical idealist defying the imperialism of his government. But the poor actor could not find a manager, and so he perforce relinquished his rights to an insurgent group in New York, The Neighborhood Playhouse—an organization helping to do, to some extent, for New York, what Miss Horniman's Players did for Birmingham, England: establish some semblance of a repertory. It was they who started the Dunsany fad. The fact that the war is over makes "The Mob," just given, come with an effect of anti-climax: a war-play after the war is over. Managers may have argued in refusing to present it that such dramas are now out of fashion. But the poignancy of the theme in "The Mob"—written with that cold, judicial, non-partizan attitude Galsworthy maintains so consistently, and sometimes so irritatingly in his plays—appealed to me with added force when I saw it on the stage, because it dealt with the spiritual hardships of a man who is willing to die for a conviction, much in the same way that a certain American has recently been battling for an ideal, born of the war—battling in the face of political opposition that has crushed him physically and repudiated him spiritually. I could describe the beauty and economic reticence with which the play is given by the Neighborhood Playhouse in an out-of-the-way New York street, far removed from the glare of Broadway. While you may never have the opportunity of seeing it as given, you will be able to follow my comment, because you probably have "The Mob" on your library shelf.

Galsworthy's "The Skin Game" was issued in book form before it was presented on the stage. William A. Brady, the theatrical manager, has just produced it. I heard some comment that because of its theatric interest—and when Galsworthy becomes theatric he seems to push into his play a situation which is artificial in comparison with his [Continued on page 372

A scene in the terrible last act of "The Mob," by John Galsworthy, recently given at the Neighborhood Playhouse. A reading of the play could not give you the expressiveness of this mob, unique among stage mobs. But only by reading can you get the whole force of the stern and poignant lines





# Freezing Out Uncle Sam

By Edwin E. Slosson

THE United States and Germany, the two leading nations left out of the League, have both protested to the League against the way the mandates are being assigned and administered.

The mandate plan was a compromise. When the Allied and Associated Powers came into conference at Paris they found that they had at their disposal territories larger than Europe or the United States. Never since the flood had there been so much land in liquidation. Four great empires had been broken up, the German, the Austrian, the Ottoman and the Russian. What should be done with the fragments? The historic rule was "to the victors belong the spoil," but history showed the victors were very apt to fall out over the partition of the spoil.

This partition had been in part provided for by a set of secret treaties among the Allies, which earmarked in advance certain territories for particular powers. These treaties, President Wilson says, were not made known to him when the aid of America was sought and when he did learn of them after his arrival in Paris he declined to be bound by them on the ground that they were inconsistent with the war aims which the Allies, at his request, had publicly professed and with the armistice terms under which Germany had surrendered. The secret treaties were anyhow antiquated, inconsistent and inadequate. The sacrifices of the Allies had been greater and their victory more sweeping than they had anticipated.

There were two opposing views at Paris as to the disposition of the dependencies that had been detached from the empires in dissolution. One was simply to divide them up among the victorious powers in the customary way. But a new and higher ideal had been born of the war, that the undeveloped resources of the world should not be monopolized by any nation but should be held by an international organization for the equal benefit of all and with special reference to the welfare of the natives. This was the plan advocated by the President for the disposal of the conquered dependencies. The British Labor party in their program went farther and urged that all tropical and undeveloped lands, whatever their present ownership, should be placed under international control.

But there were certain practical difficulties to this idealistic plan. Where joint control had been tried, as in the case of government of the Samoan Islands by Germany, England and the United States, or of the New Hebrides by England and France, it has never worked well. The protecting powers have quarreled among themselves, the natives have suffered and the country has not been so well developed as it would have been under any one of its guardians. The League of Nations was a new and untried institution. It had no army of its own, no corps of trained administrators, no traditions and no prestige. Could the infant League, hampered as it was by a Council where every member had the veto power, manage an empire as big perhaps as Australia or Europe and largely composed of unruly and antagonistic peoples?

To reconcile these two opposing plans General Smuts of South Africa came forward with the proposal that the liberated territories, in so far as they could not stand alone, should be assigned in severalty to such of the powers as are best fitted to aid them under a mandate from the League to insure that they should be administered with due regard to the interests of the inhabitants and so as to "secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other members of the League."

The mandate plan seemed to be the best solution of the

difficulty so it was incorporated in the Covenant. Since this document formed the bone of contention in the recent election it is fair to assume that every voter has a copy of it. So it is unnecessary to quote here Article 22 that describes the mandatory system. But attention should be specially directed toward the sentence already quoted just above which shows that equal trade opportunities are insured only to the "other members of the League." Now the United States, like Germany, is not in the League and might, if the members of the League were so selfish and unwise as to declare a boycott, be shut out from any trade with the whole of Africa, South America and the Pacific Islands and with the most important part of Asia, as well as Canada and the Caribbean.

If the present League were a League of All Nations, as it was intended to be on its inception, there would be no difficulty about confining to its members the privilege of equal access to the raw materials of the mandated territory. But any nation remaining outside is at a commercial disadvantage which may become serious if the territory contains some product essential to civilization.

Among such essentials are fertilizers and oils, mineral and vegetable. Now the little island of Nauru in the Pacific is capped by a bed of phosphate. But Great Britain has been given the exclusive right of working the bed and selling the phosphate. Fortunately the United States has an abundance of phosphate so we need not worry about this.

Palm oil is necessary for making tin plate. It largely comes from the Gold Coast of Africa and the trade used to be in the hands of the Germans. During the war the British, needing all available fats for food, soap and nitroglycerine, made palm oil a Government monopoly and shut off its export to the United States. This threatened to ruin our tin plate industry and we had to beg the British to let us have a little. The British Government was obliged to consent because if we could not get palm oil we could not make tin cans and if we could not make tin cans we could not supply the British army in France with canned beef. In this case too we might be independent if we wanted to, for so long as we hold on to the Philippines and Caribbean Islands we could grow our own palm oil.

A third case is more important, that of petroleum. Here again the United States has been liberally endowed by nature, but we have been very wasteful. If we divide the estimated amount of oil remaining in the ground in all known fields by the amount consumed last year we get fifteen as a quotient. That does not mean that at midnight on December 31, 1935, there will not be a drop of gasoline to be had, but it does show that petroleum will from now on get rapidly scarcer and dearer until ultimately it ceases to be a common commodity and some more or less inferior substitute like alcohol takes its place. The commercial and naval power of the future will be in the hands of the nation that possesses the largest oil supply. A merchantman run by Diesel or other internal engines fed with petroleum can go round the world without recourse to a coaling station. An oil fleet can chase a coal fleet anywhere on the high seas.

Now America, having oil to burn, has shared it generously with her needy neighbors—at a generous price. She has fed the million lamps of China and India and filled the tanks of friendly fleets and rival traders. Soon she will, like a foolish virgin, be begging sister nations for the loan of a little oil. In the year 1918 the United States exported over 2,700,000,000 gallons of mineral oils.



Capricious nature had denied the greatest naval and maritime power in the world an adequate supply of oil. The territory over which the British flag waved, amounting to about a quarter of the habitable earth, was not originally picked out on its petroleum prospects. But the war gave the British Government a chance to remedy this deficiency so it has insisted upon retaining possession of the oil fields in Persia and the Mesopotamian valley. The latter claim was disputed by France, which had been granted the Mosul district, on the upper Tigris, by England in the Sykes-Picot treaty. But France was conciliated by a promise of a share in the oil of Mosul and a free hand in Syria.

This agreement, by which Great Britain obtained the exclusive control of the Mesopotamian oil, was reached at a private conference between British and French representatives held at San Remo, Italy, last summer. But the United States promptly and repeatedly protested that such a private arrangement and monopolization was contrary to the principles on which the League of Nations was based. Secretary Colby's latest note has been made public and is printed in part in our Story of the Week. Its logic is incontrovertible, but its effect is negligible. France and England can afford to disregard such paper protests and doubtless will do what they like. The pitiful thing about it is that the United States must beg and plead for her rights, whereas if she had taken her seat in the Council of the League of Nations she would have had the veto power against any such discrimination. We cannot blame the nations which are in the League for making the most of the advantages that they have gained thru our refusal to coöperate with them.

## Flag Burning

**I**RISH mobs in New York City have on several recent occasions amused themselves by tearing down and burning British flags. Public theaters and private clubs have alike been victims of their fury. If such rioting amuses Sinn Fein sympathizers who are safe on this side of the Atlantic we suppose that they are the best judges of their own fun; but if they are in serious earnest about helping Ireland they should reflect that a million torn British banners would not make Ireland independent and that a few more riots may seriously alienate American sympathy. The public will grow tired in time of broken windows.

## Wells on the World

By Edwin E. Slosson

**T**HERE is no bigger writer than Wells. There is no bigger subject than the world. So when the one tackles the other a literary sensation is bound to result. Wells began his literary career by cruising to and fro along the fourth dimension in his "Time Machine." Since then he has spent more time in the future than in the past, but prospective history is more difficult to write than retrospective history, so there is no reason why he should not succeed at the easier task. To be sure his schooling was in biology instead of history, but this is not altogether a disadvantage since all human history is merely a branch of biology. If historians had used their microscopes on the microbes of malaria rather than on the minuscules of the manuscripts they would have known more about the cause of the decline of Greece and Rome than they did.

Knickerbocker began his "History of New York" with Adam. Wells, being a biologist, gets a better running start for his "Outline of History" by beginning with the protozoa several hundred million years earlier than the date Archbishop Usher put at the top of the first page of the Bible. It takes Wells two hundred pages to get down to what used to be called "historic times," but this space

is not wasted for it gives the necessary perspective to the story of man and his planet. As Wells reminds us: "Half the duration of human civilization and the keys to all its chief institutions are to be found *before* Sargon I," and Sargon ruled over Mesopotamia in 2750 B. C.

Besides reminding us of our poor relation, the pithecanthropus, Wells has called attention to certain parts of the world commonly ignored. He regards Asia as more than a mere annex to Europe, to be alluded to only when Asiatics happened to come into conflict with Europeans. He devotes ten pages to Jenghis Khan and five to Akbar, while he disposes of Louis XV and Frederick the Great in half a page apiece. He gives fifteen lines to Victor Emmanuel and a full page to denunciation of Kipling's "Stalky and Company" as typifying the defects of British education and administration. He gives three pages to the mournful mummies of Charles V after he retired to the monastery and seven lines to the battle of Waterloo. This distribution of space may be criticized, but it is a refreshing departure from the conventional

Twenty years ago in his "Anticipations," Wells suggested the advisability of publishing books with footnotes by antagonistic critics. He expressed a desire that somebody should treat his books that way and since nobody has taken up his project he has now had it done himself. His "Outline of History" has been subjected to scrutiny of four competent critics, Ernest Barker, Sir H. H. Johnston, Sir E. Ray Lankester and Professor Gilbert Murray, who freely disagree with the author's opinions and sometimes flatly deny his statements in their footnotes. This adds greatly to the interest besides giving a needful corrective of another point of view. When Wells says that Gladstone, despite his classical training, was "a grossly ignorant man," Professor Murray takes him up—or calls him down—and a lively debate follows in the footnotes for two pages.

There has been, so far as I know, only one history of the world worthy of the name and that was Helmolt's. This is really a history of the *world*, not merely of a few favored countries with incidental mention of the rest. It covers Asia, Africa and the Pacific as conscientiously as Europe, so I find it more useful than any other as a reference work, for a journalist can never tell where the lightning—or the limelight—is going to strike next, except that it will strike some new place. For instance, when the peace treaty with Germany was first cabled from Paris it was found that one of the demands made by England upon Germany was for "the return of the skull of the Sultan Mkwawa." The librarians were driven distracted by telephone inquiries about the missing bonehead, concerning which hitherto the public had manifested no curiosity whatsoever. But when I turned to Helmolt there was the genealogy of the African potentate worked out with the same care as the ancestry of the Bourbons. But Helmolt fills eight very large volumes and is a composite work, written by a corps of specialists of various countries.

Wells' "Outline of History," tho necessarily inferior to Helmolt in comprehensiveness and scholarship, has the great advantage of readableness and unity of style and viewpoint. It is all Wells and Wells alone in spite of its extensive quotations and corps of collaborators. His idiosyncrasies and mental bias give zest to the narrative. He writes with the freshness and interest of one who has freshly discovered interesting things. He explains things clearly to the reader because he has just had to explain them to himself. He looks on Assyria and China with the sensitive retina of a tourist.

The work appeared in England in the form that most of our modern literature takes, the periodical, in fortnightly parts. Macmillan has put out the American edition in two handsome volumes of 1300 pages in all at twice the price of the English edition. Unfortunately the colored



plates and halftone illustrations of the English form have been left behind. The maps and diagrams should have been redrawn to suit American taste. The English do not know how to draw maps, except Bartholemew, and he is a Scotchman. The illegible lettering and obsolete shading spoil the effects of the ingenious designs.

Wells has one of the most alert minds of our generation. He has an intuition for discerning the trend of "the mind of the race" as Lloyd George has for feeling the political signs of the times. He perceived the religious significance of the Great War when most people were blind to it. He now sees and makes plain that the new era into which we are now entering demands a new sort of history, a history of the world as a whole, and that this is different from a collection of the histories of all the separate countries.

### Pricking the Bubble

THE case against the Japanese in California presented to Secretary of State Colby by Governor Stephens thru the report of his State Board of Control, is greatly weakened by the discovery that the census figures just issued show the increase of Japanese population in California to have been overestimated by 60 per cent. The Board of Control's estimates, based on arrivals at the port of San Francisco and birth statistics, indicated an increase of 45,923 in ten years. The census shows an addition of 28,840. There is no evidence, as charged, that the Japanese sought to evade the census, for the estimates given out by their own papers are in excess of the census figures. The Board of Control overlooked the important fact that Japanese are migrant. Thousands of them have moved on into Utah, Idaho, Wyoming and Colorado. Thousands of others have returned home. The percentage of Japanese land holdings in California was also exaggerated by comparing the total acreage leased and owned by them with the irrigated acreage only. The report of the California Board of Control was widely circulated three months before election. Census reports come out two weeks after.

## Our War Reaction to Religion

By Shailer Mathews

IT would be a miraculous exception if religion did not share in the psychology of the present moment. There seems to be a pretty definite law that the aftermath of any tragedy is division of opinion and consolidation of spiritual antagonisms. The progressive grows more progressive, and the conservative grows reactionary.

This is the mood of religion in America. On the one side is the idealism represented by the Interchurch World Movement, and similar undertakings seeking to extend Christian principles to all spheres of life. Never was there a more magnificent vision. The fact that as yet it lacks capable administrators proves nothing to the contrary.

But on the other side there is an organized group of Christian workers, opposed to pretty nearly every aim, except individual evangelism, which forward-looking men cherish. Instead of Christianizing society, they hold that the business of the church is to rescue individuals from a world which is growing worse. Instead of expecting or desiring to be shown moral progress in society, they welcome evidence of evil and degeneracy. So far from helping Christian history to project itself into the future, they hope and pray that history will come to an end, that Jesus Christ will emerge from heaven, and the unseen, gather Christian people suddenly and without the knowledge of the rest of the world, into the rapture of a meeting in the sky. They expect days of tribulation—to be followed by the appearance of Jesus to establish his reign on earth, with his capitol at Jerusalem, where the ancient sacrifices of the Jews will be established in a rebuilt temple.

Such expectation they make the central meaning of Christianity, and it is pessimism rather than hope.

Notwithstanding this type of theory has been condemned by great orthodox bodies, it is having serious influences on the churches. At least one denomination in the Dominion of Canada has practically surrendered to this view, and has made it almost impossible for ministers holding any other opinions to obtain a pastorate there. Its representatives are exerting every effort to get control of church life in the United States, notably that of the Baptist and Presbyterian. In at least one case, they are deliberately undertaking to divide the denomination, and remove and ostracize teachers and preachers who do not assent to their methods of Bible study.

Such a movement in Christianity threatens the very existence of the church as a factor in the establishment of a better social order. The sincerity of its leadership does not mitigate the danger already resulting from its partial success. Therefore the country churches are divided, denominational plans of advance are thwarted, leaders formerly trusted misrepresented and attacked, and any form of social gospel bitterly condemned. Even in the midst of the war, the adherents of this view issued an appeal that human schemes of reconstruction should be subsidiary to the second coming of Christ.

All this is an aspect of war-time psychology generally, but not even in the sixteenth century did such a movement so threaten the efficiency of the Christian church. With large sums of money for propaganda, unlimited appeal to prejudice, with what appears to be small ethical restraint in misrepresentation and personal attacks, and working with the avowed determination to transform the Christian church from a channel of moral and religious power for social as well as individual good, into a group of those who expect the end of the world in a few years, this movement may well cause anxiety to those who believe in the true meaning of the church. It cannot wholly undo the progress of the last few years, but it can check the progress of Christian social forces, weaken denominational organizations, sow the seeds of dissension and decay in local churches, and place the church in the hands of those out of sympathy with the modern world. Those who believe in a Christ abiding with those who keep his words, rather than the mistaken hopes of early Jewish Christians, may well feel called upon to preach His gospel, for the real issue concerns the essence of Christianity and the mission of the church.

And if history shows anything it shows that the gospel works thru social forces as truly as thru individuals.

### *Sposin'*

*The children of Israel had told Moses that they were forced to turn their backs on the "Sinai Ten Commandments" because they were of foreign origin and make another set of ten at Jerusalem—*

*King John had informed the Barons that he was quite ready to sign a Magna Charta, he objected only to the Magna Charta—*

*George the Third had assured the colonists that a declaration of Independence would be all right but that he could never accept the "Jefferson Declaration"—*

*The colonial legislatures had announced that the "Hamilton Constitution" must be scrapped to make possible a real "association of States"—*

*Congress had assured President Lincoln that while it was devoted to the principle of emancipation it could not approve any particular Proclamation.*



## Hunting a Cave

By Preston Slosson

WHEN Adam and Eve were evicted from Eden Villa and started the first house hunt in history they started at the same time a precedent which has hardly been broken from that time to this. Indeed the great outdoor sport of trying to find an indoors to live in was never more earnestly practised than by ourselves. What is it that the world is lacking most in these after-war days? Food? Yes, in particular places like Armenia and Vienna, but hardly in the United States. Americans mostly manage to make the pay check cover the lunch check in spite of higher prices. Clothing? Well we have worn last year's until prices started downward, and now it is at last possible to buy a shirt or a pair of shoes for something less than Manhattan Island was priced at when bought from the Indians. Shelter? There you have the answer! While all other prices are sliding downward, rents are going up.

The war hit a double blow to the world's housing. It knocked over thousands of houses in the war zone and it disorganized the building industry everywhere else. Labor leaked away from the home building trades to the munitions works and the battlefield, and what labor remained demanded triple wages. The contractor did not pay these prices; he passed them on to the landlord and the tenant.

Gone are the simple days of the caveman, when house-hunting simply involved the eviction of a mountain lion or grizzly bear from his ready-made flat. Today we must construct our own caves of steel and brick along the mighty cañon streets of the great city. If economic conditions only permitted our greatest metropolis to be located in the Mammoth Caves of Kentucky how convenient it would be! Or if we could pitch our tents like the Arabs and as silently steal away on rent day, as the poet sings. This would be suited to our nomadic habits, for the modern American who flits from job to job in every corner of the continent has little taste for ancestral mansions. But the American climate is not as the Arabian. Those who have lived in wigwams in the winter time complain that they miss the furnace and the radiator. We cannot take our houses with us like the turtle and the Tartar. We must build or rent them anew wherever we migrate. And often we find them not.

To the New York City dweller the raise-your-rent-day means anxious scanning of the papers for new opportunities. Disregarding the apartment hotel, built only for the very wealthy who could afford real houses if they wanted to, we find two types of things in the paper:

The Paradise Apartments. Two rooms and a bath. Also a hall which can be passed thru by anyone of moderate circumference. Room for a folding bed, a folding table, three folding chairs, two folding bureaus and one folding stove. Other furniture may be stored in any storage warehouse. Occasional elevator service to the eighteenth floor. \$250 a month and upward.

Happycrest Villa. Rambling old Colonial mansion built in 1913 (the last house built in Mosquitohurst). Strictly modern in price and other features. Within three hours of the city if proper trolley connections are made. \$14,000 down; \$38,000 on mortgage.

This does not make the citizen very happy. He does not like to spend his life in a pigeonhole desk of an apartment, like a memorandum on file. Neither does he want to spend his life alternating between the suburban train and a rambling old mansion that may ramble as far as twenty feet from the front door to the back and fifteen from right to left. Nor does he want to stay where he is with the rent jumping like a kangaroo. He gets cross and begins to talk about Bolshevism; unwisely, since a Bolshevik régime would be more apt to wreck the houses we have than build the ones we need.

Cannot necessity stimulate invention? Perhaps those of

us who live near the water will take to a new and improved style of houseboat and proudly address our letters, "Off Pier 47, Lake Ontario." Those who live inland may evolve an omnibus automobile; a true house on wheels. Our cities will be vast camping spaces, and Chicago may at any moment take to the road and move bodily to Los Angeles or Orlando, Florida. Perhaps the standardized stucco house, which has already done a little to cut suburban costs, will be taken in hand by Mr. Ford and a complex machine will squirt out a hundred complete houses an hour. As some of our readers may recall, The Independent has given space to two devices; one of a builder who would make little round boxes so that we could live without corners and carpenters, another a vast centipedal "Stringtown" with the houses threaded in a row on thousands of miles of continuous road. Will science find an answer or must we camp in the open under the inadequate shelter of our rubber plant?

## Coolidge

CALVIN Coolidge declares that the election was not a verdict against the League of Nations and that it is wrong to speak of the League as dead. Our next Vice-President has a habit of telling the truth, which is none too common in politics, and will acutely embarrass some politicians.

## The Census of 1930

THE census of 1920 is a disappointment. It matters little that the total population has increased less from 1910 to 1920 than it did in the preceding decade, but it matters much that this increase is badly distributed. The great agricultural commonwealths where living costs are most reasonable, social conditions most satisfactory and the need for labor and immigration greatest have barely held their own in numbers. The Mississippi and Missouri valley regions could have five times their present population and still be more thinly settled than the most prosperous agricultural districts of Europe, yet their population is almost as stationary as that of France. The great manufacturing and commercial centers are absorbing not only almost the whole immigration from Europe but many of the sons and daughters of the American homesteaders. It would be well if 1930 showed a 100 per cent increase in the population of such states as Kansas and Iowa even if New York City did not gain a single inhabitant.

## Efficiency Precedes Socialism

A recent bequest has called public attention to the fact that Mr. Rockefeller in the course of his career has given away about \$475,000,000. The first reaction to this fact would be the feeling that no one man ought to have so much to give away. Theoretically, this is so. The good done by Mr. Rockefeller's funds and foundations could have been done by the public itself if the bulk of his great fortune had been confiscated in taxation or by the nationalization of mineral oil. But would public officials have spent the money as wisely and economically as Rockefeller has done? Much would have gone to the "pork barrel," much have been frittered away by the inefficiency of the governmental machinery, and some of it perhaps have been wasted in sheer graft. When we learn to run affairs at the city hall, the state capital and at Washington as efficiently as the Standard Oil Company and the Rockefeller Foundation have managed *their* business, it will be both economically possible and ethically right to nationalize the Rockefeller fortune and all similar great private fortunes. But not till then.



# The Story of the Week

## League of Nations at Work

SENATOR Lodge says that the League of Nations is dead, but the League itself has not heard of its demise or else believes that the report is "greatly exaggerated," as Mark Twain remarked when he read his own obituary. The Assembly of the League of Nations is not only discussing international problems with great freedom and vigor, but is taking action in the most vital issues, as for instance in the case of Armenia, Vilna and the Mesopotamian oil fields.

Most of the work of the Assembly is being done by the committees, of which there are six, each composed of forty-two members, since every nation insisted upon being represented on all of them. The six vice-presidents of the Assembly comprize representatives of Japan, Argentina, Canada, Brazil, Holland and Czechoslovakia. It will be observed that two-thirds of the vice-presidents are from nations outside Europe.

One of the most effective features of the Covenant is Article 18, which abolishes the system of secret treaties that was one of the causes of the Great War and is interfering with the establishment of peace. Hereafter no treaty or international agreement will be binding unless it is reported to the League for publication. In accordance with this provision of the Covenant fifty-one treaties have been submitted to the League. Of these fifteen have been filed by Great Britain, eleven by France, six by Switzerland and four by Sweden. Germany, tho not a member of the League, has voluntarily filed nine treaties, two of which were with Soviet Russia. The United States has filed none, but Sweden has filed two, of which the United States is the other party; they relate to copyrights and consulates.

According to Article 18 of the Covenant the Council is required to formulate plans for the reduction of armament by the members of the League. Since the Council has not acted in the matter, the Assembly is taking it up. The smaller nations, which form a majority of the Assembly, are strong for immediate and general disarmament, but not France and Great Britain. It is pointed out that it would be risky for the members of the League to disarm so long as three such powerful nations as Germany, Soviet Russia and the United States remain out of it. European countries are in fact gradually cutting down on their military and naval expenditure, but the United States is preparing to spend more than ever. Dr. Gaston da Cunha of Brazil has introduced a resolution making the manufacture of munitions a government monopoly in every country so as to insure publicity and eliminate private profit.

The arrival at Geneva of Major Churchill, assistant chief of the Military Intelligence Division of the General Staff of the American Army, to confer with the secretariat of the League, created a sensation, since hitherto America has been unrepresented even by an observer.

The Assembly has been scrupulous to avoid any action that would offend American susceptibilities and make the United States more reluctant to enter the League. For instance, it was rumored that the Haitian delegates intended to bring complaints of the American occupation of Haiti before the Assembly, but they have set the rumors at rest by the public statement:

We do not intend to bring up the question of American occupation and control of Haiti at this meeting in view of the promise, already received, that the United States Government will pay Haiti's share of the League of Nations expense.

So, too, the requests of Peru and Bolivia for a revision of their treaties with Chile in regard to the disputed territory of Tacna and Arica have been shelved since it was feared that their discussion might involve the Monroe Doctrine, which by Article 21 of the Covenant is expressly excluded from the operations of the League.

The Canadian delegate, Newton R. Rowell, has several times spoken in defense of American opinion. Commission No. 1, to which has been referred all the amendments proposed to the Covenant, has decided to reserve action on any of them until the incoming American administration makes known its desires.

President Wilson has accepted the invitation of the League of Nations Council to mediate "thru a representative whom I may designate" between Armenia and the Turkish Nationalists with a view to the restoration of peace in Asia Minor. In accepting the invitation to mediate personally, President Wilson pointed out that he was without authority to employ the military forces of the United States since Congress has never agreed to the acceptance of an Armenian mandate. It is not known what arrangements the League will make to safeguard Armenia if mediation should fail.

## America Protests

ALTHO the United States remains out of the League it is the purpose of the present administration to maintain American rights and to secure equal treatment for all nations according to the spirit of the Covenant. Secretary of State Colby in a note of November 20 to the British Foreign Secretary, Earl Curzon, objects to the way in which Great Britain is carrying out her mandates in Mesopotamia, Palestine and Arabia. He says:

I need hardly refer again to the fact that the Government of the United States has consistently urged that it is of the utmost importance to the future peace of the world that alien territory transferred as a result of the war with the Central powers should be held and administered in such a way as to assure equal treatment to the commerce



Courtesy of New York Sun

### THE PROPOSED POLISH BOUNDARY

According to the armistice between Poland and Russia signed at Riga, October 5, the dividing line is drawn as shown on the above map. The troops of both armies must be withdrawn ten miles from the line, leaving a neutral zone during the armistice. The line drawn by the Allies at Paris passed thru Brest-Litovsk, but the Soviet has allowed the Poles more land. Vilna, the capital of Lithuania, is occupied by a Polish force



and to the citizens of all nations. Indeed it was in reliance upon an understanding to this effect, and expressly in contemplation thereof, that the United States was persuaded that the acquisition under mandate of certain enemy territory by the victorious powers should be consistent with the best interests of the world.

In reply to his previous protests Lord Curzon had politely intimated that it was none of our business what was done inside the League of Nations, since we were outside of it. But Secretary Colby declines to concur in this view and asserts that the United States has a right to be consulted on all such questions since by our participation in the war we had made the mandates possible:

Such powers as the Allied and associated nations may enjoy or wield, in the determination of the governmental status of the mandated areas, accrued to them as a direct result of the war against the Central Powers. The United States, as a participant in that conflict and as a contributor to its successful issue, cannot consider any of the associated powers, the smallest not less than itself, debarred from the discussion of any of its consequences, or from participation in the rights and privileges secured under the mandates provided for in the treaties of peace.

The question of Mesopotamian petroleum is a test case of the "new principle in international relations" embodied in the mandate plan:

The fact cannot be ignored that the reported resources of Mesopotamia have interested public opinion of the United States, Great Britain and other countries as a potential subject of economic strife. Because of this fact they become an outstanding illustration of the kind of economic question with reference to which the mandate principle was especially designed and, indeed, a peculiarly critical test of the good faith of the nations which have given their adherence to the principle. This principle was accepted in the hope of obviating in the future those international differences that grow out of a desire for the exclusive control of the resources and markets of annexed territories.

Lord Curzon in previous correspondence had intimated that since the United States produces more petroleum than any other country in the world and England produces little, Americans had no need to concern themselves with Mesopotamia. But our Secretary of State emphatically protests against the insinuation that our protest is based on selfish motives:

I should regret any assumption by His Majesty's Government or any other friendly power that the views of this Government as to the true character of a mandate are dictated in any degree by considerations of the domestic need of production of petroleum or any other commodity.

I may be permitted to say, however, for the purpose of correcting a misapprehension which your note reflects, that the United States possesses only one-twelfth approximately of the petroleum resources of the world. The oil resources of no other nation have been so largely drawn upon for foreign needs, and your lordship's statement that any prophecies as to the oil-bearing resources of unexplored and undeveloped countries must be accepted with reserve hardly disposes of the scientific calculation upon which, despite their problematical elements, the policies of states and the anticipations of world production are apparently proceeding. The Government of the United States assumes that there is a general recognition of the fact that the requirements for petroleum are in excess of production, and it believes that opportunity to explore and develop the petroleum resources of the world wherever found should without discrimination be freely extended, as only by the unhampered development of such resources can the needs of the world be met.

Consequently Secretary Colby demands that "the draft mandate forms be communicated to this Government for its consideration before their submission to the Council of the League," and suggests that they also be made public in advance.

## The Vilna Question

THE first task to be undertaken by the new-born League of Nations is one of the hardest of cartographic problems, the disposal of the city and province of Vilna. For a thousand years Vilna has been the chief city of the Lithuanians, but all its neighbors have in turn laid claim to it. The Lithuanians are neither Teutons nor Slavs, but crowded in between Germany, Russia and Poland they have never been able to maintain independence very long.



Harris & Ewing, from Paul Thompson

These Americans are part of a self-constituted commission which is holding hearings in Washington now on the disorders and problems of Ireland. Many witnesses have testified for the Irish Republican movement, one of them Mrs. Terence McSwiney, widow of the "martyr mayor" of Cork. In this group, from left to right, are Senator David I. Walsh, of Massachusetts; James H. Maurer, president of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor; Jane Addams, founder of Hull House, Chicago; Frederic C. Howe, former Commissioner of Immigration; Hollingsworth Wood, of New York

The collapse of the Russian empire gave them an opportunity to reestablish themselves as a nation. Under the leadership and with the financial aid of the Lithuanians in the United States a Lithuanian republic was set up at Vilna which has been recognized as a *de facto* Government by all of the leading powers except the United States. The American Government takes the ground that none of the seceding nationalities, except Finland and Poland, shall be recognized so long as the Bolsheviki remain in power.

Last July when the Bolsheviki drove back the Poles a treaty was concluded between the Lithuanians and Soviet Russia by which the city of Vilna was resigned to Lithuania. But when the Poles again gained the ascendancy Vilna was reoccupied by a Polish force under General Zellgouski. This force professes to be acting independently of the Polish Government of Warsaw, as in the case of d'Annunzio's seizure of Fiume. But in both cases the movement has the sympathy and secret support of the regular army and the home people.

General Zellgouski, professing to be acting in the interests of the Poles and Lithuanians of the Vilna district, announced the formation of the free state of Central Lithuania. The old Lithuanian Government, with headquarters at Kovno, has been waging desultory warfare for the recovery of Vilna, but without success. The Kovno Government approached the Warsaw Government with a proposal that the Polish troops be withdrawn from Vilna and the city turned over to the League of Nations for settlement of its ownership. But the Poles refused to listen to any arbitration proposals or to submit the question to a vote of the people of the disputed territory.

The Lithuanian Government petitioned the Assembly of the League of Nations in session at Geneva for the enforcement against Poland of Articles 16 and 17 of the Covenant, that no member of the League shall make war without previously invoking mediation of the League. Prompt action was taken on this request and, since the League has no army of its own, a joint force has been organized to take possession of Vilna and hold it until its disposition can be determined by plebiscite or otherwise. The French Colonel Chardigny has been chosen to command the force to which Great Britain, Spain and France will contribute two companies and a machine gun section apiece. It is expected that Belgium, Denmark, Holland, Norway and Sweden will also send contingents.



## Irish Outbreaks and Repression

THE Sinn Fein seems to have decided to carry the war into the enemy's country. Evidence of plots to attack the Houses of Parliament and No. 10 Downing Street, the Premier's official residence, has been discovered and numerous cases of incendiarism have occurred. The most serious of these was the burning of fifteen warehouses in Liverpool on Saturday night, November 27. One of the warehouses contained cotton to the value of \$1,500,000 and others nearly as much. The cotton could not be quenched and burned all night long. The padlocks on the steel doors had been cut with American bolt-clippers and cans of gasoline used to start the fires.

Another ambushade of the auxiliary police, commonly called the "black and tans" from their uniforms, took place near Macroom on Sunday afternoon. Two motor lorries carrying seventeen cadets, all officers in the late war, had set out on patrol, but on nearing Kilmichael they were fired upon from both sides of the road by about a hundred men in khaki uniforms and trench helmets. The bullets pierced the engines and stopped the cars. The police defended themselves as long as they could, but were all killed in the end except one who was wounded and another taken prisoner. The bodies were stripped of money and valuables and even of part of their clothing and left lying in the road. The lorries were burned up. The police in reprisal set fire to most of the houses in the village of Johnstown, nearest to the scene of the outbreak.

The British Government has adopted a new plan to suppress disorders in Ireland; nothing less ambitious than the internment of the entire republican army and the officials of the Sinn Fein Government. The first of these internment camps, large enough to hold a thousand men, has been established at Bally-Kinlar, in Dundrum Bay, County Down.

The "President of the Irish Republic," De Valera, is still in America raising funds, but the Vice-President, Arthur Griffith, has been arrested and confined in Dublin jail.



Wide World

### THE BRAINS OF THE SINN FEIN

Arthur Griffith, acting president of the Irish Republic, and the motive mind in its organization, was arrested by the British authorities at his home in Dublin last week. This is Mr. Griffith's third imprisonment; his arrest was part of a widespread effort on the part of the British Government to check the Sinn Fein propaganda and its attendant disturbances

Three elected members of the British Parliament, but who preferred to sit in the Dail Eireann, were also arrested, together with about a thousand of the Volunteers. Three Sinn Fein prisoners, who for lack of space in the jail were lodged in the guard-room of Dublin Castle, seized bombs and rifles and attacked their guards with intent to escape, but were all shot. One of them, Peter Clancy, had recently been released from Mountjoy prison as a hunger striker.

## Fight in House of Commons

WHEN the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Sir Hamar Greenwood, had related to the House of Commons the story of the shooting of British officers in their beds in Dublin, the feeling of indignation was such that when Joseph Devlin, the Nationalist leader, rose to enquire about the subsequent shooting in Croke Park, he was howled down. As he persisted several members went after him and Major Molson, who sat behind, seized him by the throat to choke him off. Jack Jones, a Socialist member, came to his assistance and a free-for-all fist fight took place. The Speaker suspended the session, and when it was resumed

Major Molson apologized to Mr. Devlin for his attack and the apology was accepted. Such disorderly scenes are common in continental parliaments, but almost unprecedented in the dignified House of Commons.

Cecil P'Estrange Malone, member of Parliament for East Leyton, has been sentenced to jail for six months for seditious utterances. In an Albert Hall speech advocating communism he asked: "What are a few Churchills and Curzons, swinging to a lamppost, compared with the massacre of thousands of human beings."

## The Vacant Throne of Greece

THE death of King Alexander from the bite of a pet monkey and the overwhelming defeat of Premier Venizelos has opened the way for the return of the exiled Constantine, deposed by the Allies during the war for his pro-German proclivities. Rhallis, the new premier, will submit the question to a plebiscite in which the friends of Constantine are likely to win. The people resent the intervention of the Allies during the war, when, without regard to the declared neutrality of Greece, her territory was overrun by foreign troops. Despite the refusal of King Constantine to participate in the war the Greek port of Salonika was used by the British and French as a base for their campaign in the Balkans and the Greek Islands in the Aegean as a base for the attack on Gallipoli. Constantine undoubtedly sympathized with the German side possibly because his wife, Queen Sophia, is a sister of the Kaiser, and he played secretly into the hands of the Bulgars, the chief enemies of Greece. He turned over Fort Rupel in Macedonia to the Bulgars and in June, 1915, he asked the Bulgarian minister in Athens why Bulgaria did not attack Serbia in the rear while the Austrians came down from the north, saying: "Go ahead, you have nothing to fear while I am here, for I will never allow the Greek Government to go to the aid of Serbia."



Love in London Star

IRELAND, 1920

"Hullo, what side are you on?"  
 "Justice and Liberty! And you?"  
 "Law and Order!"



The overthrow of Venizelos and the triumph of the Constantine party came as a great shock to France and Great Britain, for it involved the invalidation of the Sevres treaty, which Turkey still refuses to accept. Depending on the loyalty and stability of Venizelos the Allies had been generous to Greece in the way of territory. Almost the whole of Thrace was assigned to Greece regardless of the preferences of the inhabitants. Most of the Dodecanese Islands were turned over to Greece and also the Asiatic port of Smyrna with a chance to get further Turkish territory by fighting Kemal Mustafa Pasha, the leader of the Turkish Nationalists. Now, it seems, the Allies have put these strategic points, not into the hands of one of their best friends but of one of their worst enemies.

The British and French Governments were at first disposed to notify Greece that they would not permit the restoration of Constantine, but on further consideration and consultation they seem to have come to the conclusion that they had better not intervene.

The Venizelists claim that the election was fraudulent, that the registration lists were padded with false names and that the voters were bribed by German and American money. Princess Christopher of Greece, who was formerly the wife of William B. Leeds of New York, is said to have put millions into the election with a view of bringing Prince Christopher, the brother of Constantine, to the throne.

But one obvious and legitimate reason for the turn of public sentiment in Greece is that the people are tired of war and refuse to be drafted for further campaigns in Asia whatever the prospective gains. The Greek soldiers, who set out valiantly a few months ago to conquer Kemal, are now giving way before him and are said to be on the point of mutiny.

## A Slump in Millionaires

**A**RE the rich getting richer and the poor poorer? So says the Socialist on the soap box. But he can extract little evidence to that effect from the latest income tax statistics. The report of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue for 1918 (the latest year for which complete figures are available) shows a decrease in the number of persons making returns for less than \$2,000 a year, a decrease in the number reporting in every one of the groups making over \$20,000 a year, and an increase in all groups from \$2,000 to \$20,000. The "middle classes" and the moderately wealthy are increasing most rapidly in number. If we take an annual income of \$40,000 a year as representing on the average a property of \$1,000,000, we find only 20,944 in the millionaire class in 1918 as against 26,190 in 1917. On the other hand, the number of persons earning from \$2,000 to \$10,000 a year increased from 1,670,136 to 2,748,570, or about two-thirds. If we consider as the multimillionaires persons with incomes of a million a year (which would represent a probable capital of \$25,000,000 and upwards) we find only 67 in this class as against 141 in 1917 and 206 in 1916.

Of course, there is one qualification to be made. 1918 was a war year and many persons invested heavily in tax-exempt Federal securities such as the Liberty Bonds. All classes contributed to Liberty Bond purchases, but the very wealthy were naturally free to spend the most. But even making all allowance for this factor in reducing the number of persons returned as millionaires the statistics are a sufficient disproof of the alleged concentration of wealth in a few hands.

The total number of returns filed under the income tax law was 4,425,114. The amount of income declared was \$15,924,639,355; the amount of tax paid \$1,127,721,835. New York State alone paid nearly one-third of the whole,

and New York, Pennsylvania and Illinois taken together more than one-half. The southern and western states (with the exception of California) paid very little of the tax. The reason for this is the concentration of the great incomes derived from industry and commerce in the big cities of the northeastern and north central states and does not necessarily indicate either a sectional bias in the tax administration or an unequal distribution of prosperity.

## The Census on the Yellow Peril

**T**HE report of the Census Bureau on the number of Japanese residents in the United States shows that the number has been much exaggerated by those panic-stricken persons who affect to dread the rise of a new Japan in America. As a matter of fact the Japanese population of



Wide World

### THREE MILES A MINUTE

The Verville Packard battle plane, pet of the Army Air Service, established a world's record for closed circuit racing, at 178 miles an hour including turns, in the Pulitzer Trophy Airplane race held recently from Long Island. The race was open to all types of planes and of thirty-six which started twenty-five finished. Lieut. C. C. Mosley, winning pilot, stands at the propeller of his plane

the three states on the Pacific coast increased more slowly from 1910 to 1920 than it did in the previous decade. There are 70,196 Japanese in California, which has a total population of 3,426,861; in other words about one Californian out of every fifty is a Japanese. In Washington there are 17,114 Japanese, or 1.3 per cent of the total population. In Oregon there are only 4,022, or about one in two hundred of the population. Altho some Californians have criticized the census figures as too small, Director Rogers points out that a "careful, actual enumeration of each individual" as carried out by the Census Bureau is more to be trusted than the estimates of private persons.

Only in Hawaii is there anything remotely resembling the "Nipponification" of American territory. But this is not altogether the result of recent immigration as there were many Japanese already in the Hawaiian Islands when they first passed under our flag. Of a total population of 255,512 the Japanese number 109,269 by the 1920 census. There are more Japanese in the narrow confines of these islands than in all three of the Pacific coast states taken together. In Hawaii and the Pacific states alike much of the increase of the last decade is of Japanese women. More than a third of the Japanese in the Pacific states and over two-fifths in Hawaii are females. Twenty years ago the Japanese population in America was almost wholly male.

## How Two Billions Were Sunk

**T**HE investigation of the Congressional committee is revealing conditions even worse than had been suspected in the condition of American shipping. Martin J. Gillen, who had been an assistant to ex-Chairman Payne of the



Shipping Board, testified that losses incurred by the United States Shipping Board amounted altogether to about \$2,000,000,000. Not all of this, of course, was the fault of the Government. With the end of the war and the cessation of the abnormal demand for overseas shipping due to wartime conditions there was bound to be a great decline in values of shipping; moreover, an organization devised to meet the emergency of Germany's submarine campaign could not take into account commercial profit or any other consideration which would affect a private company, it was bound to build as rapidly as possible regardless of cost. We did not create a merchant marine for any other purpose than to win the war. But this does not excuse the failure to establish an adequate accounting system until August, 1919. At the time Mr. Payne became chairman of the Board \$2,500,000,000 had been distributed thru the Emergency

Fleet Corporation and the Shipping Board, but no record was available to show how this fund had been distributed.

Mr. Gillen testified that by the rates fixed by the two Governments the United States paid ship owners 230 to 275 per cent more for each deadweight ton than the British Government paid for the same service at the same time. Profits as high as 57.5 per cent were allowed to private owners. Many claims were overpaid by millions of dollars because of bad accounting and reckless expenditure of funds. He absolved the men in charge of the work of any personal "graft," declaring:

There is no fraud or evidence of fraud in the office of the treasurer of the Emergency Fleet Corporation or the Shipping Board. There has been a failure to pick a great, outstanding man. If you had had six men like Judge Gary—not one, but six—some strides might have been made in six months after the armistice in cleaning up the muddle.

He said that he had urged on President-elect Harding that the new Administration appoint only men of known administrative ability to the Shipping Board and other important Federal offices so that similar scandals might be avoided in the future.

Colonel Goff, general counsel of the Shipping Board, has promised to run down all the grafting contractors and every other person guilty of corruption, "whether he be tradesman, ship operator, claimant, attorney, lobbyist or solicitor who offers the glittering bribe or sweetens his petition, with gold." Apparently there will be much work for him to do. The chief men in the Shipping Board and the Emergency Fleet Corporation seem to have been guilty—at worst—of nothing but carelessness and incompetence, but minor employees and private concerns seem to have taken advantage of this careless accounting to rob the American taxpayer of several hundreds of millions of dollars.

## Reforming Uncle Sam

"NOW you have it what will you do with it?" This is the question which awaits President-elect Harding and the Republican Congress. No full answer can be given until after March 4, 1921, when the new administration takes office, but it is believed that the winter session of Congress, even if it does little more than approve the Budget Act and pass the regular appropriation bills, will



Norris, for George Matthew Adams Service

Woodman, spare that tree!  
Touch not a single bough;  
In wartime it did vote for me,  
And I'll protect it now.

develop the lines along which Republican policy will be conducted during the next four years. Economy, reduction of taxation and administrative reorganization are the three fields of legislative activity in which the Republicans promise reform.

There are now about 700,000 men and women employed by the Federal Government in various parts of the United States, not including the army and navy. There are about 90,000 civil employees in Washington city alone, as compared with 37,000 before the Great War. Some Congressional leaders are optimistic enough to predict that the Washington force can be cut by 20,000 and the whole payroll by 250,000. If this program can be carried out, it will result in a saving of more than \$300,000,000 a year to the taxpayers. Besides decreasing the Federal personnel, the Republicans hope to effect other economies. The departmental estimates will, it is predicted, receive very

rough handling from the Congressional committees which are to consider them.

The excess profits tax is condemned by all the conservative Republican leaders and will probably be replaced by some other tax system, tho there is as yet little agreement within the party as to what this system will be. Senator Wadsworth of New York forecasts also a reduction in the income tax rates. The tariff will be made to yield such additional revenue as is possible, tho in view of the wholly abnormal condition of our post-war trade with Europe no tariff can wholly solve our revenue problem.

Senator McCormick of Illinois has made public the preliminary draft of his bill to abolish the Department of the Interior and substitute a Department of Public Works and a Department of Public Welfare. The new Department of Public Works, under its provisions, would take over from the Department of the Interior the General Land Office, the Geological Survey, the Bureau of Mines, the Reclamation Service, the National Park Service, the Division of Capitol Buildings and Grounds and the Alaskan Engineering Commission. It would also absorb the various harbor and river engineering projects now conducted under the auspices of the War Department, and the Bureau of Public Roads and the Forestry Service now under the Department of Agriculture.

The Department of Public Welfare, the creation of which was advocated by Senator Harding in the course of the campaign, would take over Indian affairs and pensions from the Department of the Interior; the Public Health Service and the Bureau of War Risk Insurance from the Treasury; the Children's Bureau and Women's Bureau from the Department of Labor; as well as the United States Employees' Compensation Commission, the Federal Board for Vocational Education and the Social Hygiene Board. The functions of the Department of Commerce would be greatly enlarged. It would take over the Weather Bureau from the Department of Agriculture; the Patent Office from the Department of the Interior; the Coast Guard from the Department of the Treasury; the Lake Survey and the Waterways Service from the War Department, and the Hydrographic Office from the Navy. Senator McCormick's bill provides for many transfers, consolidations and simplifications within the various departments.



## Taking Banking Out of Politics

(Continued from page 356)

kept solvent to meet these needs, both domestic and foreign, but chiefly domestic. Governor Harding made it clear that unless credit expansion stopped something would blow up. The bankers were told merely that they must use common sense and lend money only where loans were imperative. No schoolmaster attitude was adopted; the Board simply told each banker what the situation was and cautioned him to hold down, showed him the shoals and the shallows and, beyond, the clear sailing attainable only by careful steering.

The inevitable result was renewed confidence. The bankers began curtailing loans at once, especially since they could blame the Board for the policy. They could pass the buck, but little the Board cared so long as the nation remained sound financially.

There was one sharp sting in the Board's word. There was a hint to the bankers that they scrutinize their portfolios and weed out paper which arose from the hoarding of commodities for speculation. *This was the first absolutely efficacious move made by any Government agency to reduce the cost of living since 1914.* It worked. Unable to obtain bank loans with which to hoard commodities, the profiteers had to bring out their wares and sell them, for what they could get.

*Immediately the price index began to drop and has been dropping ever since.*

Next came the crop moving. The progressive discount system had been extended and money was tighter than it had ever been before without a panic. Unless a man had absolute, legitimate need for funds he could not get them. No bank money was available for speculation, for promotion. The result was that it proved unnecessary for the Treasury to make emergency deposits of Government funds at the primary markets to finance the movement of the crops. The banks, tho still strained, were able to take care of their own situations.

By the time the crops were coming in, the Presidential campaign was in full swing. Plenty of growers and dealers were eager to stay the declining market by borrowing funds with which to hold the new crop off the market and wait for a rise. Despite the strongest political pressure which the campaign could produce, Governor Harding and the Board could not be induced to connive with either business men or politicians at accomplishing such a result. Tho favoring the orderly marketing, rather than dumping, of the crops, and willing to finance this, the Board would heed no political adjurations to enable farmers and dealers to hoard. Hundreds of millions of dollars were brought from eastern Reserve banks to assist the crop moving.

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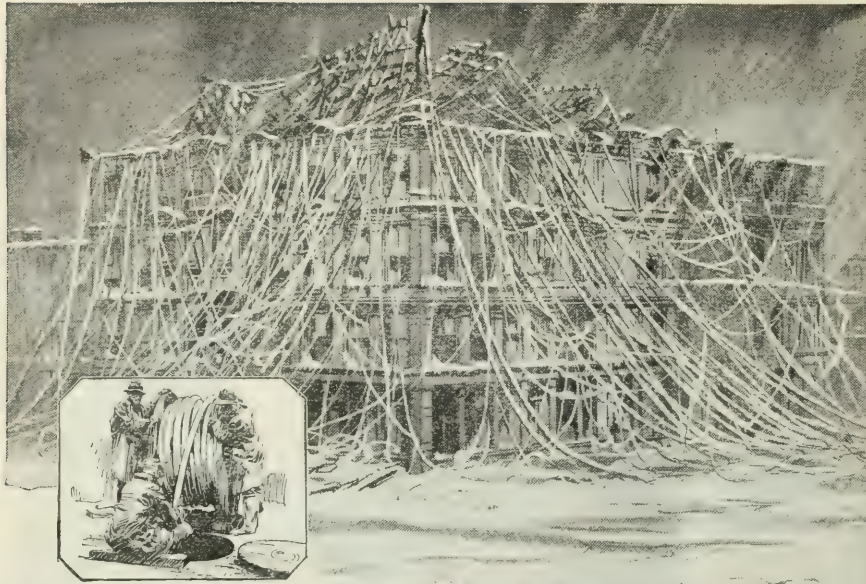
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pointed at their inability to get loans, capitalized the political campaign and set up a cry that the Federal Reserve System was cramping business by declining accommodation. Many joined in this, curiously enough most of the political criticism coming from Democratic quarters. Let us see how much business was cramped.

On August 27, 1920, total bills on hand in Federal Reserve banks amounted to nearly \$3,000,000,000. This vast volume of credit compares with some \$1,600,000,000 on August 30, 1918, representing an increase in accommodation to business men of nearly 100 per cent. This scarcely can be regarded as cramping. To meet the increased need for money the issue of Federal Reserve notes has risen from \$2,092,708,000 on August 20, 1918, to \$3,203,637,000 on August 27, 1920. Business men cannot, with propriety, absorb all the loanable funds and then complain that they are cramped and unable to borrow. On August 29, 1919, total loans and investments of a representative group of reporting member banks amounted to nearly \$15,000,000,000. By August 20, 1920, this had increased to nearly \$17,000,000,000. It is difficult to comprehend how a community can complain of being cramped for lack of borrowed funds when it already has procured nearly \$17,000,000,000 from one group of banks.

When the business of the country discovered that the Board could not be browbeaten into altering its policy so as to permit continuation of the carnival of expansion and extravagance, special groups began to bring up the old fashioned political heavy artillery. Governor Harding hails from Birmingham, Alabama, and is himself one of the leading experts on cotton, from the plant straight thru the industry to financing and final fabrication. This being so, the cotton men of the South assumed that with the South more or less in the saddle politically, they could fix things. They wanted to carry their cotton on funds obtained thru the Federal Reserve System and protested to the Governor, with political innuendoes interpolated, against credit curtailment. An important cotton association sent a communication to the Governor outlining a scheme which would have the desired effect and incidentally tie up a disproportionate volume of banking funds. The telegram of Governor Harding proclaiming to these gentlemen how slight their chances were of enjoying preferred treatment over other sections, so far as tenor and tone is concerned, was reminiscent of the scourging of the money changers from the temple. Later the cotton men, still hopeful, sent a big delegation to see the Governor at Washington. They stated their case very forcibly and the lay listener would have found it difficult to determine what the answer would be.

But after listening to an hour's discussion of the national credit situation and the relative rights of various sections of the country from Gov-



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ernor Harding, the men who had come to Washington to obtain further accommodation went home leaving promises to curtail what loans they then had outstanding.

Other groups tried the same thing, many of them indubitably wholly sincere in their belief that they merited preferred treatment; others no less certain that they possessed the political power to induce the accommodation they wanted. The sincere but misguided were put on the right track and the politicians were told that the Federal Reserve System is not a candidate and has no ear for political problems.

The Board will not relax this policy. The latest reports show the policy to be working successfully and the post-war transition to be passing safely as a result. But rates must stay up this fall and winter in order to bring about a thoro liquidation. If it is not accomplished and spring settlements do not follow as they should normally, the rate will go still higher, for the Board is determined that another summer shall not find credit stringency in the United States.

Another angle from which the Board has been viciously attacked by politicians is presented in the par check clearing system. The Board holds it is as unsound for a bank to charge exchange for cashing a check as it would be to impose a charge for changing a \$10 note. But the par check clearing system it now has in operation, excepting in a few southern states, deprives bankers of a long-standing species of petty graft. Naturally these bankers have allied themselves with politicians to fight the plan, but have met the same imperviousness to political influence on the part of the Board noted as to bank credit policies. Claude Kitchin, former majority leader of the House of Representatives, told the Board that North Carolina would go Republican by 25,000 if the system were put into effect in that state. Mr. Kitchin learned the Board was not a candidate and was uninterested in his statement, so long as the par system would save the American people many millions a year. This fight is nearly won. In a brief time domestic exchange charges will be a thing of the past.

Tho inaugurated merely to operate the finances of the country, the Board has gained such a reputation for sound business judgment that it is supplanting the Federal Trade Commission as a helpful business doctor. Groups of business men frequently come to Washington to lay their problems before the Board. They never go away empty handed; always they obtain advice which is reported uniformly to be good.

Without disparagement to any other member, it must be recognized that Governor Harding dominates the Board—that almost he is the Board. His capacity for examining a situation, reaching a decision and executing it, all in the space of time which many a skilful banker might consume merely

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in diagnosing, is remarkable. Nothing in the way of information ever escapes him. He is eager to learn from anyone and will listen with as close attention to his office boy (or anyone else's) as to the Secretary of the Treasury. The Governor learned business in a hard school. He remembers the days of the reconstruction in the South and when northern business men come to him with what seems to them a difficult situation, he is wont to smile and say that a situation as good as that would make a southerner entirely content. Last spring the men in the wool industry told him \$50,000,000 must be raised or they would go on the rocks. The Governor told them, in thirty minutes, how to get the money and smilingly remarked that he knew of one southern state alone which had \$100,000,000 or more tied up and hadn't yet begun to regard the situation as anything to worry about. He and his people are used to hard times, says the Governor, and know how to meet them.

This is the sort of a Board and the sort of a banking system which is defending the country against an effort to drag the money issue into the campaign. The struggle and its incidents are of tremendous importance in showing up the principal, if not the single, weakness of the Federal Reserve System. Fortunately the incumbent personnel is such that the chances of any political color affecting the management of the country's financial affairs are extremely slight. But the fact that pressure has been brought and continues to be brought in an effort to make use of this body for political advantage shows clearly that it is of the utmost importance to maintain on this Board men of the greatest ability and highest character.

Washington, D. C.

## The Play's the Thing

(Continued from page 359)

sincerity in treating the main theme—it was unfortunate to forewarn an audience by giving it the opportunity of reading beforehand the story of poor Chloe. But the real live theater, of which Galsworthy is so interesting a part, can never be harmed by a close scrutiny of the material which it presents.

Now, I am not claiming that it is well for you to read a play always before seeing it. But I find, in my own case, that if the play is obtainable in print, my interest is enhanced, provided the piece has meat for the intellect to bite into. I have just finished Shaw's "Heartbreak House" which is scheduled for presentation in a few days by another insurgent theater group in New York—The Theater Guild—and there is expectancy on my part—curiosity as to the actableness of the piece, quickened challenge as to whether the actors will be able to wring the most out of the rapid fire of Shaw's tongue. And in the instance of the Theater Guild, their opening this season in a play I had never read, tho it was on my shelf, Pinski's "The

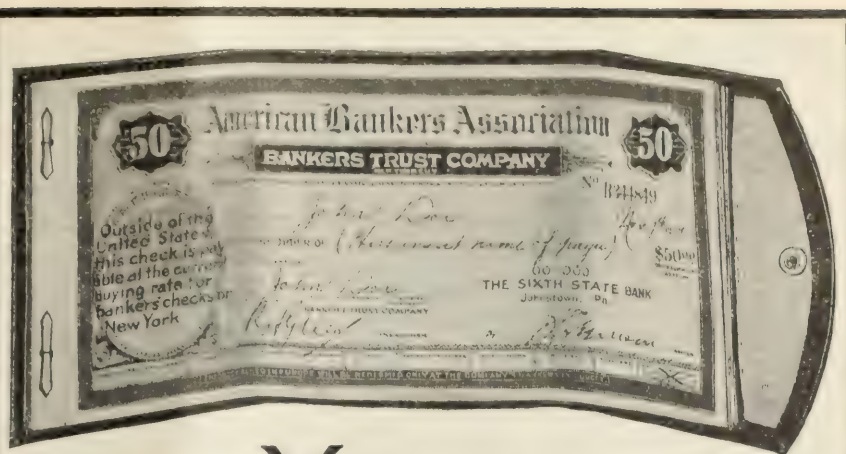


Treasure," drove me back to the script to follow its Jewish folk story. The theater is often an incentive for the printed book; the book a source of opportunity for the theater.

I never read the plays of Lady Gregory or of Yeats without hearing in my ear the echo of the Irish Players' rich accent; I can turn to the printed copy of St. John Ervine's "John Ferguson"—two years have elapsed since I saw it—and there comes to mind certain values the Theater Guild's performance gave. In other words, if you read a play after you have seen it, memory gives a hint to your imagination, and the understanding of the play in type is made easier. If the acting of it has been great the human memory of it colors the play's revival in the library. Whenever I read the morality, "Everyman," and reach the great prayer, "O eternal God, O heavenly figure," the lines sink into the flavor of Miss Matheson's voice; when I read Edmond Rostand's "Cyrano de Bergerac," and come to the "Cadets of Gascony" speech, it is as tho the shade of Mansfield had taken the book from my hand and given me a private performance. There are lines in "Hamlet" which the older theatergoer reads to the memory-tones of Edwin Booth, but which to me bear the impress of Forbes-Robertson and the later coloring of Walter Hampden. In other words, if the play is well done in the theater, and is a play of substance, a re-reading of it in the library is but a revivification of the potent wonder of the theater itself.

Incidentally, the printed play is creating a substantial body of dramaturgy for the times. And so, to a certain degree, it is not necessary for you to be in New York, or in a large city, where there are many theaters, in order to keep abreast with the drama. If you have the dramatic sense, you are just as able to say, living in a far-off village, whether Max Halbe's "Youth" has interest for the public at this moment, as I am, who saw it given by another insurgent group at the Greenwich Village theater the other evening. You can draw it down from the shelf and judge it as tho it had been submitted to you as an incipient manager. The theme of youth awakening is vibrant and lyrical, but the theology, the German sentiment of Halbe, the theatrical means of ending the tragedy are thin beside the sincerity of Galsworthy: they represent all that is past in the limbo before the war.

Keep on with the reading of plays; if you do so, you will be ahead of the theater as it is generally in New York, which is slow to accept for the stage what the mind has accepted on the printed page. In one way, so far as the theater is concerned, a play is not a play before it is produced. In another way, a play has to be in print before it can ever hope to be produced, so peculiarly material have our standards thus far been. But it looks now, from the rapidity with which I have to take plays from my shelves after



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seeing them on the stage, as tho the managers of our theaters were reading plays as well as we. And their taste and judgment are becoming sharpened thereby.

New York City

## Can Air Be Too Free?

(Continued from page 357)

without essential laws governing aviation. This leaves the subject up to the individual states, the Federal government failing to provide the legislation.

And this situation is most unfortunate. Aviation is of necessity a Federal matter. The air knows no boundaries between states. A dozen state borders are passed on a single flight. No aeroplane would venture to fly without carrying a lawyer, should all the forty-eight states take a hand at governing flights over their territory. The Federal Government must establish this legislation, else a riot of senseless and contradictory statutes among the various state legislatures will so hamper aviation that it will be strangled at this delicate period in its infancy. And thus it is that state legislatures are persuaded to keep hands off this problem, leaving it to our Federal Congress to solve.

Interesting points of law will arise as aviation grows in America, and lawyers will be perplexed in their application. Collisions in air and injuries to citizens below, perhaps by night as well as by day, will call for intimate knowledge of aviation and a broad understanding of the principles of common law if both the aviator and the public is fully protected.

For instance, while the Vermont farmer unquestionably is entitled to the quiet safety of his farm, would he not be compelled by law to permit the public to operate motor boats on the surface of a navigable river which ran thru his farm? If his property bordered the public high seas, could he prosecute any citizen there who frightened his nervous horse while lawfully pursuing his calling?

What difference then should exist between the public's rights to high seas and rivers, and their rights to enjoy the public air that flows over his farm? Property rights have heretofore extended above and below the surface of one's real estate. But the rule of Public Policy has frequently been employed to limit the rights of the individual for the greater rights of the public. And so aviation, this new science that promises such extraordinary benefits to humanity, will be coddled and milk fed and made strong under Government protection, while at times, like the spoiled infant it is, aviation will arouse the indignation and distress of peaceable law-abiding citizens who wonder how it is possible a child could be brought up so badly.

Contraband is today being smuggled over our national boundaries in large quantities. How is such evasion of customs payments to be stopped? How is it possible to watch every starting place in Canada and in Mexico

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311 Sixth Avenue New York City



and to meet the guilty aeroplane at its unknown destination within the United States? But smuggling by aeroplane must be prevented, else the customs duties become a farce.

Why should a golf club tolerate the spoiling of its day's sport at the whim of an unknown practical joker? Is it right that thousands of interested spectators at a tennis match or a ball game should be caused anxiety by the antics of an aeroplane overhead? Suppose a low flying aeroplane over Fifth Avenue should suddenly lose its flying speed! Is it conceivable that the public will long endure this state of affairs?

Legislation and regulation of air navigation must be deeply and immediately considered, by the aviators, by Congress and by the public. Wisely controlled, aviation will prove a wonderful boon to commerce and to civilization as a whole. Within the brief four years of its existence as a war implement, it rose by common acclamation from its modest rank of the fourth arm of warfare to become to-day a nation's first line of defense. Now that the war is over new problems pertaining to the crafts of the air confront us. And these problems are so unique that courts and lawmakers alike are stumped. Federal legislation is immediately required, establishing public air highways, licensing air pilots, defining negligence and fixing responsibility, so that both the aviator and the private citizen may know his legal rights.

*New York City*

### Pebbles

A law requiring that all shoes be made of leather might help to relieve the paper shortage.—*Columbia Record*.

Heloise—Was he on his knees when he proposed to you?

Helene—No. I was.—*Voo Doo*.

Innocent—People say I have eyes just like my father.

Drowsy—Uh-huh. Pop-eyed.—*Chaparral*.

Tourist (looking at a volcano)—Looks like hell, doesn't it?

Native—How these Americans have traveled.—*Lampoon*.

Prof.—Johnny, sit down in front.

Johnny—I can't.—*Sun Dodger*.

Mrs. Benham—This dinner is fit for a king.

Benham—Me for a republic.—*Judge*.

He told the shy maid of his love,

The color left her cheeks;

But on the shoulder of his coat

It showed for several weeks.

—*Scalper*.

"No workers are called servants today," says Mr. Justice Darling. "And I am informed by those who have secured specimens that very few servants could by any stretch of the imagination be called workers."—*Lady's Pictorial*.

"I don't like these photos at all," he said. "I look like an ape."

The photographer favored him with a glance of lofty disdain.

"You should have thought of that before you had them taken," was his reply as he turned back to work.—*American News Trade Journal*.



## While the case is argued, the jury sleeps

If the lawyer talked for hours on the rising price of birdseed, the jury would miss little. But here the case is vital, and it concerns no one so much as this same heedless jury—the American people.

The judge in our picture represents a public commission, whose duty is to regulate electric light rates. And the case is whether the electric company shall obtain money needed for extension of service to make up the present shortage of light and power.

Lack of sufficient power is one reason why that shoe factory in town is running behind a thousand pairs a week—why the flour mill is short in its daily grist—why industry cannot meet the demand for larger production and lower prices.

Yet we are sadly indifferent to this problem and the solution which the electric company offers. The company's rates, taxes, extensions and improvements are matters that we leave to the public service commission to control, and we don't even take an interest in the case.

What a mistake! The case is ours. The public service commission is ours. The public servant is ours. The commission takes its authority from public opinion—the verdict we render.

So it is for us to say whether the electric company's cost of furnishing power and our own need for using power warrant an increased rate.

Certainly it is a short-sighted economy to deny a reasonable return on the money invested (often your own money) for that policy discourages investors and hampers the company's development. A fair rate assures a bigger and better service—added power available for factories to produce more at less cost per unit.

It may be that a few cents more on the electric bill will mean a few dollars less on the next suit of clothes we buy.

Published in  
the interest of Elec-  
trical Development by  
an Institution that will  
be helped by what-  
ever helps the  
Industry.

# Western Electric Company

No. 16 On the farm or in the metropolis,  
wherever people look to electricity  
for the comforts and conveniences of life today,  
the Western Electric Company offers a service  
as broad as the functions of electricity itself.



# "Oh, for a Nook and a Story-book—"

## Christmas Plums

There are three or four books for children in the new productions this season that both for their content and their appearance deserve special consideration.

A *Child's Book of Modern Stories* stands perhaps in the first place. It is a fat volume, illustrated in color by Jessie Wilcox Smith, and filled with seventy or more of the best short stories for children that have been written in recent years. There are animal stories and nature stories and fairy stories and some stories that sugar-coat an improving moral. But it is safe to say that the youngsters will like them all.

Another "read-me-a-story" book that children of eight or over can read to themselves is *Adventures in Mother Goose Land*, written by Edward Gowar, with gay, fantastic illustrations by Alice Bolam Preston. The story is of a little boy named Noel who made a wish and found himself whisked away on a broomstick to Mother Goose Land. There he met all the Mother Goose folk and talked with them and shared their fun. The story is written entertainingly and simply, and the very large print is ideal for the young "First Reader."

Somewhat more elaborate are three long series of stories by E. Gordon Browne, presented with full page pictures in color by Florence Anderson under the title of *The Magic Whistle*. The first story is a brave tale of caravans and Caliphs and strange magic; the second set of stories tells the adventures of "Little Dwarf Nose"; and in the third series are collected the stories of two youngsters called Molly and Dick, and their friends, Nut Cracker and Mouse King.

The same fairy tales by Edouard Labouaye that our grandmothers used to read have been republished for this Christmas in a pleasantly printed volume with a dozen colorful page illustrations painted by Edward G. McCandlish. The stories have a never-failing charm, due perhaps to the French flavor of the narrative and to their origin in the folk lore of old Europe, and due also to the fact that M. Labouaye collected them to tell first by the fire to his own children.

Coming back from the realm of magic to stories of real folks an excellent book for children from ten on thru their 'teens is *Stories*, by Juliana Horatia Ewing, collected in a large, at-



tractive book with pleasant full page illustrations in color by Edna Cooke. The famous "Jackanapes" is the first story; there are ten others, nearly all old favorites of the generation that is grown-up now.

*A Child's Book of Modern Stories*, by Ada M. and Eleanor Skinner. Duffield. *Adventures in Mother Goose Land*, by Edward Gowar. Little, Brown & Co. *The Magic Whistle*, by E. Gordon Browne. Dodd, Mead & Co. *Stories*, by Juliana Horatia Ewing. Duffield & Co. *Labouaye's Fairy Book*, translated by Mary L. Booth. Harper Brothers.

## "Going on Eight"

From all indications these are books that a child five to ten years old would horde among its treasures. *Five Funny Fables* is not only attractive in form, with the wide margins of its pages alive with all sorts of pleasant birds and animals; the fables themselves are some of Aesop's spiciest, retold in a lively and appealing way, with suggestions for acting each one out. There you have pictures, stories, plays—and five wholesome Aesop morals. *Three Little Kittens* is an animal story of a different sort. "Jazbury was a small black kitten with white markings on his face and breast and soft little white paws—all he cared for was having a good time and playing about, and if mice had to be caught he left it to his mother and Aunt Tabby to do it." The adventures of Jazbury with his friends Fluffy and Yowler are told by Katherine

Pyle in delightful stories and pictures. But the book neglects its opportunity to stimulate any accurate understanding of animals, and oversentimentalizes to an unfortunate degree. *Peggy in Toyland* is a long, adventurous, whimsical story, by Archibald Marshall, of Peggy who was kind to her dolls and who got for reward a breathlessly exciting trip thru Toyland. The illustrations have the charm of the narrative; a child would like both story and pictures. And he would like *Sandman's Rainy Day Stories*, certainly. Abbie Phillips Walker, an author who seems to know about such matters, relates convincingly many surprising deeds of industrious fairies, gnomes and ogres. The "meows" and "squeaks" of cats and bunnies too are translated into tales that will keep the sandman away.

*Five Funny Fables, and How to Play Them*, The Look and Listen Series, by F. B. Kirkman. A. & C. Black, London. The Macmillan Co. *Peggy in Toyland*, by Archibald Marshall. Dodd, Mead & Co. *Three Little Kittens*, by Katherine Pyle. Dodd, Mead & Co. *Sandman's Rainy Day Stories*, by Abbie Phillips Walker. Harper Brothers.

## Some Books for Boys

There is really no justice in classing them so. Most girls like so-called "boys' books" much better than they do their own suitably feminine fiction. And if boys do not return the compliment, it is only because "girls' books" are in general so flat and insipid that the girls themselves are ashamed to read them. So let the title mean simply "books about boys."

There are always new football stories. Between *Quarterback Bates* and *Fourth Down* you may have your choice. In either you have Ralph Henry Barbour in his most readable, likeable vein. Here as usual is boarding school, with some lessons and a great deal of breathless football, with friendships and jealousies and emulations, with boy chivalry and boy loyalty, and over it all the glamour and excitement not of school life as it actually is, perhaps, but of school life as the young imagination would have it be. *Touchdown—and After*, by Gardner Hunting, is mostly "after," and so out of the football class. But it is still a story of school, a thoroly pleasant tho rather mild story of an escapade and what came of it, when one boy took on himself the blame for another's guilt, and all sorts of misunderstandings ensued, and in the end, as usual, the right man came out gloriously on top.

Such poetic justice is lavishly dispensed in *Jimmy Quigg, Office Boy*, by Harold S. Latham. It is a tale, not too strictly realistic, but sufficiently human



# Has This Ever Happened to You?

**I**F you were a guest at dinner and you overturned a cup of coffee, what would you do? What would you say? Would you turn to the hostess and say "I beg pardon?" Would you offer your apologies to the entire company? Would you ignore the incident completely? Which is the correct thing to do?

To be able to do and say the right thing at the right time is the badge of culture, and the man or woman who has that power is indeed an individual of polish and poise.

## What Do You Know About Introductions?

To establish an immediate and friendly understanding between two people who have never met before, to make the conversation flow more smoothly and pleasantly, to create an agreeable, harmonious atmosphere—that is the purpose of the *introduction*. A correct, courteous conversation—making an introduction is an art itself, and reflects refinement and cultivation on the person who is the medium.

How do YOU introduce two people? Do your introductions create a pleasant, easy atmosphere, or one that is uncomfortably strained?

Try this simple test and see what you really know about the art of introduction:

Mrs. Brown and Miss Smith have met at your home for the first time. Would you say, *Mrs. Brown, meet Miss Smith*, or *Miss Smith, meet Mrs. Brown*? Would you say, *Miss Smith, let me make you acquainted with Mrs. Brown*?

If Mr. Blank happened to drop in for a little chat, how would you present him to the ladies; to both at once, or to each one individually? And how would you present Bobby, who comes running in from school; *Bobby, this is Mr. Blank*, or *Mr. Blank, this is Bobby*, or would you use the *I want you to meet method*? Do you ever say *I take pleasure in introducing*? Is it right or wrong?

How do you introduce a sweetheart to your relatives for the first time? How do you introduce her or him, to your friends?

On the other hand, if you are being introduced, how do you acknowledge it. Do you use any of these expressions: *"Pleased to know you," "Delighted," "How do you do?"* Does a gentleman rise upon being introduced to a lady? Does the lady rise? Is it correct for the lady and gentleman to shake hands?

The difference between the right and wrong thing in introducing, is the difference between culture and coarseness.

The man who would be polished, impressive, and the woman who covets the wonderful gift of charm must cultivate the art of introduction.

## Etiquette at the Dance

The ball-room should always be a center of culture and grace. To commit a breach of etiquette at the dance is to



condemn yourself as a hopeless vulgarian. But alas! how many blunders are made by people who really believe that they are following the conventions of society to the highest letter of its law! What blunders do you make in the ball-room? These questions may help you discover them.

Does etiquette allow a woman to ask for a dance? May she refuse to dance without a reason? What is the proper thing for a young girl to do if she is not asked to dance? What is a polite and courteous way of refusing a dance? How many times may a girl dance with the same partner without breaking the rules of etiquette? Is it correct to wander away from the ball-room with a fiance?

According to etiquette's laws it is necessary for a gentleman to dispose of his escort to another partner before he asks another lady for a dance? How shall he ask a lady to dance. Which are the correct forms and which the incorrect? How shall he dispose of the lady after the dance if he must return to his escort? What is the right dancing position for the gentleman? For the lady? What style of dress is correct to wear at a dance?

There is perhaps no better place to display the culture and finesse of your breeding than the ball-room, resplendent with the gay gowns of women and enchanting with the ease and gracefulness of dancing couples. Here the gallantry of true gentlemen and the grace and delicacy of cultured women asserts itself. Here you can distinguish yourself either as a person of culture or a person of boorishness.

## When Wedding Bells Ring Out

etiquette again comes to the fore. What is the right dress for the bride to wear? How shall the invitation be worded? When shall the groom give his farewell bachelor dinner? How shall congratulations be extended? And after the wedding there are cards of thanks and cards of invitation to be sent. The wedding breakfast must be arranged and perhaps a honeymoon trip must be planned. Suffice to say that the bride and bridegroom will find invaluable aid in Everyman's Encyclopedia of Etiquette.

# Everyman's Encyclopedia of Etiquette

## In Two Comprehensive Volumes

In the most minute details of daily life, in the hours of prosperity and adversity alike, at all times, there is the omnipresent need of holding one's self in hand, of impressing by one's culture and breeding, of *doing the right thing*. Culture is, after all, one of the fine arts. To excel in music or painting, the price is vigilance, study and incessant effort; to be cultured, polished, the price is conscientious effort and study.

"Clothes may make the man," but whether you are clothed in rags or silks your culture can not be hidden. For he who is polite, refined and well bred wears a gorgeous robe endowed with the fine embroidery of honor and respect. Not even rags can cover it.

The world is a harsh judge, but it is just. It will not tolerate the man who makes blunders at the dinner table. It will not tolerate the woman who breaks the conventions of society at the dance. It will not tolerate the illiterate in the Art of Etiquette.

"Everyman's Encyclopedia of Etiquette" is excellent in quality, comprehensive in proportions, rich in illustrations. It comes to you as a guide, a revelation toward better etiquette. It dispels lingering doubts, corrects blunders, teaches you the *right thing to do*. It is a book that will last. You will preserve it, to refer again and again to its invaluable aid toward culture and refinement.

## New Chapters On Foreign Countries

Two new and interesting chapters have been added to the original edition of "Everyman's Encyclopedia of Etiquette." They are "The Etiquette of Travel" and "The Etiquette in Foreign Countries." The woman who is traveling alone must be extremely circumspect in her conduct. The conventions of etiquette must be strictly observed. The man who is escorting a woman abroad must not subject her to embarrassment by blunders in etiquette. Tips, dress, calling cards, correspondence, addressing royalty and addressing clergy abroad are

discussed and the dinner etiquette in France, England and Germany is disclosed. The two chapters are brimful of hints and pointers for the man or woman who travels.

## Send No Money

This is the first time that a complete and intensive two-volume set of "Everyman's Encyclopedia of Etiquette" has been offered. The edition will go quickly. Don't delay—send for your set NOW before you forget.

The coupon below entitles you to 5 days' FREE examination of the two-volume set of "Everyman's Encyclopedia of Etiquette." At the end of that time, if you decide that you want to keep it, simply send us \$3.50 in full payment—and the set is yours. Or, if for any reason you are not satisfied, return it to us and you won't be out a cent. You owe it to yourself and to the children in your home to have a set of "Everyman's Encyclopedia of Etiquette" in your library. This opportunity may never come again. Send for the set today and surprise your friends with your knowledge of the correct thing to do, say, write and wear at all times. Just mail the coupon—don't send any money.

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Gentlemen:

You may send me the complete two-volume set of "Everyman's Encyclopedia of Etiquette." After 5 days I either will return the books or send you \$3.50 in full payment. This places me under no obligation.

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the present time.

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year of work as an office boy, and his  
interesting and commendable behavior  
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but it is quite wholesome. Another story  
about a boy who "made good," this  
time under more obviously exciting cir-  
cumstances calculated to interest the  
scientifically-minded boy, is *The Young  
Wireless Operator—Afloat*, by Lewis  
E. Theiss, the adventures upon the high  
seas of Roy Mercer, a wireless oper-  
ator with the merchant marine.

Animal stories can be so good that it  
is strange that most of them are not.  
Walter Pritchard Eaton has achieved  
one of the rare and happy exceptions  
in *On the Edge of the Wilderness*. Ani-  
mal stories must necessarily be done  
from the human viewpoint; but these  
are no domestic, highly sentimental  
animals, endowed with pity and char-  
ity and a high order of intellect. They  
are wild brutes, lonely in their wild-  
ness, and tragic in their slavery to  
dim, blind instinct. Marshall Saun-  
ders, the author of "Beautiful Joe,"  
has written a horse story, *Bonnie  
Prince Feltar*, which friends of Beau-  
tiful Joe will be disappointed in.  
It is less a story of a horse than a  
story about human beings as seen thru  
a horse's uncannily human eyes. But  
after all, comparisons are unnecessary  
—and *Bonnie Prince Feltar*, left to it-  
self, is an attractive book, full of inci-  
dent and interest. *Rick and Ruddy*, by  
Howard R. Garis, for readers a little  
younger, is not only a dog story. There  
is a dog and a boy, and other boys,  
and all sorts of fine adventures.

A genuinely entertaining book for  
boys—whether scouts or not—is *The  
Boy Scouts' Year Book*, edited by  
Franklin K. Mathews, chief scout li-  
brarian, Boys Scouts of America. The  
book abounds in everything that will  
delight a boy—animal and camping  
stories, character sketches of the great-  
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Writers are always trying their hand  
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chronicle of great naval battles from  
Sir Francis Drake and the Spanish Ar-  
mada down to Admiral Beatty and the  
battle off Jutland Bank in our own  
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the past than a study of history in the  
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terms of the forms and departments  
and methods of our government in  
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are fact, and yet they cover no period  
of history, and obey no chronological  
law. Mr. Lanier has ranged the earth,  
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stories of all sorts of courage; it is a  
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erty*, by Walter A. Dyer, is such a  
thoroughgoing yarn that it is hard to be-  
lieve that it is fact. But the point is  
simply that "the life and times of Paul  
Revere" were actually almost too ex-  
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only done them justice.

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ploits of Sergeant York. The stories are  
all very short, told in simple style that  
boys and girls will like to read for  
themselves. Tho the emphasis is put  
altogether on human interest the book  
will be a valuable supplement to school  
study of our national history and it  
will stimulate a healthy national pride.

And when the boy is tired of read-  
ing, and it is no longer a question of  
books, then here are books still—this  
time not to read, but to tell him what  
to do. *Games for Boys*, by G. Sherman  
Ripley, is a large collection of games  
of all kinds—except the sort no boy  
wants to bother with, such as games to  
play at parties. There are a few quiet  
things to do on rainy days; but the  
rest are all active outdoor sports. For  
a boy with a taste for such things, *The  
Boys' Book of Magic*, by Hereward  
Carrington, is one of the few books in  
its class of any value. Its subject mat-  
ter is very various, ranging from  
Hindu magic thru ventriloquism, and  
sleight-of-hand, to animal tricks. Es-  
pecially, the directions are clear and  
practicable, and there are many help-  
ful illustrations. It is written for boys;  
the author was a boy when he began it.

*Quarterback Bates*, by Ralph Henry Bar-  
bour, Dodd, Mead & Co. *Fourth Down*, by  
Ralph Barbour, D. Appleton & Co. *Touch-  
down—and After*, by Gardner Hunting. The  
Macmillan Co. *Bonnie Prince Feltar*, by  
Marshall Saunders, George H. Doran Co.  
*Rick and Ruddy*, by Howard R. Garis, Mil-  
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Sea Fights*, and *The Young Citizens' Own  
Book*, by Chelsea Curtis Fraser, Thomas Y.  
Crowell Co. *Sons of Liberty*, by Walter A.  
Dyer, Henry Holt & Co. *The Book of Brav-  
ery, Third Series*, by Henry W. Lanier,  
Charles Scribner's Sons. *The Boys' Book of  
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Book*, edited by Franklin K. Mathews, D.  
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ator—Afloat*, by Lewis E. Theiss, W. A.  
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Walter Pritchard Eaton, W. A. Wilde Com-  
pany, Boston. *Jimmy Quigg, Office Boy*, by  
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pany.

## Eighteen Children of History

Some of these story-book children  
are the very old-fashioned little girls  
in *Four Girls of Forty Years Ago*, by  
Nina Rhoades. Children of today will  
be interested in children of so long ago,  
when telephones were marvels and



automobiles were not thought of. *Little Heroes of France*, by Kathleen Burke, are children who are actually living now, across the sea in France; and these are true stories of the brave and self-forgetful deeds they did for France, in the days of the war.

*Four Girls of Forty Years Ago*, by Nina Rhoades Loshop, Lee & Shepard Co. *Little Heroes of France*, by Kathleen Burke, Doubleday, Page & Co.

### Famous Biblical Paintings

One of the most beautiful books got out for Christmas this year is *The Story of Jesus*, a large, handsome volume containing forty colored reproductions of paintings by old masters from scenes in the life of Christ. Each painting has on the opposite page the Scripture passage on which it is based. The book would be of much educational value to children, from both the artistic and the religious standpoint; and it is also a treasure to art lovers, since its color reproductions are excellent, and copies of many of these paintings cannot be obtained elsewhere.

*The Story of Jesus*, Marshall Jones Co., Boston.

### History, New Style

For once a "child's book" has been written up to, rather than down to, the youthful imagination. And the result is a wealth of information presented in such a way as to make its acquisition lots of fun! *Ancient Man*, by Hendrik Willem Van Loon, is the book to which this praise is due. It is to be the first of a series of nine history books in story form, which "will explore the intricate wilderness of the bygone ages" and in summing up "try to show where the human race has lived up to its highest possible achievements and wherein it has failed to rise above the status of the earliest caveman." The famous historian undertook this task for his own boys, eight and twelve years old, and he has sensed unflinchingly the way to stimulate the interest and satisfy the curiosity of youngsters of about that age. The history is told in easy-going, simple narrative presented with as much care and accuracy as Dr. Van Loon's more famous histories for grown-ups, and supplemented by colored illustrations, pen and ink sketches, charts and maps, all prepared by the author. The map of the ancient world, which lines the covers of the book, is as thrilling as the chart to Treasure Island and as comprehensible as a diagram of the backyard.

The Van Loon History for Children will probably have in the realm of children's literature somewhat the status of the circus in entertainment for the young. The youngsters won't be happy without it, and their elders will welcome an excuse to enjoy it, too.

*Ancient Man*, by Hendrik Willem Van Loon. Boni & Liveright.

### This for Parents

Parents who are interested in their children's reading, from whatever standpoint, can find much that they want in *Roads to Childhood*, by Annie

# He Has a Most Remarkable Knack for Reading Faces



## How Tom Rutherford Makes \$18,000 a Year!

I hadn't seen Tom Rutherford in nearly 10 years. When you consider that we had been pals at college, you can imagine how delighted I was to hear his cheery voice come ringing over the telephone.

He was on one of his big swings over the eastern territory and he wanted to know if I wouldn't come down and eat dinner with him at his hotel.

I found him to be the same old Tom—older of course—a trifle gray around the temples—perhaps a little keener of eye—but all in all the same old Tom. Success hadn't turned his head one bit and I felt no hesitancy in asking him how it was that he had been so successful.

"I can sum it up in five words," he said quickly—"The ability to read men. I can tell within three minutes after I meet a man the kind of man he is. I can tell if he is honest; I can tell if he is kind; if he is open to reason or if he is obstinate; if he is dependable; if he is careful or if he is careless. His eyes tell me one thing—his nose something else—his mouth, his lips, his forehead, his profile, his ears, every feature in fact has a never-failing message to the skilled observer.

"Everybody reads character. Almost everybody can tell a clergyman from a ruffian or a bricklayer from a musician just by looking at their faces. But the important thing is to be able to read character when the lines are not so clearly defined.

"You know I had no more ability to start with than any one else. But one day I heard of a very rich man named L. Hamilton McCormick who had been making a life-time study of Character—as revealed in the face. I determined to visit him in his home and I did. I found him to be one of the most charming—most unusual men I have ever met.

"For forty years he had been making a study of CHARACTEROLOGY—not for money, for he is many times a millionaire, but through a desire to establish this study as an exact science. His study of types had taken him all over the world. After a life-time of effort he had formulated certain definite rules for reading character. When he told me that any one who studied these rules could read character my enthusiasm

knew no bounds. We got to be fast friends and I persuaded him to let me read the manuscript of this monumental work.

"From then on my success in business was assured. People marveled at my ability to swing conferences to my point of view—to make friends—to sell prospects who had been listed as impossible. It was all due to my ability to read men.

"For several years I have been urging Mr. McCormick to publish his rules for reading character. But always he would shake his head and say kindly—'Not yet, my dear sir. I must be ten times sure of every word before I offer this work to the public.'

"And now at last, CHARACTEROLOGY has been published. In it you will find every rule for reading character that has made my business and social life so successful. You, too, can become an expert reader of character if you study the rules laid down by Mr. McCormick.

"You will find this not only the most interesting work you have ever read but the most profitable. It is something that you can use every day of your life. I firmly believe—in fact I know—that my ability to read men is the one big reason why I am earning \$18,000 a year."

Tom Rutherford said good-by that night but before he left I had sent to Rand McNally & Company for CHARACTEROLOGY. It has meant more to me than any other book I have ever read. As Mr. McCormick himself says—"There is no study of more importance to man than the study of man."

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Carroll Moore. Out of her experience as supervisor of children's work in the New York Public Library, the author has prepared a series of chapters dealing in an informal and undidactic way with the variety of problems that present themselves as soon as a child is old enough to read. There are lists of books for parents to turn to at crises like Christmas and birthdays; there are suggestions of books of verse and books with charming illustrations. But the volume's special contribution is its discussion, neither sentimental nor over-theoretical, of the psychology of children's reading. A child is inarticulate about his likes and dislikes; and who else should venture to define them? Only such a person as the author of *Roads to Childhood*, who has seen for herself what so many children want that she may safely generalize.

*Roads to Childhood*, by Annie Carroll Moore. George H. Doran Co.

## For the "First-Reader"

SONG DEVICES AND JINGLES, by Eleanor Smith (Lothrop, Lee & Shepard), is a charmingly illustrated book of tunes and jingles. Not only the child who sings, but the so-called "monotone"—the child apparently without musical gifts—will enjoy the lively dialogs and rhythmic games of this attractive volume.

THE AIRPLANE SPIDER by Gilbert Murray (Little, Brown & Co.), is a small book for small children, in very large clear print. Laura is a spider and this is the story of her life; a little science, some interesting observation, and considerable pleasant fancy.

NURSERY RHYMES it is simply called. But the rhymes are set to music and there are line drawings for illustrations, left for the child to fill in with crayons or water colors. These rhymes, selected by Agnes Nightingale, are in the series of "Black's Painting Books" (A. & C. Black, Ltd., London).

UNCLE SQUEAKY'S COUNTRY STORE, by Nellie M. Leonard (Thomas Y. Crowell Co.), is more about the Graymouse Family, and the other country gentry, Lady Spider, Dolly Grasshopper, Simon Skunk and the rest. There are funny colored illustrations by Carle M. Boog.

QUEERFUL WIDGET, by W. B. Hawkins (Boni & Liveright), is a book of whims—rimes, stories, tricks and fancies. A child might like them; a grown person would be more likely to. There is some real charm, at points stretched rather thin. The book is a worthy descendant of Lewis Carroll or the "Just So Stories"—it would be hard to say which.

THE ITALIAN TWINS, by Lucy Fitch Perkins (Houghton Mifflin Co.), makes a good story a vehicle for much information about life and customs in Italian city and highway and countryside. Beppo and Beppina are lively children.

THE STRANGE YEAR, by Eliza Orne White (Houghton, Mifflin Co.), takes the children already familiar in "The Blue Aunt" and carries them on thru a fresh simple narrative of the incidents and vicissitudes of one year of the war. A slight, small, thoroly pleasant book.

## Irish Tales

THE CHILDREN OF ODIN, by Padraic Colum (Macmillan) is a re-creation, not merely a retelling for children, of the great Norse Sagas. They are stately and stirring old tales, and not the least part of the beauty of this telling of them is that, for all his Norse subject, Mr. Colum is as usual invincibly Irish.

THE GOLDEN BARQUE, by Seumas O'Kelly (Putnam), is so finely and purely Irish that it is doubtful whether a child could make the most of it. But these are tales with so much literary and poetic quality that it would be unfortunate not at least to give the child a chance.

## Trails to Wonderland

THE WHIRLING KING AND OTHER STORIES, by Harriett Mead Olcott (Henry Holt). Delightful stories adapted from the French—their non-

sense always ends enchantingly; and the silhouette illustrations keep up the spirit of fun.

TRAILS TO WONDERLAND, by Isa L. Wright (Houghton, Mifflin Co.). Fanciful stories which, without preaching, will convey to the young reader that after all, the way to be really truly happy is to make others happy. "The Magic Whistles," "The Gift of the Fairies" and "The Old Whale's Toothache" are good insurance against rainy-day discontent for youngsters from eight to twelve.

SWISS FAIRY TALES, by William E. Griffis (Thos. Y. Crowell). Good stories of fairy folk, bits of folklore and real atmosphere are given in these twenty-five tales. They tell us, incidentally, that it was really the lovely queen of the Swiss fairies who put it into Soft Pudding's head to invent the cuckoo clock.

THE CRYSTAL BALL, by Mary D. Gordon (Little, Brown & Co.), is the story of Jack and Joan, who go adventuring in search of the crystal ball in the Garden of the Sun. It is a good story, tho so like many others that it is natural to say simply that it is the "kind" of book that children are interested in.

WONDER STORIES by Carolyn Sherwin Bailey, illustrated in colors by Clara M. Burd (Milton Bradley Co.). An attractive collection of several dozen of the classic myths retold in a simple, entertaining way for children from nine to twelve or thirteen years old.

## For the First "Teens"

LUCKY PENNY OF THISTLE TROOP, by Amy E. Blanchard (W. A. Wilde). Girls from twelve to sixteen will enjoy Penny, her friends and her adventures in Thistle Troop—the girl scout organization in her town. The girls, besides doing many other helpful and kind things, adopt a Belgian orphan and the story of how she found happiness in America adds interest to this wholesome book.

THE EMERALD STORY BOOK, arranged by Ada and Eleanor Skinner (Duffield), is a really valuable collection of favorite stories from a wide choice of authors—Eugene Field, Kate Douglas Wiggin, Selma Lagerlof, many others. It would go well on a shelf beside its companion volumes, "The Topaz Story Book" and several others.

RAINBOW GOLD, by Millicent Evison (Lothrop, Lee & Shepard). The story of a young girl's faith in her father who has been sentenced to ten years' imprisonment—her love for him is the rainbow on the cloud of adversity. Young people beginning their teens will like "Toni."

## Country Roads

THE LAND OF THE GREAT OUT-OF-DOORS, by Robert Livingston (Houghton Mifflin). The story of Pen and Penny, a little brother and sister of five and seven, who move to the country and have all sorts of happy times in the woods, pastures and gardens, will create envy in youngsters who have to play in paved streets and crowded city apartments.

LITTLE FOLKS TRAMPING AND CAMPING, by Anna Blunt Morgan (Lothrop, Lee & Shepard). An uncle-chum offers a prize to the children seeing, and becoming acquainted with, the greatest number of birds during the summer; the story relates, interestingly, the adventures of the children, and, incidentally, promotes a knowledge of natural history and love of birds.

## The Bible Re-told

THE STORY OF PAUL AS TOLD BY HIMSELF, and THE STORY OF ABRAHAM AS TOLD BY ISAAC, by Edward Leigh Pell (Revell), are attempts to vivify the Bible for children by placing some outstanding Bible figures in their background and letting them speak for themselves. As stories and as studies in history, they are probably justified; it is doubtful whether any child will be induced by them to read the Bible.

## Adventure

SEA FIGHTERS, by Warren H. Miller (Macmillan), are yarns of adventure, navy life, and the sea, not over-literary in manner, but lively and rapid enough to furnish diverting reading for a boy who likes such things.

TROOP "ONE" OF THE LABRADOR, by Dillon Wallace (Revell), carries on the characters introduced in "Grit-a-Plenty" thru another story of Labrador adventure. Mr. Wallace knows from personal experience the scene of his story.

THE HIDDEN PEOPLE, by Leo E. Miller (Scribner's), is a scientific novel for boys, a really sound study of a remnant of an ancient South American tribe in interesting natural surroundings, all this hung on a skeleton of plot.



## And Other Books

### La Belle Ville

A Frenchman always speaks of Paris as if she were a woman and he loves her in the same way. He can indicate to you certain features which make her beautiful, certain traits of character which he admires, but above and beyond that there is an intangible, an indefinable tho a very real charm. Paris is Paris and that is why he loves her. It is not quite sufficient, however, to say, "a Frenchman"; French women love Paris in the same way and so do foreigners who have fallen under her spell. If you love Paris from afar books about her, even mediocre books, give you a thrill just as, when there is all of the Atlantic between you, you can get terribly excited over a postcard picture of the lady of your dreams. Helen Davenport Gibbons—she is the wife of Herbert Adams Gibbons, the correspondent—*Paris Vistas* is not in the least a remarkable book, but you will enjoy it, if you love Paris, because she loves the city too, because she is on such delightfully intimate terms with the streets and bridges and gardens that you know and because she writes of the pleasant little everyday things that are at the basis of true affection. It is a very personal book. It tells of her years in Paris as a child, as a school girl, as a young bride, and of how she lived there with her four children during the war. She is annoyingly complacent, sure that her way of doing things was always the best possible, still there are compensating qualities.

But the really delightful thing about the book is the pictures. It may not be a kind thing to say, but Mrs. Gibbons' text is quite unimportant as compared to Lester Hornby's illustrations. He has put down in black and white not simply the buildings and the people, but the feel, the atmosphere, the air of Paris. The pictures are a pure joy—especially if you are homesick for Paris.

*Paris Vistas*, by Helen Davenport Gibbons. Century Co.

### Four Kinds of Thrill

There is no need for anyone to find life unexciting so long as there are men in the world with imaginations like Frank L. Packard's. *The White Moll* is a tale of the underworld in which so many unexpected things happen every second that the end of each chapter leaves you breathless and gasping. How Rhoda Gray, the White Moll, was forced to disguise herself as Gypsy Nan, plot with and then foil the plots of the toughest gang in New York, is a story for which thrilling is far too mild a word. Mr. Packard rivals E. Philips Oppenheim in fertility of imagination. If you like back alleys and secret panels, revolvers, flashlights and unadulterated melodrama—which, by the way, is one of

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the most restful things in the world—by all means read *The White Moll*.

If you prefer your melodrama with an Oriental setting, a garniture of knives and fezes, of eastern odors and strange oaths, try *The Eye of Zeitoon*. Talbot Mundy would like to be a second Rudyard Kipling and he never will, but if you don't insist on making invidious comparisons and if you like hot fighting you can find a lot of interest and excitement in this tale of the mad adventures of three Englishmen, one American and, of course, a beautiful girl, who tried to help the Armenians against the Turks.

And if that is too strenuous for you and you would rather have the fascination of disguise and mystery without quite so much bloodshed there is Henry Milner Rideout's *The Foot-Path Way*, which winds chiefly about the Indian secret service where almost anything can happen.

Perhaps you like your thrills in subtler form? In that case try Lucas Malet's *The Tall Villa*. It tells of the love of a beautiful young English woman for the disembodied spirit of one of her ancestors. It is not exactly an old fashioned ghost story; neither is it crude and modern enough to deal with Ouija boards and trances; it is rather skilfully balanced between the old and the new ghost law.

*The White Moll*, by Frank L. Packard. George H. Doran Co. *The Eye of Zeitoon*, by Talbot Mundy. Bobbs-Merrill Co. *The Foot-Path Way*, by Henry Milner Rideout. Duffield & Co. *The Tall Villa*, by Lucas Malet. George H. Doran Co.

## A Divorce Reform Novel

W. B. Maxwell has joined the group of writers who are fighting the iniquitous English divorce law. The scene in the courtroom where the Vaughn case is tried is a remarkable study in psychology as well as a dramatic climax. How the truth, which the reader knows, can be distorted and twisted by a clever, coarse and unscrupulous cross-examiner, is shown in a passage of painful interest. *For Better, For Worse* is one of the strongest pleas ever made against the existing law in England. As a work of art the novel suffers little from the evident propaganda, because of the clearness of characterization, and the gradual working out of an inevitable crisis in an intolerable situation. The present British marriage law is highly unjust to the weaker sex and prevents divorce even where married life has become intolerable.

*For Better, For Worse*, by W. B. Maxwell. Dodd, Mead & Co.

## Prejudices

*Prejudices* is an excellent name for the book of critical essays by H. L. Mencken, but one is tempted to adopt Mr. Mencken's own method and say that Pigheadnesses would have been an even more accurate title. He has a tremendous assurance of the rightness of his own point of view, an assurance which no critic can altogether avoid, but which Mr. Mencken insists upon with vigorous, slashing blows. His method of argument is that of the man

in the Lewis Carroll poem, "I said it very loud and clear, I went and shouted in his ear." Some of the things he shouts are quite worth listening to for he has a keen and clever mind and the fact that he disagrees with most of the generally accepted standards and opinions makes him distinctly worth reading. It is quite as possible to disagree with the majority and be right, as it is possible to disagree with the majority and be wrong—the latter fact never seems to enter Mr. Mencken's head.

Now it is probably quite incorrect in reviewing a book to quote from someone else's review, but Professor Stuart P. Sherman of Iowa, one of Mr. Mencken's *bêtes noires*, gives such a delightful picture of him in an article in the *New York Times* that we hand it on.

At this point enters, at a hard gallop, spattered with mud, H. L. Mencken, high in oath—thus illustrating the Goethean maxim—*Aller Anfang ist schwer*. He leaps from the saddle with sabre flashing, stables his horse in the church, shoots the priest, hangs three professors, exiles the Academy, burns the library and the university, and, amid smoking ashes, erects a new school of criticism.

*Prejudices*, by H. L. Mencken. Alfred A. Knopf.

## A Dutch Novel of the Nile

The barge was now gliding up the Nile in the night; the sky was softly blue, like dark byssus; the water was a pale blue, like rippling silk; and the waning moon hung above the palm-clusters and country-mansions on the river-bank like a great overripe fruit which threatened to burst in the sky and whose juice was already trickling in thick orange drops that flowed over the Nile.

This is Louis Couperus, the Dutch novelist whom America is just beginning to know. His style is exquisite, delicate, unusual, and beautifully translated. *The Tour*, which is the story of a young Roman Cook's-touring up the Nile, consulting oracles for news of his lost love, is not altogether typical of Couperus' work. It is more concerned than most of his books with external atmosphere and less with the subtleties of the human soul.

*The Tour*, by Louis Couperus. Dodd, Mead & Co.

## A Book You Can't Forget

*Sanctus Spiritus and Company* is one of the saddest books that I have ever read. It seems to gather every form of human grief and to merge them all finally in the greatest sorrow of all, the sorrow of a shattered ideal, which does not, of course, recommend it to a modern audience. And yet it is a book that anyone interested in Americanization ought to read. The fact that it is written by the author of *On the Trail of the Immigrant* is sufficient proof that he knows whereof he speaks when he writes of Bohemian Hungary, of the racial bitterness there, of the men who came back rich from America, where "it is fine."

*Sanctus Spiritus and Company* were three old men in the little Hungarian town of Hraszova who ever since their boyhood had been friends altho one



was a Jew, one a Catholic priest and the other a land owner and a Calvinist. The story of their friendship and of their several tragedies which came for the most part thru racial antagonisms and the changing times, is poignant and enthralling. Closely mingled with their story, dominating it really, is the story of the coachman's son who went to America, worked in the mines, went thru college, studied for the ministry and returned to his own people as a missionary. He found himself in many ways estranged from them and yet still curiously akin. In an attempt to help the peasants he became involved with the Government and had to flee back to America.

He and his wife are very happy in the Pennsylvania mining town where he has a parish among the Slovak miners and then the war breaks out and in America rises the same hysterical, fanatical hatred of those of another race and creed that he thought he had left behind in the old world. It is not a charge which Americans can turn aside lightly, there is too much truth in it. The tottering of his idol almost breaks the young man's heart but he clings still to a hope that there will some day be a New World where men may live in brotherliness.

*Sanctus Spiritus and Company*, by Edward A. Steiner. George H. Doran Co.

### Odd Moments

**SKETCHES IN DUNELAND**, by Earl H. Reed. (John Lane Co.) Beautiful gift book with fourteen etchings by the author, continuing the account of the "doin's" of the old derelicts in the dune region around Lake Michigan.

**AN ANTHOLOGY OF RECENT POETRY**, compiled by L. D'O. Walters (Dodd, Mead & Co.). A brief selection from the best contemporary British poets. Many of the poems are familiar: Rupert Brooke's famous "Soldier" sonnet, for instance, and John Masefield's "Sea Fever." It is a good coat-pocket anthology.

**PLAYS**, by Susan Glaspell (Small, Maynard & Co.). These eight plays, all of which have been produced by the Provincetown Players, have a literary quality and a somewhat philosophical viewpoint that make them as readable as stories. Miss Glaspell writes in a crisp, descriptive style and she shows keen insight into the underlying human motives. "Trifles" is a really great play.

### Speed and Thrills

**THE ROARING ROAD**, by Byron Morgan (George H. Doran Co.). Geared to a speed of ninety miles or more these half dozen stories of automobile racing are guaranteed to furnish thrills a-plenty to anyone susceptible to the lure of the steering wheel.

**THE SLEUTH OF ST. JAMES'S SQUARE**, by Melville Davison Post (Appleton). Episodes, sketches, glimpses of mystery. A certain amount of good atmosphere and description, but a stage elaborately set too many times for the amount of actual performance.

**32 CALIBRE**, by Donald McGiberty (Bobbs-Merrill). A not too lurid mystery interestingly built up and broken down, in a rapid easy narrative style. Thoroughly readable.

### About People

**LINCOLN THE WORLD EMANCIPATOR**, by John Drinkwater (Houghton Mifflin). A rather random miscellany of essays on the spirit of Americanism by the British dramatist who "discovered" Lincoln for London.

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New York, December 1, 1920.  
PREFERRED CAPITAL STOCK.  
DIVIDEND NO. 87.

A dividend of one and three-quarters per cent. (1 3/4%) on the Preferred Stock of this Company has this day been declared payable Saturday, January 1, 1921, to stockholders of record at the close of business Wednesday, December 15, 1920. Checks will be mailed by the Guaranty Trust Company of New York.

S. S. DELANO, Treasurer.

H. C. WICK, Secretary.

**AMERICAN CAR AND FOUNDRY COMPANY.**  
New York, December 1, 1920.  
COMMON CAPITAL STOCK.  
DIVIDEND NO. 73.

A quarterly dividend of three per cent. (3%) on the Common Stock of this Company has this day been declared payable Saturday, January 1, 1921, to stockholders of record at the close of business Wednesday, December 15, 1920. Checks will be mailed by the Guaranty Trust Company of New York.

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H. C. WICK, Secretary.

# How to Study This Number

## THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

### English, Literature and Composition

- I. Taking Banking Out of Politics.
  1. Write an explanation of the Federal Reserve system of banking that would make it clear to a person who had never heard of it before.
- II. Can Air Be Too Free?
  1. As a class, make suggestions for the control of aviation. Then appoint a committee to sift and condense your suggestions into a table of laws.
  2. Have you any personal experience to add to the two incidents Mr. Driggs tells about of the plowed field and the golf course? If you have, write an interesting account of it, considering at the same time its legal aspects.
  3. Have a mock trial—Mr. Driggs' farmer versus the aviator—based on your own laws.
  4. The fact that the sky, after any amount of legislation has been passed, must always remain really uncharted and unpossessed, has many stirring suggestions. If any of them strikes you, you might write a poem about it. Be humorous, if you are moved to be; but you might very easily be serious.
- III. The Play's the Thing.
  1. Just what exactly is the point of Mr. Moses' article? Criticize the article for clearness and unity, in the light of what you decide to be its intention.
  2. Give examples, with reasons for your choice, of three plays better read than acted, then of three better acted than read, and then of three which need both treatments.
  3. Choose one Shakespeare play, with which you are or can be really familiar, and write an essay about it, considering it as an acting and as a reading play, and the ways in which it is both.
  4. What do you think about Shakespeare in general? Does an acted performance or a reading extract more from one of his plays? What do we mean when we say, "Oh, Shakespeare's all right, but he could never be really popular?"
  5. Which of the plays that Mr. Moses describes does he make you most want to read? Read it, and as many others that he mentions as you can, comparing your reactions with his.
- IV. Wells on the World.
  1. "There is no bigger writer than Wells." In what sense do you think Mr. Slosson uses the word "bigger"? Do you agree with such a description?
  2. Do you know of any novel by Wells that is unmixedly a novel, that is, free from any propaganda or intention to inform? What about "Mr. Britling," or "Joan and Peter"? Read one of the two that you have not read before, and write a discussion of Wells' method of handling literary and propagandist material together.
  3. Define the following words: biolog, minuscules, mummies, potentate, idiosyncrasies, bias, retina, fortnightly, illegible, obsolete.
- V. Here Are Books.
  1. Write an informal essay for children about all of your very first favorite books that you can remember.
  2. From the reviews of children's books in this number make out a list of ten for a child, with some particular child in mind. Then write out your list together with a character sketch of the child that will show why you chose the books you did.
  3. Pick out one of the general types of stories reviewed in this issue—animal stories, fairy stories, adventure stories, etc.—and write a letter to The Independent explaining your views as to the faults and shortcomings of the average run of that kind of children's fiction.
  4. Write several short reviews of any other new books for children that have come to your attention.
  5. La Belle Ville. Write a description of any town that you know well and care about that would make an absent native homesick, and a stranger want to go there to live.
  6. Louis Couperus is one of the important new novelists. Read any one of his novels you can get hold of, and in class discussion compare notes with the people who have read others of his books, in an effort to discover and define his characteristic qualities.

### History, Civics and Economics

- I. National Finance—Taking Banking Out of Politics.
  1. What can you tell about the Federal Reserve System? Under what President and by what law was it established?
  2. What steps did the Federal Reserve Board take to curb inflation after the war? How did this affect business? What complaints did this policy cause?
  3. Do you think that the curtailment of credits by the banks is a leading cause of the recent decline in prices? What other causes have been operative?
  4. Why was political pressure brought to bear on the Federal Reserve Board to reverse its deflation policy? What would have been the effect in the long run if the Board had yielded to political considerations?
- II. Efficiency at Washington—Reforming Uncle Sam. How Two Billions Were Sunk.
  1. What is a "cabinet"? Point out the difference between the English or French cabinet and the American. Is there anything about the cabinet in the American Constitution?
  2. What are the present departments of the Federal Government and who is at the head of each? What two new departments are proposed?
  3. Prepare either side of a debate on the question: Resolved, that the Department of the Interior be abolished and its present functions divided between a Department of Public Works and a Department of Public Welfare.
  4. What men would you like to see appointed to each office in the cabinet next March? Send in your list to The Independent.
  5. What defects in our political methods seem to you to be revealed by the Shipping Board investigation?
- III. Regulation of Aerial Traffic—Can Air Be Too Free?
  1. "The United States is still at war with Germany, and is still without essential laws governing aviation." If you can get hold of a copy of the Treaty of Versailles look up Part XI (Articles 313-320).
  2. "Property rights have heretofore extended above and below the surface of one's real estate." If this principle were generally applied and strictly interpreted what effect would it have on cross-country aviation?
  3. "Aviation is of necessity a Federal matter." What difficulty has conflicting state legislation caused railroads which run thru several states? Compare interstate rail traffic with interstate air traffic.
  4. "Contraband is today being smuggled over our national boundaries in large quantities." Should the Government establish "revenue cutter" airplanes? If the spirit moves you, write a thrilling short story of chasing airplane smugglers carrying jewels across the Canadian border.
- IV. American Commercial Rights—Freezing Out Uncle Sam. America Protests.
  1. On what grounds does Secretary Colby base his protest against discrimination in the matter of petroleum claims in Mesopotamia?
  2. How does our refusal to enter the League of Nations affect our commercial rights in mandated territory?
  3. What is the mandatory system? How did it come to be adopted? What parts of the world have been assigned under mandate to various Powers?
  4. Secretary Colby declares that the United States has only one-twelfth of the world's petroleum resources. What other countries besides the United States are rich in oil?
  5. Show the connection between the petroleum resources of such countries as Russia, Persia, Mesopotamia and Mexico and the interest foreign powers take in their political situation.
- V. Japanese Immigration—Pricking the Bubble. The Census on the Yellow Peril.
  1. Do you think that the Japanese population in the United States is increasing too rapidly? If so, what remedy would you suggest?
  2. If you were President what recommendations would you make to Congress on the general question of immigration? Would you discriminate against or in favor of certain nations or races, or adopt tests (such as the literacy test) which would apply to immigrants from all countries?



# The Independent

FOUNDED 1848

## Pebbles

She—You dance divinely.  
He—I was an angel child. *Octopus.*  
He—I feel like proposing. Where can we go?  
She—Let's try the court yard. *Panther.*

"Maw says you can't kiss me any more. Willie Jones, 'cause you might get microbes and I might get your crobes." *Sun Dial.*

Yes Xenophon, when you see a string of letters after a man's name you know that he got that way by degrees.—*Widow.*

Husband (studying menu)—Extra good dinner tonight—expecting company?

Wife—No, but I think cook must be.—*London Opinion.*

Mother—I don't know what we can make of Ethel; she sleeps so much.

Ethel's Brother—I know, mummy. Make a chaperone of her!—*London Mail.*

"What did Helen say when you turned out the light and kissed her?"

"She said that she felt as if she never wanted to see my face again."—*Columbia Jester.*

He—I wish to goodness someone would invent a way of using a hammer so's you wouldn't hit your fingers.

She—Why not take both hands to it, dear?—*Blighty.*

Instructor—Young man, you're the first one that ever went to sleep in one of my lectures.

Frosh—Well, you gave me the dope, didn't you?—*Juggler.*

Teacher—If Shakespeare were alive today, wouldn't he be looked upon as a remarkable man?

Student—Shure he would, he would be 300 years old.—*Virginia Reel.*

Little Vernon found his dad's home brew. Thought he'd see what the stuff would do—He took two drinks and climbed a tree And never came back to normalcy.

—*Frivol*

Minister—I made seven hearts happy today.

Parishioner—How was that?

Married three couples.

That makes only six.

Well, do you think I did it for nothing?

—*Kansas City Independent.*

A country lad was writing a letter to a city friend. Having no other envelope than a very dirty one that he had carried in his pocket for quite a while, he used it but annexed at the end of his letter:

"P. S.—Please excuse the envelope. It was clean when it left my hands."—*Boys' Life.*

The valued cook of a certain family has been in the same situation for years and the other afternoon the mistress of the house visited the kitchen and said:

"You know, Mary, we are all very fond of you. I hope you like your wages. I am thinking of giving you one of my silk petticoats."

Whereupon cook's eyes widened, and she answered the mistress:

"Oh, mum, how ever many people have you been an' gone an' asked to dinner now?"—*New York World.*

## Including Harper's Weekly

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## Remarkable Remarks

MARSHAL FOCH—There is no militaristic policy in France.

REV. JOHN ROACH STRATON—Thomas Edison is off his beat.

HERBERT HOOVER—America "does not and never will fight children.

GABRIELE D'ANNUNZIO—Sickness, pain, prison, death—I dare them all.

JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER—Whatever is good about me I owe to my wife.

EX-KING CONSTANTINE—I count greatly upon the moral support of America.

FRANK CRANE—Most of us would be pretty contented if it were not for other people.

HAMILTON HOLT—A year's subscription to The Independent is an ideal Christmas present.

LORD ROBERT CECIL—We would like to know the Republican side regarding the League.

FATHER JAMES CRONIN—The labor unions have the right to insist on the closed shop.

MRS. VINCENT ASTOR—I do not qualify for one of the many Newport amusements, playing bridge.

GEORGE G. LIVERMORE—There's no use worrying about what people think of you; probably they don't.

JAMES E. HUNEKER—Grand opera occupies the position midway between football and the horse show.

BLASCO IBANEZ—American business men pay for their conquest of wealth by never knowing what true love is.

VICE-PRESIDENT MARSHALL—What the country did at the last election is the greatest injustice of the century and will bring one of the world's greatest figures to an untimely grave.

HENRY T. FINCK—Melba and Patti never saw the day when from the dramatic point of view they were anything but the merest amateurs and tyros compared with Geraldine Farrar, supreme mistress of facial expressions and eloquent actions.

## Opening Nights

*The Whispering Well.* A fable-fantasy of rural England in early eighteenth century times. Staging and acting both create a charming fairy-tale atmosphere. (Neighborhood Playhouse.)

*Rollo's Wild Out,* a sprightly comedy by Clare Kummer, in which the young hero realizes his wildest ambition—and plays Hamlet! Roland Young fits the title role to perfection; his acting has the rare trait of sharing with the audience the surprise of a joke on himself. (Punch and Judy Theater.)

John E. Kellard and Company began their Shakespeare repertory in New York with the *Merchant of Venice* and continued with *Hamlet* and *Macbeth*. A thoroly entertaining and acceptable performance from all points of view. While hardly supreme Shakespeare, it is nevertheless no second class production. (Manhattan Opera House.)





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# The Independent

December 18, 1920

## The New Germany

Some Personal Impressions

By Hamilton Holt

I had intended to go on to Italy and not to Germany when I left Paris to visit the American Army on the Rhine, but everyone at Coblenz told me that I ought to visit unoccupied Germany without fail as the Fatherland would never be again what it is today, whereas Italy in all probability would be much the same five or ten years from now. I did not know how the German people would treat Americans, and as I had my two daughters with me I did not want to take any chances. But I was assured by many friends who had recently been across the Rhine that the German people were showing every consideration to foreigners and were especially cordial to Americans.

We therefore decided on Germany, deferring the visit to Italy to some future date.

I had hardly set foot in Coblenz when it was evident that all the bitter hatred that the Germans had for England during the war had now turned to France. The feeling between the French and Germans was worse than at any time during the war. France has historical reasons for not trusting Germany. Germany had before the war almost twice the population of France and was progressing much faster in industry, wealth, power, and numbers. But now that France is victor the whole situation is changed. The English army at Cologne is being reduced so fast that today there are actually fewer English troops on the Rhine than Americans. When England and America withdraw, France is apparently the only power ready and able to occupy the entire Rhineland. France, therefore, becomes the very visible symbol to all Germans of their defeat. France, moreover, is the one nation that is insisting on the heaviest reparation from Germany. I was told by several American officers that the French and Germans are so much on each other's nerves that there is continual friction wherever the two populations meet. The in-

cident the other day where the French raised their flag on a national holiday and a German soldier climbed to the roof and pulled it down, is only one of many typical examples. France, in that instance, demanded an apology by a salute to the French flag. But after the salute was sullenly given the German soldiers marched off singing "Deutschland über Alles." That kind of an apology only made matters worse.

The United States and Germany still being technically at war with each other, neither the American Embassy in Paris nor the State Department in Washington would issue passports to Germany. Consequently we had to avail ourselves of General Allen's good offices to get our passports visé for Berlin by the American army and the German civil government in Coblenz.

We left Coblenz in the evening and found ourselves on a train which was in better condition than any of those we encountered on the French side of the Rhine. Despite the fact that under the terms of the armistice Germany had to deliver a vast quantity of her rolling stock and general railroad equipment to the Allies, her transportation system is the best to be found in any of the nations engaged in the war except England's.

On the train we were pleased to find that both officials and passengers were courteous, and we arrived in Berlin the next morning on time. We took a rickety automobile at the station to the Adlon Hotel, where I was advised to stop. It was as luxuriously appointed an hotel as one could find anywhere in any country,



Wide World

Many of the underfed German children would actually starve if it were not for American relief agencies, such as the Society of Friends, which gives 650,000 meals a day to the neediest children in Germany. But tho this food will sustain life it gives less than half enough nourishment for normal development



and was occupied mostly by German profiteers and foreigners, among whom Americans seemed to predominate. With the exception of one or two breakfasts when we could not get butter or milk, we had just as good meals as one could procure in New York, Chicago, or San Francisco. Of course we had to pay prices that only the very richest Germans could afford; but even so, the exchange was so much in our favor that we managed very well on less than \$1.50 per meal apiece. Before I left Berlin I wondered that the German people had not mobbed the Adlon Hotel, for in a country where no one except a millionaire can afford to buy sufficient food to keep himself in a normal healthy condition, it must be galling to see a lot of foreigners and swinish German profiteers gorging themselves with food and wine. I never would have gone to the Adlon if I had known what kind of a place it was and what kind of company I was keeping.

We were in Berlin only five days and a good deal of our time was spent in the usual sightseeing. But I did have time to talk with many men of many shades of opinion. I mention particularly the American newspaper correspondents, who seemed to be an ultrapro-German lot. We also lunched with the American "Consul" and the Chargé d'Affaires at the Embassy. Technically, we have no consulate or embassy in Berlin. But actually we have them functioning pretty much as the peace relations had been reestablished. Ordinarily our officials conduct their business directly with the German Foreign Office, but on formal occasions they present their communications thru the Spanish embassy. I had a most interesting interview with President Ebert, to which I shall devote a subsequent article. I also had interviews with several of the outstanding officials, Socialists and professors.

The food situation is better than at any time since the war. The crops are more abundant this year than ever. But even before the war Germany had to import enough food to supply 7,000,000 of her population, and this of course was accomplished by exporting manufactured goods. But the destruction of foreign markets during the war, and the demoralization of industry, especially the fall in the exchange value of the mark, have made it impossible to import the raw materials with which to manufacture. The result is that many factories cannot be reopened and much labor is still unemployed. Thus while the crops are better in Germany than in previous years, the manufacturing situation is slowly getting worse, and there does not seem to be any immediate prospect for a change for the better. The whole situation is aggravated by the fact that Germany, which is one of the richest coal countries in the world, has to surrender as part of her indemnity to France so many tons of coal that there is neither sufficient coal left to keep the houses warm in winter or to adequately supply her manufactures that are running.

The great mass of people cannot earn enough to buy what food is needed. The professors and the salaried classes are in the most pitiful condition of all. Whereas the wages of a university professor, for instance, may have gone up 70 per cent, the

cost of living has gone up 1200 per cent. I called upon a famous theologian who looked as tho he might be actually starving. Many, I am told, have so depleted their systems that when any disease or ailment comes it carries them off. We spent one morning visiting the children's food stations and maternity hospitals supported by the American Society of Friends. I wish every American could see the wonderful work the Quakers are doing. Such sights as I saw I shall never forget.

There were children who looked six years old who were twelve. I saw two-year-old babies that looked two months old. I was assured that 90 per cent of the children in Germany born since 1914 have rickets. Many children are still-born as the mothers literally cannot give them life. The American Friends give 650,000 meals a day to underfed children. This means that 650,000 children get one fair meal a day, which consists of 600 calories of food value. A growing child ought to have at least 1800 calories per day. The American Friends Relief Mission, which has its headquarters at Philadelphia, pays for all the overhead and has given several million dollars in addition, but most of the money spent under their direction comes from Mr. Hoover's committee.

The Mission attempts to relieve as far as it can all German cities of over 50,000 inhabitants. It has from twenty to twenty-five volunteer American workers and about 20,000 German workers who are giving full or part time to the work. It has 3392 stations in eighty-eight cities. Only children between two and fifteen years old are fed and of these only those recommended by Government physicians after a medical examination. There is of course no distinction made on religious, political or economical grounds.

In addition to the children, mothers are selected by medical examinations and fed for limited periods before and after childbirth. I sampled some of the meals, which consist of cocoa, sugar, flour, peas, beans, rice, lard, and condensed milk, and found them excellent. In short these good Samaritan Americans are really doing a wonderful work and all Germany gratefully acknowledges their devotion and humanity.

The German people are still wearing their old clothes. I was told by one reliable authority that half the German people have not money to buy underclothing. I myself saw a number of barefooted

men walking on Unter-der-Linden, the Fifth Avenue of Berlin. I saw women on the street with shoes, but without stockings, and when we went into the houses we frequently found the servant girls going about their tasks barefooted. I should think half the school children are barefooted and many wear sandals with wooden soles instead of shoes. Open the shirt front of any schoolboy and the chances are you will find no underclothing.

There are two misapprehensions about the Germans that the American people should dispel from their minds at once. The world has for the present at least no reason to fear German monarchism or militarism. While there is of course an active, but small, monarchist and militarist party, militarism and Kaiser- [Continued on page 410]



A GERMAN CARTOON ON THE FRENCH INDEMNITY TERMS

France: What can I do with this German Michael? If I destroy him he cannot pay me; if I let him live he will eventually destroy me



# One Man's Secret of Success

By Edwin A. Alderman

President of the University of Virginia

THOSE who are friendly and those who are unfriendly to the administration of Woodrow Wilson are one in the belief that it constitutes one of the great historic epochs in American history. Libraries and legends will grow up around its achievements, its vicissitudes, its policies, its triumphs and its defeats. It met the greatest shock and sustained the heaviest strain yet put upon the machinery of democratic society. In the complexity, vastness, and difficulty of the issues—domestic, foreign, military, social, and reconstructive—which have faced it and demanded treatment by it, it has no equal in the story of the Republic. As the healing years pass by all citizens will come more and more to have interest, curiosity, and pride in the men who had charge of affairs and bore the burdens of this heavy time.

David Franklin Houston, at present Secretary of the Treasury, and for seven years Secretary of Agriculture in this administration, is one of the strong and faithful men of the era who deserves the attention and gratitude of his fellow citizens. He is the sort of man the nation has need of, and should know more about. Of Scotch ancestry, of southern birth, in the prime of vigorous life, bred in the school of simple living but fighting his way to the highest training in the best schools, and becoming himself a great teacher and administrator, Secretary Houston illustrates in his equipment and personality precisely the type of leader democracy is searching for at this present moment.

From his graduation at Harvard in 1891, thru all grades of educational service to the presidency of two great universities—Texas and Washington—Houston has presented an almost perfect example of the man who knows and yet the man who does things. Houston is not an orator, nor a mob-master, nor a political dramatist. His first concern is to know accurately the thing he is to deal with; his second concern is to state it persuasively and clearly; his third is to put the matter into action and pass on without a flutter or a whoop to the next logical step and the next insistent task. I know of no man whose "durable satisfactions" in life, as Mr. Eliot happily calls them, arise more completely from fruitful achievements set afoot, firmly based on solid foundations. With the possible exception of Herbert Hoover, it may be doubted whether there is a man in our country who understands the economic structure and needs of the present disorganized world more accurately than David F. Houston. His management of the Department of Agriculture, during the past seven years, illustrates very perfectly the essential qualities of this far-seeing and capable man.

Houston is not a farmer. He is a combination of statesman, economist, scientist, business man, with a passion for democracy and an understanding alike of



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Paul Thompson

David Franklin Houston, Secretary of the Treasury

its sources of strength and of the perils that surround it. He beholds the most vital thing in a nation's life—the soil that produces the food that feeds the millions—in its infinite relations to an orderly society, to self government and to liberty. It is interesting to note how unheralded and unexploited he has carried forward his great task in the tremendous test to which agriculture has been subjected in the War of the Nations.

Of course, this quiet and steadfast mode of progress is due partly to the temperament of the man and partly to the fact that the very word agriculture with its connotation of peaceful labor and fruitful yielding and waving grain

somehow fails to quicken the pulses and stir the blood of men. Men will shout over a victorious skirmish on a battlefield in Mesopotamia and remain unmoved at the story of a record wheat crop on the western plains that preserves the existence of nations. President Wilson has described the Department of Agriculture as "the greatest practical and scientific agricultural organization in the world," and so it is. It is perhaps not extravagant to say that this Department touches the business of the nation at more points than any other two departments combined. A successful Secretary of Agriculture must, therefore, be a great business man, understanding and promoting production and distribution in their relation to world trade, rather than a bond issuer or a promoter or a banker or a fiscal expert. With its sixteen great divisions, not to mention its coöperative work with the colleges of agriculture thruout America, the Agricultural Department administers thirty laws as follows: The animal and plant quarantine, the meat inspection, the twenty-eight hour, the virus serum toxin, the food and drugs, the seed importation, the game and migratory bird laws, the laws appropriating money for the land-grant colleges, including the Hatch, Adams, and the agricultural extension acts, the laws relating to National Forests, those involving the marketing and distribution of farm products, including the cotton futures, the grain standards, and the warehouse, and the Federal aid road acts; and the Secretary is a member of the Rock Creek Park Commission, the National Forest Reservation Committee, and the Council of National Defense. Its regular budget is \$37,500,000, and in its coöperative service assisted in expending nearly \$1,000,000 in the year 1919-20.

So smoothly and efficiently have these undertakings gone on under his guidance, and so naturally have great new constructive legislative measures made necessary by the world's war needs and the nation's war needs been correlated to the productive agencies of our people that men have not been aware of their magnitude and have accepted them as they do the beneficences of nature, the [Continued on page 407]



# Sisters Under Their Skins?

By Chester T. Crowell

Illustrations by W. C. Morris

**A**BOUT six months ago the editor of The Independent asked me to write my impressions of Eastern women, comparing them with the women of the Southwest, especially Texas, which was my home until a year ago. I have written that article half a dozen times. After allowing each article a few days "to cool" I read it with horror and promptly tore it up, then burned the scraps. Writing about women is a perilous adventure. You may write about men and safely admit that they have a few faults. You may even make fun of those faults. But if you utter anything about women which is not soothing to their vanity—well, women are not certain to understand generalities. It is personal to them. As I write this article caution whispers in my ear that I am sealing my doom. My few women friends will say: "So that is what he thought of me! The beast!" I am also mindful of the fact that in the East one is not always seeing "Eastern women." Some of them are from Texas. So this article is about women in the East rather than Eastern women. Nevertheless, if I am to write about women I shall write frankly. Writing to please is time wasted.

There is a very apparent difference between the women of the larger cities along the North Atlantic coast and the women of the Southwest. It is, at first, startling. If the impressions of my first month in New York City had been written they would have been very unfair. Perhaps they are not entirely fair yet. I was unprepared for such contrasts. Eastern men and Texans are not very different, and this made it the more difficult for me to understand at first how the women could be so extremely different.

I had heard that many Eastern women smoked and I have not the slightest objection, tho most Texans would object. The big surprise for me was to learn that so many Eastern women drink intoxicants. So far as my observation goes a majority of Eastern women object vigorously to prohibition. In the Southwest about 99 per cent of the women favor prohibition with drastic enforcement. The women wear their dresses shorter in the East than in the Southwest. There you have a combination of three facts which startle anyone from an inland village, whether in Texas or elsewhere, in this Puritanical country of ours.

It was easy for me to understand why there is so much ranting and raving about the "modern women" ruining the country.

People with small town ideas come to large cities and draw false conclusions. They have lived in communities where no decent woman smoked, very few drank even beer and all avoided anything unusual in attire lest it be construed as an advertisement of their lack of morals. I know that type of small town citizen very well. He is one



My first stenographer was an elderly woman who was very watchful of my health

of the reasons why cities are growing so rapidly. People like to get away from him, and his snooping wife and his meddling old maid sister. To him a woman with bobbed hair is a fit subject for police investigation. He has always been worried about other people's morals and he always will be. He has been deploring the frivolity of the age ever since the pyramids were new. But I must confess that I have lived in the environment he created and the change was startling. I was almost alarmed. I hoped that personal liberty and individualism were not being perverted into license. I need not have worried, because they are not. These queer looking girls with kalsomined and varnished cheeks and lips redder than blood, these girls with bobbed hair and open work stockings and short dresses, who look you straight in the eye without the slightest shyness, are very busy attending to their own affairs.

I have observed them at the beaches this summer. They swim well, they know how to handle boats, they are the healthiest looking women I have ever seen and I am willing to place a wager they are the best looking women on earth. I have heard it whispered that some of them play their phonographs in their summer cottages and dance in their bathing suits. Shocking! Thrice shocking because I have been too busy all my life to learn to dance.

Shortly after my arrival, when I walked thru the lounging rooms and corridors of hotels, I was startled into staring at women sitting with legs crossed and their limbs showing to the knee. The first thought that entered my mind was that they were unconscious of the exposure and that perhaps I ought to call their attention to it. I experienced a number of very embarrassing moments. I am willing to admit that I was the "hick" complete. I had never seen so much bizarre clothing nor evidence of such lavish expenditure for adornment. Women have loved pretty clothing since the world was young. They love pretty clothing in the Southwest; but in the East millions of them are abject slaves to clothing. One of my first conversations with an Eastern woman brought out this point of view very clearly. She was a matron of thirty-five with two children. She told me of the engagement of a man of whom she did not approve with a beautiful girl whom she liked very much. She was resentful because the man had offered this pretty girl dresses, jewels and an automobile as the principal inducement. Her position was that no woman could resist such temptation and that it was wicked and unfair for an undesirable man to take advantage of a girl in this manner. Evidently, her idea was that offering such things to a girl may properly be classed as a polite form of abduction. It did not occur to her that any woman could reasonably be expected to resist regardless of the debit side of her suitor's ledger.

New York, however, is not a fair test of the East because in matters relating to the fair sex, Manhattan is



There is a type of woman at large in Manhattan who will probably not be found anywhere else on earth



a separate nation unlike even Brooklyn, much less Philadelphia, Washington or Boston. There is a type of woman at large in Manhattan who will probably not be found anywhere else on earth. She drinks to excess, smokes to excess, regards midnight as the very beginning of the evening, tells indecent stories and enjoys hearing them, would willingly starve to wear expensive clothes, fawns upon money regardless of its source and is fascinated by the successful gambler, takes it for granted that life consists of a war of wits between the sexes in which neither side is expected to be either fair or chivalrous. Her one ambition in life is to make men spend money foolishly. Her behavior is precisely that of the most sordid creature, yet she wishes it understood distinctly that she is virtuous and "a lady." Oddly enough she prospers in Manhattan. She is a complete mystery to me. She is not very numerous, but she flaunts herself to such an extent that she is a well recognized type. I wonder that men pay any attention to her at all. The woman of the streets is bad enough, but her counterfeit is certainly worse by quite a wide margin. She stands out so prominently that no treatment of this subject is complete without mentioning her, but I gladly hasten on to another type that I did not know existed and that I very much admire.

I am thinking of the young woman who worked before she was married and made nearly as much as her husband. Now that the high cost of living has caught them in its vise she cheerfully goes to work again. She and her husband live in a tiny apartment with a kitchenette. On her return from work in the evening she hastens into this kitchenette without even changing her clothes. Forty minutes later there issues from this tiny room a meal that is wholesome and beautifully served. Then she and her husband wash the dishes. Ten minutes later the dining room has again become the drawing room. Husband and wife go out to a show or to dance or find the entertainment that pleases them. They are partners in business and in the home. They are as happy as children on a picnic. Sometimes they have a child or two and in spite of all the difficulties they manage to provide for the care of them. I marvel. I cannot understand how they do it, with no negro servants. Most of these couples, however, have no children. As I observe them I lose all interest in preachments on the subject of race suicide. These people are in cities which have made absolutely no provision whatever for children. In such places it is just as well not to have children. They are doing the best they can to surmount the difficulties which confront them and to win happiness. I have seen a dozen or more of such couples succeeding. Most of them have some definite aim in view. They are striving to break the chains which bind them. Words cannot express my admiration for these energetic, cheerful, prettily dressed and charming women.

Energy is a trait of the women of the East which quickly impresses the visitor. In most parts of the world it is the privilege of women to be as lazy as they wish.



Our office relations in Texas were based primarily upon the fact that we are men and women. . . . None of us ever thought of entering an elevator until all the women were in

There are wasters of time and money here also, but they are not idle. They work hard at the business of wasting time while Texas women of their type let the time waste itself.

Eastern women are wonderful housewives. They manage to get system into their work and eliminate the drudgery. They are thrifty, close buyers, and rather remarkable for their ability to save money. Many of them have budgets for household expenses and a certain amount of each month's income goes into the bank.

The woman who works is more efficient in the East than in the Southwest. She has also overcome one of the century-old weaknesses of the sex by learning to be punctual. Her business-like attitude toward business interests astounds

me. It is totally different from the office atmosphere to which I am accustomed. While the accepted point of view in the East is rapidly gaining ground in the South and Southwest, it has not yet won a complete victory. Our office relations in Texas were usually based primarily upon the fact that we were men and women. From the president of the company to the office boy, we opened and closed doors for the women of the office, just as we would in our own homes. None of us ever thought of entering an elevator until all the women were in; we always removed our hats in the elevator. A man would use the same tone of voice toward his stenographer and his daughter. I know at least a few offices in Texas, where a man would probably not be permitted to remain if he neglected "Please" and "Thank you" in giving orders to the women under his direction. So far as I have been able to observe, an efficient office in Texas would compare favorably with any efficient office in New York. But, in some offices—especially among the older men, the office-force becomes the business family. Not only the employers, but the men and women in the office become very close, loyal friends. Many of the older men feel that they are the guardians of the young women in their employ and there is a tacit agreement on that subject. If one of the young women were going to be married, she would almost certainly make an occasion for her employer to meet the young man.

I have two friends who are law partners in Texas. They are about fifty years of age. Their stenographer has been with them many years and is about the same age. She is a widow. They bought her a home and she repaid them on the installment plan. When her boy finished high school they sent him to college. Her relation to them is plainly that of a sister. When they are guilty [Continued on page 408]



There is a type of small town citizen to whom the woman with bobbed hair is a fit subject for police investigation



# Master Workshops of America

A Series of Monthly Articles Written from a First Hand Survey of Big Business Enterprises That Have Given the United States the Name of the Foremost Industrial Nation of the World

## The Largest Corporation in the World

By Edward Earle Purinton

**T**O be a better worker and a bigger man; the secret of getting ahead is merely the science of doing these two things at once. A great corporation is the greatest demonstration of the force and the fulfilment of this ambition.

The world's largest business concern is the United States Steel Corporation. That makes it the world's largest school of industry, efficiency, economy, safety, concentration, coöperation, ideation, will and character. If you want to know the rules and rewards of life—learn them from the leaders of an industry like this.

Personal talks with Judge Elbert H. Gary, chairman of the U. S. Steel Corporation, and other high officials, careful study of the literature describing their corporate activities, and finally a visit to their model plant and town at Gary, Indiana, made very clear to us the interesting and inspiring lessons to be gleaned from this branch of "Big Business." A few, condensed, are these:

1. *The power of a single man to dominate the world.* Here is the evidence that a bobbin boy, earning \$1.20 a week, with no capital but his own head, heart and hands, grew to be not only master of the steel industry and the second richest man in the world, but also the material creator of the first billion dollar corporation ever conceived. If any young man with an overtowering ambition finds the road hard before him, let him for encouragement read the history of Andrew Carnegie and U. S. Steel!

2. *The commercial, intrinsic value of a colossal dream.* Imagination is the parent of production. A young western lawyer, doing corporation work and training himself to vision corporation possibilities, dreamed of a giant steel merger big enough to insure wholesale economies in securing and handling raw materials, with all departments so highly specialized as to obtain maximum efficiency, all waste eliminated, all markets of the world open to the supreme buying

power of the master corporation, and all employees benefited by a new standard of wages, dividends and opportunities.

The young lawyer was Elbert H. Gary, now famous thruout the world as head of U. S. Steel, business philosopher, protector of industry, sponsor of a modern school system, arbiter of the destinies of the million people who depend on U. S. Steel for support. His great idea made him great. He didn't have the capital to form the merger, but he did have the courage, faith, tact, shrewdness, zeal, persistence, to hold and shape the tremendous idea for capitalists to develop later.

3. *The reward for the capacity to seize an opportunity.* The only man able to finance the corporation that existed merely in the brain of young Gary was J. P. Morgan. There were two things to sell: the Gary plan, which had no proved value, and the Carnegie outfit of steel properties worth about half a billion dollars. Mr. Morgan didn't want either. Various attempts by Mr. Gary and Mr. Carnegie failed to induce Mr. Morgan to act. Then a social dinner was arranged, whereto Mr. Morgan was invited, and whereat Charles M. Schwab was asked to speak. Now Mr. Schwab is a word-painter as well as a business-builder. He painted the steel company of the future in rosy colors, on a background of solid earth.

The idea was "sold" in that half-hour speech. Mr. Morgan paid Mr. Carnegie some \$492,000,000 for the Carnegie interests—and it is rumored he said later he would have paid a million more if necessary. The world's record of salesmanship, for both size and speed, was thus made by Charles M. Schwab at the rate of a billion dollars an hour! The real "captain of industry" was first a major-general of opportunity.

4. *The necessity of acting regardless of public opinion.* The formation of the much-maligned and little-understood "Steel Trust," capitalized for approximately a billion and a half dollars, gave the croakers, "experts," and wiseacres a chance to prophesy a quick and mournful doom for so ambitious an enterprise. Because it hadn't been, it shouldn't and couldn't be. Gary, Morgan, Schwab and the others concerned figured that, because it should be, it could and would be! If you want to prove the pessimist a fool, you have but to point to U. S. Steel.

5. *The necessity of acting regardless of public interest.* Having the power to be autocratic, these men were democratic. They held the interests of customers and employees paramount with those of the highest officials. They determined to reduce the relative price of steel products, and did so. They decided to give their employees a share of the profits in good times, but not to cut wages in hard times. They made corporation profits so attractive that over a third of the men who toil in the mines, mills and furnaces are stockholders,



These are some of the houses furnished by the United States Steel Corporation to employees at Gary, Indiana, practically at cost. They are modern, comfortable, livable, in every way



along with the directors. They cast off the old secrecy and suspicion that formerly surrounded big enterprises, opened the books to the public, esteemed and invited the confidence of everybody. They prepared a system of cost sheets, by which they knew the exact cost of operating every mine and furnace, and from which they saved \$4,000,000 the first year in the blast furnaces alone. They put a staff of chemists to work redeeming waste, one of the new commercial products developed thus being phosphate fertilizer made from open-hearth slag, another being Portland cement made from blast slag. They conceived and equipped a museum of safety appliances in the New York office, where hundreds of employers and factory, mill and mine heads have learned how to save life and health for hundreds of thousands of employees in other lines of trade.

The five lessons named above might be extended to five hundred.

What is the first thing that impresses you when you enter an office, a factory, a store, a bank, a church? Is it the wealth of the institution, or the size, or the gloss, or the system, or the power? These things are all secondary.

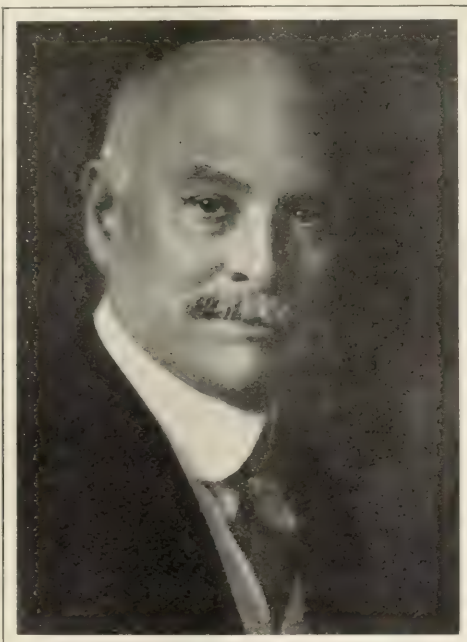
People marvel at the size of U. S. Steel. But the spirit seems to us more impressive than the size, more worthy of being mentioned first. A profound optimism animates both leaders and workers. By "profound" I mean optimism based on facts instead of feelings—a rare sort. Events have with such uniform regularity justified the Gary predictions that their author is deemed by many a scientific prophet—which appears, but is not, a contradiction of terms. History furnishes the key to prophecy.

A wholesome respect for work seems to pervade every shop, mine, mill and office. Men are ashamed here *not* to work. The highest positions are open to the men serving in the lowest jobs. The man who does the best and gives the most has the best and most of the company's rewards. The two former presidents, Schwab and Corey, started at the bottom and worked up—all the way up. James A. Farrel, now president, was at first a laborer in a wire mill; but after he had learned to build up sales for one of the steel companies of \$90,000,000 a year, to carry in his head all the details of freight rates and steamship facilities for the entire globe, and do other little jobs like these, the directors thought it was time to make Farrel president. Judge Gary says: "The U. S. Steel Corporation has made efficiency the one standard by which continuance of employment in its plants is determined." High production based on a square deal is the result.

Working and living conditions and surroundings are exceptionally favorable, attracting a better class of employees than would naturally gravitate to mines, mills and furnaces. The Steel heads were among the first large employers to discover that a heavy pay envelope is not the only magnet to draw a select grade of employees. Young fellows of good families or critical associates didn't want to be seen going to and from work in the rough, grimy clothes of the mine or mill worker—they preferred to get a "respectable" job in some little office or store, even for less pay. To counter-



One of the hundreds of afternoon and evening classes of the Americanization Schools maintained by the United States Steel Corporation, with the purpose of saving America from "illiteracy, idleness, irresponsibility, anarchy and mob rule"



Judge Elbert H. Gary, the Chairman of the United States Steel Corporation, the largest corporation in the world

act this tendency, the corporation built for each mine or mill a large "comfort room," with washbowls, shower baths and lockers, enabling every worker to come and go in his street garb, changing clothes at the start and close of the day, and looking, feeling, acting clean, when he returned home. A symbol of the spirit of the organization is the presence of flower gardens near the walks and lunch places of employees in the yards of most of the steel plants.

The corporation goes even further, in demonstrating the psychology of surroundings. The tiled floors of boiler rooms, for example, are kept immaculate. The tools are in their places. The machinery, dark and ugly for the most part, is concealed so far as effective operation will permit. The cotton waste, rubbish and litter found in most plants of this kind is noticeably absent. Oak tables furnish handsome receptacles not only for

utility articles, but as well for brass jardinières and fragrant flowers. Make a worker proud of his environment and you tend to make him proud of his work—a stimulus that everybody needs.

Wages are the highest paid. When some of the independent companies, rivals of the U. S. Steel, have been tempted in times of business depression to reduce wages and "liquidate labor," they didn't dare because of the example of Judge Gary, who kept on paying top-notch wages and insisting that capital, not labor, should bear the brunt of hard times. Even when U. S. Steel was unable, temporarily, to earn its usual dividends, the workers received their usual pay. Loyalty has been further increased by the fact that the lowest classes of labor have always gained most by the periodic wage advances.

A cardinal principle, worthy of emulation by all business concerns and private citizens, may be stated thus: *Be fair to the other fellow first.* Illustrating this precept, Judge Gary declares: "Every employee should have the chance to progress from one position to another, depending upon his merits. We make it plain to our men that they all have a clear field for the development of their maximum [*Continued on page 412*"]



# Unemployment, Now and Past

By Talcott Williams

UNEMPLOYMENT to the number of 1,500,000 is "estimated" by newspapers and trade journals. This is inevitably a guess rather than an estimate, but, if not now reached, this number of men and women is likely to be out of work before January is over. Those not at work vary greatly among trades.

The wool, cotton and silk mills have had wide shut-downs. Carpets vary less, year by year, than dry goods in general and, when one of the two largest mills in this country found practically half its year's weave on its hands, thru cancellations, it shut down until it could market these goods. Wools, silks and cottons have to be sold at once. Wool has fallen to one-third its price a year ago and as woolen mills have heavy stocks facing a like fall in woolen goods, they shut down, beginning last June. So of cotton. Iron and steel are at full tide of employment and nearly of price; but the users of steel and iron—tool-makers, agricultural implements, automobiles, building hardware, face heavy cancellations and an abrupt suspension of exports and there are shutdowns here. Building began to revive in November—tho this trade has a seasonal shrinkage in winter and building disputes over wages, hours and, more serious, a drop of over one-half in efficiency have made very serious inroads on employment. High freights and the high cost of crates have made it impossible to ship Fall fruit, particularly apples, and this outlet for casual labor has been closed. Miscellaneous trades have especially suffered, as these feel economies early. The war greatly increased the volume of freights, swelled the numbers of those employed by railroads, trucks and in freight-handling at depot or wharf, and here there has been a reduction severe but inevitable. The discharge of clerical force comes last just as its employment does when revival begins, and lay-offs have begun in this field.

The demobilization of an army everyone notices and awaits, but for every one of the 4,000,000 in line at the close of the war there was an invisible 8,000,000 extra men keeping the home-forges and other furnaces and fires burning for the men at the field. In all, between November, 1918, and June, 1920, about 8,000,000 men and women, with a large share of youth, had to seek a new job, simply because the war was over.

"Unemployment" even to the number of 1,500,000 cannot be attributed merely to the deflation of prices, otherwise beneficent, and the general pause in business when from sheep-fold and cotton-field to the retailer in a country store prices are falling and profits shrinking as inventories are revised for a drop in prices of one-half and over. "Excess profits" have had a big gouge taken out of them. Many a manufacturer, jobber, merchant, agent and retailer as he comes on December 15, 1920, to pay his income tax and his 8 per cent tax on "excess profits" which he thought he had made as he reckoned up his business for "1919," finds that he has no money left to pay his last quarter of these two taxes and quite unable to go on manufacturing with his high raw materials until prices rally again or reach a stable level on which he can depend and obtain the credit to buy raw material.

Two factors give this country an advantage in "unemployment" over Europe or the rest of the world. Our industrial population is quick, mobile, intelligent, newspaper-reading, hunts new jobs and is not afraid of moving as is the laborer elsewhere. Second, the number demobilized here, relative to population, is far less in proportion than in any other belligerent country. England is swept by mobs of men who have left the army or lost the jobs war

brought, who are seizing halls and public buildings for shelter and commandeering food. Parliament is hastily passing a measure which proposes to give relief to the unemployed now and provide in the future for "unemployment."

Of all the terrors, the disasters and the burdens of labor "unemployment" is the worst. It is limited as to fields of employment. The farm has little unemployment and the country always needs men to work. Great strata of the employed are always on the pay-list. This is true of a large portion of the salaried, of many professional men, teachers and those who fill the ranks of personal service. A barber can always get a place, but places find it hard to keep barbers. Printers are in constant demand. Nor, even now in widespread unemployment, is any maid-servant hunting a job.

No class, however, suffers more in times of "unemployment" than clerks, the selling force and those whose work is wanted most in days of activity, as, for instance, delivery men in our large cities and the odd-job or supernumerary men in all shapes. These are the first to be stranded by the ebb of labor.

The investigation conducted in England in 1910-11 showed that taking trades as a whole, covering all those that were organized, and deducting every absence, unemployment, sickness and all, men, good, hard-working, steady men, on the average, had in any year only forty-two weeks of employment out of fifty-two.

The neglect to cure this evil is a scandalous evil, all things considered the worst indictment and condemnation of our industrial machinery. Insurance against unemployment has been urged over thirty years. Germany began it a generation ago. The public employment agency does something to meet unemployment, but not enough. More, much more is needed. The measure now before the English Parliament proposes, when men are out of work, useful and needed public works, school-houses, roads, improving lands, building, both for housing and general communal ends, all intended to benefit both the community and the "unemployed."

No social reform is more needed than this. None is more difficult to propose, to plan and to put into practical working shape. No remedy has yet proved successful or adequate.

## We Answer a Conundrum

IS diplomacy more like fire or water? Fire, of course. How do we know? Well, pour oil on water and you calm the waves; pour oil on fire and you get a furious blaze. Now take a look at China, Mesopotamia, Mexico, Southern Russia, and the other oil producing countries!

## The All-American Political Eleven

NOW is the time of year when these "dopesters" the sporting editors look back upon a finished football season and select their "All Star" elevens. The men selected have never played together and perhaps would not play together so well as a team of lesser ability which had been drilled into a single machine. In the same way, if we select an "all star" cabinet eleven it might not operate as harmoniously as a group of more ordinary men whose minds would "run willingly with" the President and their colleagues. But if an all-star cabinet were politically possible whom should we pick?



Our captain and quarterback will shortly be selected by vote of his college (the Electoral). "Uncle Warren" Harding, the Ohio veteran, is slated for the job. But the other ten positions remain to be filled. The greatest public interest attaches to the responsible position of full back, for which we need a quick, alert, experienced Secretary of State not easily rattled by rooters in the bleachers or by the wily tactics of opposing European teams. If merit alone could assign the post we would unhesitatingly award it to "Tommy" Wilson, the Princeton star who scored more touchdowns during the past eight years than all the diplomats of Europe. But as Tommy was knocked out in the Election Day game, Captain Harding had better choose from the Republican squad that foxy and cool-headed marvel "Eli" Root who played so brilliantly on Captain Ted Roosevelt's championship team a few years ago.

In the half-back positions, where they can throw the weight of the nation's economic resources to any beleaguered department of the Government, stand the Secretary of Commerce and the Secretary of the Treasury. For such posts we should have experienced business men who are accustomed to take a broad view of the needs of the nation. Such noted cracks as Frank Vanderlip, "Hank" Davison, Dan Willard, and Tom Lamont would be satisfactory in either position.

The two "guards" of our national safety are, it is needless to say, the army and navy. "Black Jack" Pershing or "Len" Wood as Secretary of War and Admirals "Billy" Sims or "Brad" Fiske as Secretary of the Navy would bring expert knowledge and fighting spirit to their bucking any hostile line.

At the pivotal position of center we have the Attorney-General, pouncing on the lawbreaker and charging ahead with the full force of the Federal team behind him into every public menace. Weight, experience and training would suggest that colossal Yale champion, "Big Bill" Taft; but some would prefer a lighter and scrappier man, such as "Featherduster" Hughes of Brown.

As for those who "tackle" the problems of developing our national resources, the Secretaries of Agriculture and of the Interior, it is agreed by all that "Herb" Hoover, the California star, would be worthy of either place. If we assign him to the Interior we could let some agricultural expert, such as "Farmer" Bailey from Cornell or "Doc" Ladd of North Dakota have the other post. Bailey is especially good on "field" play.

Now at the "end" we come to two posts hardest to fill; the Postmaster-General and the Secretary of Labor. It has been suggested that some big publisher, such as "Cy" Curtis of Philadelphia, would know more about postal affairs than an inexperienced politician suddenly lifted into the post. As for Labor, if the team is to represent all parties the Socialists might stake a claim to the place on behalf of that lanky proletarian guy "Gene" Debs. But old Sam Gompers undoubtedly represents a larger body of labor sentiment and we all know that he is a clever and cautious player with many triumphs to his credit.

Perhaps you think you could make up a better All-American eleven. Very likely you can. Try, anyhow, and send in your line-up at once to the Cabinet Contest editor.

## Does Prohibition Prohibit?

FOES of prohibition say that you can still get the hard stuff; only, of course, it is ten times as hard to locate, ten times as expensive and ten times as bad when you get it. This reminds us of a parable.

Sultan Abdul Inbadd wearied of peace and called in his Vizier to ask what nation he might go to war with next. The Vizier cogitated. "You might try the people of Tigeristan. You used to fight the people of Catistan, and I assure you that the Tiger-folk are only ten times as numerous, ten times as well armed and ten times as warlike." Somehow the remark of the Vizier abated the warlike ardor of Sultan Inbadd and he turned to easier and less expensive occupations.

## How to Review Books

By Preston Slosson

THERE is an impression abroad that the book reviewer is an efficiency demon who with one glance at the title page, the publisher's "blurb," the preface and perhaps the last page can dispose of any book sufficiently for the purposes of a review. Just as a competent restaurant chef can cut a tiny chicken into forty chicken sandwiches, so can an expert reviewer cut an afternoon into forty book reviews. But those who think this way do not reckon with the natural laziness of the reviewer. Once he gets started on a book his temptation is to keep on reading for his own pleasure at far greater length than the needs of his review would justify. Just put yourself in his place. There is a tantalizing detective story in your hand and a typewriter at your elbow. Stern duty whispers: "You've read quite enough to give the main idea of the story and tell whether or not it is any good. Drop the book and write your review." Inclination whispers in the other ear: "Just one more chapter . . . and then just another . . . and so on to the end." Which whisper would prevail with you?

The gambler keeps on playing when he is in luck to reap the full advantage of his winning streak; he keeps on playing when he loses in the hope that his luck will turn. So the reviewer, unless he is exceptionally conscientious or is paid by space rates and is very hungry, keeps on reading an interesting book for the pleasure it gives him and keeps on reading a dull book in the hope that it will become interesting by an' by. Now this is scandalous inefficiency, to read three hundred solid pages and then be compelled by the inexorable laws of space to condense your comment into thirty words. But it is what happens when a literary-minded man is ill-advised enough to start in the book reviewing profession. We only state this method of reviewing (our own) as a warning.

Really scientific book reviewing is itself divided into different schools. The Nil Nisi Bonum School simply copies the blurb on the slip cover. This not only makes it unnecessary even to open the book and thus run the temptation of reading it, but makes it certain that the review will contain nothing which the author and publisher do not wish said. It has always appeared to us, however, as a bit un-

## The Line Up

Cyrus <sup>o</sup> Curtis	Herbert <sup>o</sup> Hoover	General <sup>o</sup> Pershing	W. H. <sup>o</sup> Taft	Admiral <sup>o</sup> Fiske	L. H. <sup>o</sup> Bailey	Samuel <sup>o</sup> Gompers
		Warren <sup>o</sup> Harding				
	Frank <sup>o</sup> Vanderlip			H. P. <sup>o</sup> Davison		
		Woodrow <sup>o</sup> Wilson				



sportsmanlike; like shooting birds in the nest. It gives no scope to the creative imagination.

Then there is the Vivisection School, created by the British quarterly reviews, which aims to give the greatest possible pain to the author. It skims a volume of poems to find the worst stanza and then prints that with ghoulish glee. It looks thru a history to find an inaccurate date or a misreference with which to blast the author's reputation. Level mediocrity is its despair, but a rich and radiant badness its delight. Irony, sarcasm, parody, burlesque, mock admiration and downright denunciation are the methods it relies on for effect. Sometimes these weapons are wielded with sufficient skill as to amuse the reader, at least if the reader is able to turn his mind from the thought of the unhappy author or if he dislikes the author anyway and delights to have him skinned alive.

Let us not omit to mention the Discursive School. G. K. Chesterton is its best-known exponent in England and he has many American followers. This school treats a book as a minister treats his text; it is a point for departure. Suppose that Shakespeare's "Julius Cæsar" were freshly from the press and given to a reviewer of this school. He would begin a thousand word review somewhat in this fashion:

Will Shakespeare, who put Stratford on the map, has turned his attention recently to Roman history. Finding that he had exploited to the full the early English kings, or at least had exhausted his somewhat scanty knowledge of this field of history, he was wise to seek a subject where Plutarch can give him a plot and plenty of material for the "incidents" which he handles so deftly.

And, indeed, there may be a weightier reason for this regilding of the ancient gold of Rome. Can any man advance far into the historical drama without desiring to experiment with the most dramatic figure in classical history? Cæsar is an enigma to us. Was he the superman in very deed, or but a clever politician with a gift of military strategy, as remote from true greatness as an accidental gift for playing chess? Or was he a tool of destiny, a child of the Fates, commissioned to turn the swift current of Roman life from a republican to an imperial channel?

Then there is the Propaganda School. It takes life and even literature seriously and is furious with any author who writes a book which does not further the One Good Cause. Suppose the book in question were Browning's "Ring and the Book." Propagandists of various persuasions would comment:

It is pitiable to see how a brain like Browning's is caught in the trap of bourgeois ideology. Not one reference to the need of Socialism to cure such slum-tragedies as the Pompilia case can be found from cover to cover.

The only true poem is the lyric. The wings of Pegasus are bound to grow weary in long flights. Mr. Browning's poem is too long to be classed as a lyric and should therefore have been written as a novel.

With so many interesting modern topics to handle, it is unfortunate that Mr. Browning should have to grub in the dusty annals of medieval Italy for a subject.

It will be noticed that all critics of the Propaganda School quarrel not with the failure of the author to accomplish his purpose, but with the purpose itself. They are like a sporting editor who when asked to comment on Babe Ruth's ability as a ball player should write: "Baseball is a much inferior game to cricket, and Mr. Ruth is wasting his time on a game which can never bring genius to full fruition."

Of course we have the Ready Label School. Perhaps it is the commonest of all. The reviewer of this type saves brain fag by drawing on a ready stock of phrases to meet every situation. Anything by Shaw or Chesterton is "brilliant and paradoxical." Anything in free verse is "daring." Anything from Russia is "a rebuke to our prudish Anglo-Saxon Puritanism." Any interesting book cannot "be laid down until the last page is finished." A scholarly book is always "by perhaps the greatest living authority on his subject." It is almost as easy to write this way as to copy the publisher's announcement after the fashion of the Nil Nisi Bonum School already mentioned.

In a spasm of reaction from the Ready Label School we have the Original-If-I-Die-For-It School. Its aim is to shock the reader. When Shaw insisted that Bunyan was a greater dramatist than Shakespeare he wrote in the spirit of this school, but many have gone beyond his conservatism. It is not strange nowadays to pick up a literary paper and read such phrases as: "Amy Lowell, probably the greatest epic poet since Blake"; "the insufferable tedium of Dumas"; "Henry James's too sensational detective fiction"; "O. Henry's self-evident superiority to Hawthorne"; "the Irish wit of Robert Burns"; "Homer's complacent Philistinism contrasting with the rakish Epicureanism of Sophocles"; "almost as theological as Karl Marx."

What is the moral of it all? There isn't any. The reader, if he is a born bromide, will surely join one of the above-mentioned schools as soon as he starts reviewing. If he is an independent thinker he will create his own school and it would be impertinent to offer him advice.

## After You, My Dear Austria

How very polite Uncle Sam is to stay out of the League of Nations until even his enemies have entered!

## Good Precedents

THE most just reproach brought against the Democratic Administration of the last eight years was the inferior quality of its personnel. Still in common justice to President Wilson we must not forget that the dark sky of administrative mediocrity had some very bright stars in it. If President Harding will guarantee all his Cabinet as able as Secretary Lane, all his foreign ambassadors as efficient as Brand Whitlock and all his Supreme Court appointments of the quality of Justice Brandeis, we will be more than content.

## Traitors to Cornell

By Edwin E. Slosson

CHILDREN often turn out different from what their parents intended. Institutions generally do. A non-partizan movement is quite sure to end up as a political party. An anti-fraternity club becomes a fraternity. A church founded as a protest against ritualism will be found in the course of time to have a ritual of its own. A religious order based upon poverty and universal charity may ultimately become wealthy and selfish. A charitable or reform foundation sometimes results in perpetuating the evil it was designed to eliminate. If one endows a chair to teach a particular doctrine he may safely surmise that a later occupant of it will be advocating the opposite.

This irony of history is strikingly shown in educational institutions. Most of the Oxford colleges and public schools were endowed to give poor boys a chance for schooling, but they are now noted for their exclusiveness and expensiveness. And the university that Ezra Cornell founded is turning out just the sort of young men that he most particularly detested. Nine prominent members of the present senior class have issued a pronunciamiento demanding the immediate limitation of the number of women students and their ultimate expulsion on the ground that coeducation is a failure. They are especially disgusted at the women students because they presume to cheer football games, sing Cornell songs on New York ferryboats and get in on the college publications.

Now if, as they allege, there is danger that Cornell is getting too big why not raise the intellectual requirements? If, for instance, "the gentlemen's grade" of C were made a flunking instead of a passing grade the opposition to coeducation would very largely disappear. If, however, the authorities went farther and restricted graduation to those



who could maintain a standard of scholarship equal to that now required for admission to Phi Beta Kappa, Cornell would virtually cease to be a coeducational institution, tho not in the sense desired by the signers of the anti-feminist manifesto.

In his latest report Dean Thilly despairingly asks "whether the faculty ought not to consider the advisability of protecting the inexperienced freshman against the temptation to regard study as a mere unpleasant incident of his academic life." He calls attention of the fraternities to the fact that universities were established for scholastic aims and he even ventures to say:

The notion ought not to gain ground that only a few peculiar and freakish persons are expected to take the academic tasks seriously while the normal and healthy minded are here chiefly to shine in extra-curricular activities.

I know these young fellows, not these nine, but their like, for I have met them in various universities, including Cornell. I remember sitting with a group of them on the porch of their luxurious fraternity house and asking them what were their real objections to the presence of the co-eds who, it seemed to me, were harmless, well-behaved creatures on the whole, some of them even pleasant to look upon. My inquiries were answered with the delightful frankness of young men when they know that there is danger that what they say may appear in print. "Just look at 'em," said one, pointing to a passing pair of girls; "see how they dress—and how they do their hair!" I looked and saw the point. The two gowns together obviously did not cost as much as my friend's suit; one of them, I suspect, was home-made and made by one who was more interested in other things than dress. Their hair looked all right to me, but I recognized that it had not had the advantage of a \$25 permanent wave.

"Their hands are the worst," chipped in another. "It makes me sick to look at them in class, all red and rough, and their finger nails unmanicured." I glanced at his own hands. He had reason to be proud of them. They seem never to have handled anything rougher than a silver fork or perhaps a tennis racket, and the nails had a gloss that is hard to get for love or money. Now that he mentioned it, I did remember seeing the marks of toil upon the hands of some Cornell girls. Housework cannot be handled altogether with gloves and certain of these co-eds, as I knew, had worked hard to send their brothers to Cornell and longer yet to get a chance to join them. More than a fifth of the Cornell women have to work their way thru college, some at quite menial occupations, such as waiting on table or teaching. Of course a wealthy fraternity man would not want to associate with working girls, at least on the campus.

"The girls get more than their share of prizes and positions wherever they have a chance. It isn't safe to leave anything to open competition any more," was another common complaint. This, I found on investigation, was quite true.

"Why do you shut out the co-eds from your parties and import outside girls?" I asked.

"Because the girls here are too bookish to talk to," was the answer. I felt the force of the objection for I had been reading the president's reports, which year after year confessed the failure to bring up the grades of the fraternity men to equal those of the men who lacked the advantages of fraternity life. It was esteemed a triumph if in any year their examinations showed that they knew 72 per cent of what they were supposed to know.

Such was the substance of several conversations at Cornell a few years ago and I presume reflects the psychology of those behind the present movement. They hypocritically vociferate their loyalty by "I yell Cornell," but the spirit

of Cornell has departed from them. "That long-whiskered old goat" is the way those who enjoy his bounty refer to one of the foremost of America's educational statesmen. They would eliminate his effigy from the center of the university seal, but still more do they desire to get rid of the motto engraved on the rim of the seal: "I would found an institution where any person can find instruction in any study." Or at least they would move to amend by inserting after "person" the words "of the male sex and with not less than \$150 a year to spend on tuition."

What Mr. Cornell wanted may be seen from his words:

I hope we have made the beginning of an institution which will prove highly beneficial to the poor young men and the poor young women of our country.

Cornell University did so serve the country and still does. The present reaction arises out of its former success. It proved so beneficial to poor young men that it made them rich old men and their sons, the rich young men, came to Cornell, from which they would now exclude the poor young men and especially the poor young women. The number of women students is now limited to one thousand, less than one-fifth of the entire student body. One would think this proportion too small to alarm the aristocratic misogynists.

Of course they will not succeed. Coeducation is not a failure. On the contrary it has gained ground continually. About 96 per cent of the elementary education, about 90 per cent of the secondary education and about 85 per cent of the higher education of the United States is now carried on in coeducational institutions. There is hardly a university in the country, except Princeton, and the Catholic institutions, that do not admit women in some degree. Europe is beginning to adopt coeducation in the new system that is growing up after the war. Now that even Oxford has freely opened her doors to women it is no time for Cornell to close them.

Not all are suited for coeducation. There are certain young men in all our universities who are not fit associates for decent girls. There are certain girls who study best when segregated. But most young people are the better for mingling at work as well as at play. The new psychology shows the great danger of the isolation of the sexes during adolescence. "Single men in barracks don't grow to plaster saints," says Kipling. Sometimes "single women in barracks do grow to plaster saints" unfortunately, for plaster saints are not so much needed in this world as normal wives and mothers. Our educational method is too artificial anyway and should not be made more unnatural than it need be.

In 1872 when Mr. Sage founded the Sage college for women at Cornell he took the bold step with courage and hope—but with certain misgivings. There was one point on which he feared that feminine education might fail. But he did not want to endanger the experiment, so he put his forebodings in a sealed letter and enclosed it in the cornerstone of Sage College. When that stone is opened his message to posterity is likely to prove laughable. For all the published prophecies of the dangers of allowing the female sex to enter our schools and colleges have turned out to be nonsense. Chief among the objections was that the presence of women students and the employment of women teachers would make the American youth effeminate. Instead it seems to have had the contrary effect for this has been the Athletic Age *par excellence*. American college men hold most of the world championships and the World War showed no deficiency in manliness on the part of those who had been taught by women and had even studied with them.



# The Story of the Week

## President Wilson's Message

ON December 7, President Wilson sent his message to Congress. He did not read it in person, as has hitherto been his custom, since his physician thought it inadvisable for him to make a long public address at present. The message was almost wholly devoted to the problems of economic reconstruction after the war.

The President's first specific recommendation was for the prompt enactment of the Budget Act, which failed of passage earlier in the year. President Wilson vetoed it because it gave to Congress instead of the President the power of removing certain officials, but in its revised form it is satisfactory to him.

The President congratulated the nation on the marked improvement in Federal finances. The receipts for the fiscal year 1920 show a marked advance over the previous year and the expenditures a corresponding decline, and the gross public debt has been reduced by over two billions. "The cessation of the Government's borrowing except thru short term certificates of indebtedness has been a matter of great consequence to the people of the country at large." He pointed out that seven and a half billions of the war indebtedness would mature within the next two and a half years and that "the fiscal program of the Government must be determined with reference to these maturities." He urged economy and condemned "practices which take money from the Treasury by indefinite or revolving fund appropriations." He called attention to the "extraordinary burdens thrown upon the Treasury by the Transportation Act," which have "seriously limited the Government's progress in retiring the floating debt." He defended the income and excess profits taxes, but admitted that "the need for their simplification is very great," and intimated that the Secretary of the Treasury and the Commissioner of Internal Revenue would make recommendations on this matter.

With respect to other questions of the hour, President Wilson urged more adequate facilities for the care and treatment of those disabled in the Great War; spoke of the necessity for encouraging the manufacture of dye-

stuffs and other chemicals; called attention to the need of legislation regulating cold storage, and suggested that "goods released from cold storage for interstate shipment should have plainly marked on each package the selling or market price at which they went into storage"; recommended a system of Federal licensing for corporations engaged in interstate commerce, and declared that the time had come for giving independence to the Philippine Islands.

President Wilson made no reference to the still unratified Treaty of Versailles or to the League of Nations. He spoke in general terms of foreign affairs and declared it to be the "manifest destiny" of the United States to champion the principle of democracy thruout the world. Specifically, he urged a loan to Armenia, the expenditure of which should be under the supervision of a commission from the United States.

## Harding Speaks in the Senate

THE first day of the winter session of Congress was signaled by an address from President-elect Harding. This was the first time in American history that a man has been chosen directly from the Senate to the Presidency and therefore the first time that a President-elect had a right to address the Senate as a member of that body. Senator Harding paid a brief and tactful tribute to his colleagues and to the spirit animating the Senate as a legislative body. He avoided controversial topics and outlined no political program, but he expressed the hope that the present session of Congress would not content itself with marking time when so much work remained to be done:

Three months of the present Administration remain, and I would have the House and Senate join cordially in making them fruitful rather than wasted months. There is so much to be done, and we have already had so much of delay, that I should like unanimous recognition that there are no party ends to serve, but precious days are calling for service to our common country.

Senator Harding's address was warmly applauded by Senators of both parties and all factions.

In a subsequent interview with newspaper men Senator Harding said that he had not yet offered any cabinet position to anyone. He forecasted an early special session of the new Congress and thought that the revision of the tariff and of the Federal taxation system would be dealt with. He announced his intention of retiring from the Senate early in January, when the new Republican Governor of Ohio would appoint Senator-elect Willis to succeed him for the rest of his term. With respect to foreign affairs he remained steadfastly non-committal.

Altho Senator Harding's advice to Congress seems to have been nothing more than a general permission to "go ahead," this is not without importance. The present Congress is not the Congress which was elected last month, but the one which was elected in November, 1918, before the armistice with Germany had been concluded. Its popular mandate has been weakened by time, by changed circumstances and by the new election and there has therefore been a feeling in some quarters that it would be enough to pass routine appropriation bills this winter and wait till the newly elected Congress took office before tackling important or novel legislation. President-elect Harding seems willing that the present Congress shall do all it can without waiting for March 4.



Underwood & Underwood

### DISTINGUISHED SERVICE IN SALESMANSHIP

The United States Government has awarded its Distinguished Service Medal to a civilian, Ernest C. Morse, in recognition of his work as Director of Sales in the War Department. More than a billion and a half dollars' worth of surplus property, ranging from a can of beef to an army camp, has been sold by Mr. Morse



## The Governors' Conference

At the beginning of December the Governors of the forty-eight states of the Union were invited to attend the annual interstate conference. This year the conference was held at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, and Governor Sproul of the Keystone State was host. Governors and Governors-elect from more than half the states found time to attend and a number of important addresses were made.

The chief achievement of the meeting was the preparation of a report on the financial situation of the country by a committee consisting of Governors Harding of Iowa, Bickett of North Carolina, Holcomb of Connecticut, Parker of Louisiana and Goodrich of Indiana. This report deplored "the swift decline of prices of farm commodities to far below the cost of production." It urged, first of all, that liberal time for payment be extended by creditors to debtors as "under existing conditions it would be the acme of inhumanity and of unwisdom to force any debtor into bankruptcy if by the most liberal indulgence he would be ultimately able to pay." It requested the Federal Government to create "a finance corporation of some sort that will enable the people of other lands to obtain from us the commodities they so greatly need but for which they are not able to make immediate payment." Finally it asked the Federal Reserve Board "to advise all banks to adopt a liberal policy of renewals" and suggested that, if necessary, the Federal Reserve law be amended "to temporarily supply additional currency and afford more time in which to pay to debtors in distress." This report was approved by the conference after some discussion.

## Blue Laws?

THE Pilgrim tercentenary has been marked by an attempt to revive the Puritan Sabbath. The organizations are busy at Washington, D. C., in the interest of securing Federal legislation to secure the observance of Sunday as a day of rest; the International Reform Bureau, of which Dr. Wilbur Fisk Crafts is superintendent, and the Lord's Day Alliance, whose general secretary is the Rev. Harry L. Bowlby. The campaign for stricter observance of the Sabbath, called by its enemies the "blue law" movement, has been indorsed in several states by conferences of the Methodist Church. On the other hand several Catholic and Episcopalian clergymen have preached against it. The movement has created the liveliest comment in the daily press of the great cities, which professes to fear that the Anti-Saloon League is lending its efficient machinery to secure Federal legislation with respect to Sabbath observance. The Anti-Saloon League, however, asserts that it has not taken part in any propaganda outside its own chosen field of enforcing the eighteenth amendment. It is, indeed, probable that the Sabbatarian movement is being deliberately exaggerated by the liquor forces in the hope of discrediting prohibition in a general wave of anti-Puritan reaction.

The bill which is being urged on Congress by the Sabbatarian organizations is certainly a very drastic one. It forbids any person in the employment of the Federal Government "to work or carry on his ordinary vocation on Sunday"; makes it unlawful for mail to be carried or delivered on Sunday; prohibits the carrying "as mail" of any



International

Metropolitan newspapers lately have been getting much excited over the so-called Blue Laws campaign, undertaken by the Lord's Day Alliance to restore to the American Sunday the Puritan traditions that it is a day devoted to worship and quiet. But the Rev. Harry L. Bowlby, general secretary of the Lord's Day Alliance and leader of the movement to enact and enforce Blue Sunday legislation, contends that his purpose is to make Sunday less, rather than more, blue by giving every one a chance to spend the day in orderly rest. No more Sunday work for newsboys or soda clerks or streetcar conductors or baseball players or anybody!



Kirby in New York World

The Blue Law Fanatic: "Stop shining"

"paper or publication published or purporting to be published on Sunday" forbids interstate traffic on Sunday to "any person or corporation," and provides heavy penalties for violation of the law. Senator McKellar of Tennessee was asked to introduce the bill into Congress at the December session, but he has refused to do so. Advocates of the measure say that representatives and senators from the southern states are almost unanimous in its favor and that they can count on the support of many northern Congressmen in both houses.

## Rockefeller's Giant Gift

JOHN D. Rockefeller, supposed to be the richest man in the world, has given another great fund to benevolences. This fund is known as the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial and was established in honor of the wife of Mr. Rockefeller, who died in 1915. The directors of the fund are Messrs. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Charles E. Hughes, George Welwood Murray, Starr J. Murphy and Willard S. Richardson. It has no connection with the Rockefeller Foundation and other funds established by the philanthropist, but is devoted to a large range of causes and benevolences. The largest appropriation as yet made from the fund was the gift of \$4,000,000 to the Baptist Church. Another million was given to the Palisades Interstate Park Commission, and lesser sums to charity organizations and settlements, the Young Woman's Christian Association, missionary activities and welfare funds. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., has just announced the total fund available for the purposes of the Laura Spelman Memorial as \$63,763,357.37. About \$8,000,000 has thus far been appropriated.

The total amount given by Mr. Rockefeller in benevolences to date is estimated at \$475,000,000. Since 1915 the Rockefeller Foundation has been given \$82,000,000; the General Education Board, \$70,000,000; the Rockefeller In-



stitute, \$10,000,000; the Laura Spelman Memorial, as already stated, over \$63,000,000; all this in addition to gifts made before 1915 to these funds, or to other organizations, universities and private benevolences.

## Martial Law in West Virginia

FOR several months there has been a coal strike in Mingo County, West Virginia. Recently the attempt to work the mines with non-union labor brought about disorders beyond the power of the local authorities to control. Judge Bailey of the local Circuit Court explains this failure on the ground that no emergency fund was available for the employment of extra deputy sheriffs. On November 29 Governor Cornwell issued a proclamation declaring Mingo County under martial law:

To the end that the law shall be respected and that disorder shall cease, I have called upon the Government of the United States for assistance, and until further notice the County of Mingo will be under the direct charge of the commanding general of the Fifth Army Corps area, who has full power and authority to establish peace and order in said county by such means as he may deem best in the interest of good government and the laws of the land.

Colonel Hall, commanding a battalion of Federal troops, has issued orders prohibiting public mass meetings, parades and demonstrations, and forbidding persons other than the officers of the law to carry weapons or possess explosives. The civil authorities continue to act within their jurisdiction while the military authorities undertake the duties consequent upon the proclamation of martial law.

## Shall We Bar the Gate?

IT has always been the boast of Americans that we invited the poor and oppressed of all the world to find liberty and opportunity within our borders. But the most hospitable host may be embarrassed by an unanticipated influx of guests. The United States has already passed legislation excluding paupers, illiterates, Chinese and other classes of persons who have, in the opinion of Congress, entered the melting pot more rapidly than they could be smelted into sound American metal. The Pacific coast is alarmed over a relatively small increase in the Japanese population and is demanding a general exclusion law against Orientals. Congress is even considering the total exclusion of labor immigration from Europe for two years.

The situation is this. Immigrants are now coming to the United States at the rate of about 95,000 a month, according to the United States Commissioner General of Immigration. Immigration at this rate could, perhaps, be assimilated, especially since there is also heavy emigration back to the "old countries." But passports are still ordinarily required of immigrants. This legacy of wartime conditions will soon be removed and no one knows how fast the tide of immigration will run westward if this barrier is taken down and no substitute put in its place. All that is certain

is that hungry, tax-ridden, war-stricken Europe is a place which the average workingman would be glad to leave for the comparative prosperity of the United States. American trades unionists fear that in any case there will be much unemployment this winter and perhaps for a year or two to come, and that heavy immigration at this time would overstock the labor market and force down the whole standard of living. They are therefore demanding of Congress drastic legislation to protect them against any competition with alien immigrant labor.

Representative Johnson has introduced a bill placing an absolute ban on immigration for two years with the exception of certain specified classes of aliens. These exceptions include: (1) "otherwise admissible aliens lawfully resident in the United States"; (2) Government officials and their families and attendants; (3) travelers not intending to stay more than six months in the United States; (4) students coming to "particularly designated" institutions of learning. All immigrants must obtain passports visé by an American consulate. Partial and conditional exemption from the exclusion act is also granted to relatives of citizens, naturalized citizens and aliens who have declared their intention of becoming citizens; to skilled laborers and domestic servants, and to residents of Canada, Newfoundland, Cuba and Mexico. Even with these exceptions, the proposed general exclusion bill is drastic beyond precedent and will probably be modified before it is approved in both houses of Congress.

## Argentina Withdraws

ONE of the most determined members of the Assembly of the League of Nations is the young Foreign Minister of the Argentine, Señor Pueyrredon. He brought forward four motions and when he found that none of them would carry he announced that the Argentine delegation would withdraw from the Assembly until these measures had all been adopted.

The first of the Argentine amendments provides for the election of the whole Council by the Assembly. The Covenant only allows the election of four members of the Council; the others being the representatives of Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan and the United States.

Second, that the World Court of the League have compulsory jurisdiction. This was the original recommendation of the International Conference of Jurists appointed by the Council to draft the plan for the Court and is commonly accredited to Elihu Root. But the Council in adopting the report struck out the compulsory clause.

Third, that all sovereign states recognized by the international community be admitted to the League of Nations unless they voluntarily stay out. This applies of course primarily to Germany, which Argentina is anxious to get into the League as soon as possible. But France has declared her determination to withdraw if Germany is admitted.



Knott in Dallas News



The Landing of the Pilgrims



Fourth, that small states, whose boundaries are not defined, shall be admitted in a consultative capacity but without the right to vote. This would apply to such states of uncertain status as Lithuania, Latvia, Armenia, Albania, and Georgia.

Some of the Argentine amendments would quite likely have been adopted, but the Assembly had voted to postpone all amendments until the next session when, having the proposals of President Harding before it, the League can consider the revision of the Covenant as a whole to meet the various objections brought against it. Mr. Balfour, in reporting to the Assembly the decision of Commission No. 1, not to act on any of the amendments proposed, said:

Let me say that our reason was not that we thought the pact Heaven inspired, immutable or perfect in all parts and never to be changed or modified. In many respects we felt that changes were necessary. They must and will come, but the time is not ripe yet.

The Argentinians are accused of being pro-German and of having a secret agreement with Germany to secure the speedy admission of that country. But Señor Pueyrredon denies the charge and says that his only purpose is to make the League more democratic.

Commission No. 5 has voted to recommend for admission to the League, Austria and Costa Rica, but not Lichtenstein, Ukraina and Azerbaijan. The rejection of Ukraina and Azerbaijan is possibly in deference to American opinion since the Wilson administration is so decidedly opposed to any recognition of the states seceding from Russia.

## Article X

ARTICLE X of the Covenant of the League of Nations, which was the chief point of contention in the recent presidential campaign, is causing similar trouble in the Assembly. American critics of the Covenant argued that under Article X the national boundaries as determined by the Paris Peace Conference would be fixed for all time and that the League might compel American troops to be sent abroad to defend them. On the other hand President Wilson stated to the Senatorial Foreign Relations Committee that there was no legal obligation in the instrument requiring the employment of military force by any nation and that there was nothing in Article X to prevent the transfer of territory by any means except "external aggression."

The question came up in the Assembly of the League at Geneva over the objection raised by Dr. Motta of Switzerland, that if Austria were admitted to the League it might insure her perpetual possession of Vorarlberg. This province remains Austrian under the Treaty of St. Germain, but the inhabitants are desirous of annexation to Switzerland. The question was referred to a sub-committee of Commission Five, which reported that there was no ground for the apprehension. Article X was intended to maintain the map in its present state forever. The report says:

We cannot help adding that the suggestion that admission to the League should have any such effect arises from a misconception of Article X. It cannot be too emphatically stated that Article X does not guarantee the territorial integrity of any member of the League. All it does is to condemn external aggression of the territorial integrity and political independence of

any member of the League and calls upon the Council to consider what can be done to resist such aggression.

This decision, approved by the full commission of the forty-one nations, completely confirms the interpretation of the Covenant made by President Wilson and other American advocates of the League.

Further confirmation of this view is afforded by the action of the delegates from Denmark, who favored contributing a contingent of troops to the force that the League is sending to Vilna, but said that such action could not be taken without previous approval by the Danish Parliament. This is in accordance with the position taken by the friends of the League that under the Covenant the consent of Congress would still have to be obtained for the use of American troops abroad.

Probably Article X will ultimately be eliminated altogether since it gives rise to such misconceptions and since it would be of no effect in an emergency unless the members of the League wholeheartedly supported such action. A motion to strike out Article X was made by Charles Doherty, Canadian Minister of Justice, who said:

My motion should surprise no one. It is a continuance of the old fight made by the Canadian representatives at the Peace Conference against Article X. Their protests were vain. Afterward, when the Covenant came before our Parliament, it was proposed to ratify it with a reservation on this point, but finally it was decided that Canada could do better work to get Article X removed from inside the League than by making an outside protest of this character at that time.

I am sure that the United States will see the justice of the Canadian viewpoint. In point of fact, the article is nothing but a humbug. Every one knows that it cannot be enforced. We are opposed to it on principle. It is an endorsement of the territorial lines laid down in the Peace Treaty. It is also unfair.

Canada, for instance, is like a man living in a fireproof house who is forced to take out an insurance policy like some one whose home is surrounded by kegs of gunpowder. If guarantees were necessary for the protection of nations less fortunately situated than ourselves, they might be supplied by the four big powers chiefly concerned, who are armed for the purpose sufficiently and whose interests are at stake.

Mr. Balfour, representing England, thought it better to abide by the previous decision of the Assembly not to take up amendments at this, its first session, but he added:

Personally, I am no lover of Article X. The true spirit of the Covenant resides in other articles. I do not think that Article X really matters so very much.

## Obregon Takes the Helm

GENERAL Alvaro Obregon took office as President of the Republic of Mexico at midnight of November 30, 1920. This was an event in Mexican history; for it has rarely happened that a President took office—except when succeeding himself for another term—with perfect order and legality. Provisional President Adolfo de la Huerta permitted his successor to take office with no more attempt at resistance than President Wilson will show when President-elect Harding succeeds him on March 4.

Everyone hopes that this peaceful transmission of power marks the beginning of an era of constitutional government in Mexico, but it would be premature to predict this in view of the fact that nearly every week since the provisional Government took office it has been disturbed by



International

### THE FLAG OF FREE DANZIG

The Baltic port of Danzig, claimed by both Germans and Poles, was made a free city by the Treaty of Versailles. The new flag, two crosses on a red field, is shown flying from a window of the Landehaus where the municipal parliament, the Folkstag, meets. Dr. Sahm, the former burgomaster, has been elected first president of the new state





THE ARMENIAN REPUBLIC IN PERIL

The Turkish Nationalists under Mustafa Kemal Pasha have invaded Armenia from the west and taken Kars and Alexandropol. The Bolsheviks of Russia and the Caucasus have invaded Armenia from the east and taken Erivan. A hundred thousand Armenian refugees are trying to make their way thru the snowy mountains to Batum. The American Committee for Relief in the Near East, with headquarters in New York, is appealing for funds to keep them from starving and freezing. President Wilson has accepted the invitation of the League of Nations to mediate between Armenia and her enemies. He was appointed by the Treaty of Sevres to draw the boundary of Armenia but within the limits of the beaded line on the above map. The Armenians claimed all the territory within the heavy dashed line, but the Paris Peace Conference decided against them on the ground that they constituted a small minority in the territory claimed. The Tatar republic of Azerbaijan is now under Soviet control. The Government of Georgia is Socialistic, but not Bolshevistic.

insurrections in some part of the country. Moreover, while General Obregon takes office as the direct result of a peaceful election, it may be contended that indirectly he owes his Presidency to the violent revolution by which he overthrew the Carranza Government. In Latin American countries the question of "who shall be elected?" is really determined by the previous question, "under the auspices of what party will the election be held?"

While the United States has not yet granted formal recognition to the Obregon Government, the present relation between Washington and Mexico City is friendly and even cordial and recognition awaits only the settlement of some outstanding controversies concerning American interests. Secretary Colby in a note to Roberto Pesqueira, Mexican agent at Washington, suggested that it would contribute to good feeling between the two countries if the Mexican Government were to embody in a formal treaty its pledges that Article 27 of the Mexican constitution, concerning the nationalization of natural resources, would not be interpreted in a retroactive sense to wipe out American oil and mining concessions already granted. Secretary Colby approved the Mexican proposal of "a joint arbitration commission to adjudicate the claims presented by citizens of other countries for damages sustained as a result of disorders" in Mexico. Mr. Summerlin, the American chargé d'affaires in Mexico City, attended the inauguration of President Obregon. Such an act, if not equivalent to recognition, certainly approaches and foreshadows it.

## Arbitration for Armenia

ARMENIA is now invaded by the Turkish Nationalists from the west and by the Tatar Bolshevik from the east and is in danger of losing its chance of independence. The Assembly of the League of Nations in session at

Geneva requested the Council to take action in regard to mediation in behalf of Armenia and the Council asked President Wilson to undertake that office. The President replied:

While the invitation to accept the mandate for Armenia has been rejected by the Senate of the United States, this country has repeatedly declared its solicitude for the fate and welfare of the Armenian people in a manner and to an extent that justifies you in saying that the fate of Armenia has always been of special interest to the American people.

I am without authorization to offer or employ the military forces of the United States in any project for the relief of Armenia, and any material contribution would require the authorization of the Congress, which is not now in session and whose action I could not forecast. I am willing, however, upon assurances of the moral and diplomatic support of the principal powers, and in a spirit of sympathetic response to the request of the Council of the League of Nations, to use my good offices and to proffer my personal mediation thru a representative whom I may designate, to end the hostilities that are now being waged against the Armenian people and to bring peace and accord to the contending parties, relying upon the Council of the League of Nations to suggest to me the avenues thru which my proffer should be conveyed and the parties to whom it should be addressed.

WOODROW WILSON.

Lord Curzon, speaking for Great Britain, has pledged the moral and diplomatic support for which the President asks. Denmark, Spain and Brazil have also responded favorably to the appeal of the League.

It is said that if an expeditionary force is organized under authority of the League of Nations to go to the rescue of Armenia the command of it will be offered to General Leonard Wood. Since he belongs to a nation that has no territorial ambitions in this region his appointment would not arouse the apprehension of the Armenians or the jealousy of the European powers. General Wood has had exceptional experience in campaigning in rough regions and his medical training would be of service to him in solving the sanitary problems of Armenia as it was of Cuba. The Armenian delegation at Geneva has expressed a preference for General Wood. According to the estimates of General Sir Frederick Morris, who investigated the question for the League, it would require \$20,000,000 to insure Armenia's safety and set her on her feet.

According to Article 89 of the treaty with Turkey the delineation of the southern and western boundaries of Armenia was assigned to President Wilson. It is understood that he has completed his study of the boundary question and is ready to report his decision. But since the Turkish Government at Constantinople refuses to sign the treaty of Sevres and the Turks of Asia are in revolt against any treaty at all, it is doubtful whether any action toward fixing the limits of Armenia can be taken at present.

## D'Annunzio Defiant

THE Italians and the Yugoslavs came to a compromise at the conference of Rapallo over the division of territory on the eastern side of the Adriatic. According to this Fiume was to become a free city. But Gabriele d'Annunzio, who seized the city over a year ago to prevent its being turned over to Yugoslavia according to the Treaty of London and the decision of the Paris Peace Conference, refused to accept the Rapallo agreement and declared that



Fiume must be annexed to Italy or he would blow up the city. It is understood that he has had the docks and public buildings mined for that emergency and would be quite capable of carrying out his threat.

When General Caviglia, who commands the Italian troops encircling Fiume, demanded the surrender of the city, d'Annunzio responded with a declaration of war on Italy, December 2. But no active hostilities have taken place.

The Italian fleet from the neighboring port of Pola steamed up the Gulf of Quernaro and passed the mouth of Fiume harbor as a demonstration to d'Annunzio, whose fleet consists of one dreadnought, one cruiser and four destroyers. Some of his soldiers fired at the fleet from the shore, but the shots were not returned. Another destroyer has mutinied from the Italian navy and entered Fiume harbor to place itself under d'Annunzio's orders.

D'Annunzio has some 4000 soldiers in his army, equipped with airplanes, machine guns, armored cars and gas. But the regular Italian forces form a complete cordon on the land side and d'Annunzio can only get supplies by capturing the vessels that cruise along the Adriatic shore.

The Chamber of Deputies sent to Fiume a commission of sixteen, composed of representatives of all the constitutional parties, to persuade the recalcitrant poet to submit to the Italian Government. He will be required to evacuate the islands of Veglia and Arbe, which d'Annunzio had occupied by his troops, but which have been allotted to the Yugoslavs by the Treaty of Rapallo.

D'Annunzio on his side insists that the Government he has set up, the "Italian Regency of Quernaro," shall be recognized by Italy as the free state of Fiume.

## The Greeks Recall Constantine

IN the referendum of Sunday, December 5, the Greek people voted by an overwhelming majority for the restoration of the exiled King Constantine to the throne. The plebiscite was more like a joyous demonstration than an election, for the voting was public and the voters came in processions with banners and music, casting in ballots printed with the name of Constantine.

The new Premier, Demetrios Rhallis, will soon send an invitation to Constantine at Lucerne to return to his kingdom. Altho Rhallis now appears as a supporter of Con-

stantine, he has not always been such. In 1897 when Deliyannis—like Venizelos in 1916—refused to resign the Premiership and—like Venizelos in 1916—was dismissed by King George in accord with Article 31 of the Hellenic Constitution, Rhallis was chosen Premier, for the second time. He gravely censured the then Crown Prince Constantine for his share in the disastrous war with Turkey, and it was his thankless task to bring that war to an end and save what he could for Greece out of the wreckage.

Again, in 1909, when Rhallis was Premier for the fourth time, at the time of the reforms of the Military League, he was so outspoken in his opposition to any participation by the royal princes in the military affairs of Greece that his ministry lasted only a short period.

Rhallis has occupied continuously the same seat in the Beulé of the Hellenes for something like thirty years—a remarkable record for a Greek. His political attitude has been consistently in favor of constitutional government in Greece and against such excursions into unconstitutionality and dictatorship as that lately conducted by Venizelos—however profitable they might prove, materially.

On the eve of the election the ministers of Great Britain, France and Italy at Athens called together upon Premier Rhallis and delivered a joint note of protest against the recall of Constantine. The Greek Government was warned that the financial support which Greece had been receiving from the Allies would be withdrawn in case of the restoration of the King whom they had deposed during the war on the belief that he was conspiring with the Germans. In particular they protested against the issuance of 200,000,000 drachmas of paper currency which the new Greek Government had ordered. According to the agreement of 1897 Greece has no right to issue more currency without permission of the protecting powers. The British, French and Italian Governments declare in their note that:

They have no wish to interfere in the internal affairs of Greece, but feel bound to declare publicly that restoration of the throne of Greece to a king whose disloyal attitude and conduct toward the Allies during the war caused them great embarrassment and loss could only be regarded by them as ratification by Greece of his hostile acts.

This step would create a new and unfavorable situation in the relations between Greece and the Allies, and in that case the three governments reserve to themselves complete liberty in dealing with the situation thus created.

In an interview immediately after the receipt of the three-power note Premier Rhallis said:

The note came as a surprise. In it the Allies say they do not wish to interfere in our internal affairs. Then I should like to know what are they doing now by sending such a note.

The Allies say they are painfully surprised by such events. What events? It is merely that we held elections, in which the people expressed their will, and that is what elections are for. The Allies pushed Venizelos to hold the elections, altho the royalists opposed them.

By the election the people have shown that they want Constantine. They also gave Venizelos his political death blow, burying him in a huge tomb of unfavorable votes. He cannot return. The Greek people still are willing to carry out the contracts undertaken with the Allies. It is the Allies who are failing us.

The Greek army, to which the Allies entrusted the campaign against Mustafa Kemal Pasha in Anatolia, is costing them 4,000,000 drachmas a day (\$800,000 at normal rate of exchange). But the Allies will no longer feel like financing a campaign for giving more territory to a King whom they distrust. In fact, they may feel safer with Smyrna in the hands of the Turks than of the Greeks in their present mood, so it is possible that the Treaty of Sevres, which gave Smyrna to Greece, may be revised on this point. The treaty has not yet been ratified and President Wilson has accepted the offer of the League of Nations to negotiate with Mustafa Kemal. But Kemal will not be willing to relinquish his hold on Armenia unless the Allies have something to offer him in exchange, so Smyrna may come in handy as trading-stock.



International

A MAN MAY BE DOWN, BUT—

The plebiscite held in Greece on December 5 showed an overwhelming majority in favor of the return of the former King Constantine to the Greek throne. Constantine has announced that he is ready to come back but the Allies have warned Greece that the return of the monarch whose sympathies were with Germany in the World War will be considered a hostile act and will cause the withdrawal of about \$70,000,000 in credits, chiefly French, from Greece. This photograph, one of the most recent of King Constantine, shows him in exile with his German wife, Queen Sophie, and their youngest child, the Princess Catherine



# A Little of Everything

In his recent book on "American Police Systems," Raymond Fosdick has compiled some startling figures on the difference between the crime rates of American and of British cities. Greater London in 1916, with a population of more than seven millions, had nine murder cases. Chicago, with one-third the population, had 105 the same year. This was a greater number of murders than were reported in all England and Wales. In 1917 Chicago had more murders than England, Wales and Scotland all put together.

But Chicago is not exceptional. New York had more homicide cases (murder and manslaughter) in 1914, 1915, 1917 and 1918 than England and Wales. Glasgow and Philadelphia are about the same size; from 1916 to 1918 the Scotch city had thirty-eight homicides and the American city 281. Liverpool and St. Louis are about the same size; in 1915 St. Louis had eleven times as many homicides as Liverpool. In 1916 and 1917 Los Angeles had more homicides than London; and Cleveland in 1917 three times as many.

WORLD'S CHAMPION—1940

misdemeanors and arrests. Thus in 1915 there were 838 robberies in New York City; 20 in London; 102 in all England and Wales. This difference is not wholly due to wartime conditions in England, as is shown by the fact that in each of the four years from 1915 to 1918 inclusive, New York City had from four to five times more robberies than occurred in all England and Wales in any one of the five years before the Great War.

The relative homicide rates in American cities is shown in records compiled by Dr. Frederick L. Hoffman. During the last ten years Memphis, Tennessee, has led all other cities in the United States in illegal killings. In 1919 the rate was 55.9 per 100,000 of the population; or, in other words, if you lived in Memphis for a year you stood one chance in less than two thousand of being murdered. Savannah, Georgia, had the next worst record of forty-two per 100,000. The safest large city in the United States is Milwaukee, Wisconsin, with a homicide rate of only 2.5 per 100,000. Dayton, Ohio, comes second with a rate of 2.7. The average for all the cities studied in 1919 was 9.1. Dr. Hoffman confirms Mr. Fosdick's assertions that the United States is far behind other civilized countries in detecting and punishing homicide.

This temporary monument marks the exact spot where brave Edith Cavell was martyred by the Germans on the Belgian rifle range in Brussels.

## Hexanitrodiphenylamine

This is what the Germans loaded their torpedoes with; this mixed with another explosive that does not sound quite so bad, tri-nitro-toluene, better known to the public by its initials as TNT. The mixture is 30 per cent more powerful in explosion than gun-cotton, which is commonly used. A torpedo, such as the Germans made, two feet in diameter and packed with five hundred pounds of such stuff, is sufficient to sink the biggest ship afloat. Now that the war is over—except for the United States, which does not

matter—the Germans are beginning to publish their wartime inventions. So the secret is out; out, that is, for the chemist. The layman looking at this unpronounceable name will be none the wiser, altho he will suspect that a compound holding in its cognomen nearly as many letters as there are in the alphabet would be apt to blow up with a loud bang if roughly handled.

Samuel Rzeschewski was sitting at a low table beside a window, his whole attention centered on a chess board in front of him.

The pieces were set for a problem—white to mate in three moves. It was an intricate and difficult problem and the boy, who is not yet nine years of age, was studying it with profound attention.

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then—Samuel snapped into electric life and speech.

He had solved the problem. With swift motions of the pieces he showed the necessary moves to mate in three moves. A quiet spoken kind-faced man who sat by the boy's side suggested a different defense which red could have used, but Samuel like a flash replied with moves for white which tore the red defenses to pieces and forced the mate in three.

Up jumped Samuel, stretched himself, stamped, sang fragments of two songs marching up and down. Then suddenly with a mischievous grin on his face he rushed at his secretary and

There it was that Samuel learned the game by watching his father play. He seemed to have been born an expert for he won the first game he ever took part in and his opponent was a strong player.

In addition to chess Samuel is fairly well advanced in ordinary studies and has a smattering of languages, but is not yet well versed in English. His secretary spoke for him and for the party:

"He is greater than Paul Morphy was at his age. Morphy played at eight years of age, but Samuel played at five. Yes, he has beaten European champions—well, he beat Griffith, formerly champion of England. He played a draw with Rubinstein and another draw with Bardeleben. These were all blindfold games.

"So far the greatest number of opponents he has ever encountered in simultaneous play was thirty-five and he defeated all but two of these. Ordinarily there is no more strain on him in playing chess than there would be on another boy in playing marbles. But it could easily be overdone. Samuel is in perfect health now and we want to keep him so. He never had a serious sickness in his life. This afternoon he is going out for a walk to see the city. So far he has only had a glimpse of it and the immense buildings have excited his wonder and curiosity."

A few hours after his arrival in New York little Samuel paid his respects to the American champion, Frank J. Marshall, by visiting him at his chess club, 57 West Fifty-first Street. News of his coming had gone



© Kadel & Herbert

The sculptor calls it "The Holy Family," but it looks like a goblin to us. This illustrates a new school of modeling—"Expressionism"—introduced by Zadkin, a well known futurist sculptor of Paris. He attacks his subjects directly in wood and stone: "the sensation of creation is wholly thus preserved" as it has no longer the intermediate medium (clay) to deal with. Zadkin spent some years in Russia, where, perhaps, "he got that way!"

before and there was a gathering of about one hundred players—with some of the strongest in the country among them—to meet him. Some had fixed up tests wherewith to try him out and soon Samuel was sitting in front of a problem prepared by A. B. Hodges, former United States champion. A lot of expert problem solvers had tackled this and a few had conquered it in forty minutes. It had baffled the others. Samuel gave it his undivided attention for about three and a half minutes, then made a characteristic snatch at the pieces and opened the problem up wide—a mystery no longer—solved.

Along came Herman Helms, another great figure in the American chess world and editor of the *Chess Bulletin*. Mr. Helms had a position set

up on the board and wanted to know if Samuel recognized it. Samuel had never seen this position with his physical eyes. It was one that had occurred in the middle of a blindfold game that he played in London about two months ago. He identified it immediately.

Samuel is not here seeking any championship and his games in this country against first class players will probably be few. His guardians are careful of his health and are getting him to bed each evening in good season.

## Shavings

There are 243,750 motor cars in Kansas.

\*\*\*

It is estimated that every rat in New York City consumes \$1.80 worth of food



© Paul Thompson

The nine-year-old chess giant, Samuel Rzeschewski, who has recently arrived from Poland issuing open challenge. His father, a Polish linen merchant, claims to have started it all when he taught Samuel the game in an idle hour one night when the boy was hardly five years old

seizing him by the legs exerted his utmost strength to trip him and throw him down. While bending over the chessboard Samuel looked old and careworn; but when trying to put his secretary out of business as a wrestler he was just a boy with all a boy's ambition to shine as an athlete.

Samuel is about the height of the normal nine-year-old boy and squarely built. His complexion is rather pale and his features sharp. All his motions are very swift. He seems nervous and his voice in speaking sounds sharp, querulous, thin, like the voices of some midgets. He seemed also to have midget self-sufficiency. He is well aware that he is no ordinary person. He is blasé to fame and as to newspapers and newspaper men—he is all fed up with them.

Samuel's father and mother were in the room with him, heavy, ordinary looking persons of middle age and peasant type. The father sat still and silent; the mother moved about now and then. They did not address Samuel and he seemed not to see them. The family are Polish Jews who lived in a little Polish village four years ago.



© Underwood & Underwood

Samuel is defeating nineteen army officers and professors at West Point, in his first real test in this country. He is having a comparatively easy time of it, to judge from the expressions of some of his opponents





© Kadel &amp; Herbert

## THE SEVEN SONS OF SATAN

As they look down at the night life of Paris from their perch high on Notre Dame

during the year, besides causing other destruction.

\*\*\*

One-seventh of the laborers in the United States are negroes.

\*\*\*

Kingstown, Ireland, has been renamed Dun Laoghaire by the Sinn Feiners.

\*\*\*

Spanish bull fighters have formed a union and demand a higher scale of pay.

\*\*\*

The United States toy industry is said to produce 300,000,000 toy balloons a year.

\*\*\*

Belgium has made August 4 a legal holiday to commemorate the beginning of the Great War.

\*\*\*

By use of the telegaphone a single speaker can be simultaneously heard by 150,000 persons.

\*\*\*

Harding was the seventh President to be born in Ohio; Wilson the eighth to be born in Virginia.

\*\*\*

It is estimated that the rat population of New York is about as great as the human population.

\*\*\*

A California man has married a girl weighing 725 pounds. His better seven-eighths, as it were.

\*\*\*

Maine is a great state for water-power. It has 1620 lakes and 5151 rivers and streams noted on official maps.

\*\*\*

The Pennsylvania Railroad has compiled figures to show that train delays due to car trouble amounted in one month to 3.9

minutes for every 10,000 passenger car miles.

\*\*\*

Two insane patients of the Trenton, New Jersey, state hospital were restored to sanity by pulling their teeth.

\*\*\*

In Kentucky at the recent election a prisoner in jail was elected to the judgeship of the man who put him there.

## Is Unpalatable Food Properly Digested?

Three investigators in the laboratory of Physiological Chemistry of the Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, recently put this question to the scientific test, with the result that the answer returned was "yes." The experiment was so conducted as to determine whether the ultimate return to the body from unpalatable food was different from that of the same food palatably served.

The experimental procedure was simple. A seven-day period during which the subjects were on a uniform diet, served palatably and amid pleasant surroundings, was followed by a two-day period during which the same diet was fed in an unpalatable condition and in dirty and unpleasant surroundings. The food was rendered unpalatable and unappetizing by the following treatment. All the food ordinarily used for each meal (meat, biscuits, jelly, cornstarch, pudding, oleomargarine, etc.) was stirred together in a large, flat porcelain dish. The dish itself was smeared with animal charcoal, as was the beaker used as a drinking glass. The table was dirty and strewn with dirty dishes. A little indol was sprinkled about under the table. The subjects were kept in ignorance of the constituents of the unpalatable mixture. The food was so unpalatable that one subject vomited his first meal shortly after he had eaten it.

The experiment showed that the differences in utilization of the palatable and unpalatable foods were quite small, as were the variations in nitrogen retention, but, what is more to the point for most of us, that flavor is not the outstanding dietetic asset that some people would have us believe. If the

stomach and intestines can only be cajoled into making the proper effort, the unsavory concoction can be digested just about as satisfactorily as can the food mixture which makes a stronger appeal. If the things we eat have proper food value, we need not worry unduly as to their digestion, absorption, and utilization by the normal body. This ought to be good news to millions of people who eat unpalatable food in untidy surroundings, in spite of the fact that one of our leading physiologists says "What man likes best he digests best." This experiment simply shows how insulting we can be to the normal stomach and get away with it but does not necessarily prove this to be the wisest policy.

## Harding's Newspaper Creed

*This set of rules, perhaps indicative of more than the journalistic ethics of the President-elect, is given to every young reporter on joining the staff of the Marion Morning Star.*

Remember there are two sides to every question. Get them both.

Be truthful. Get the facts.

Mistakes are inevitable, but strive for accuracy. I would rather have one story exactly right than a hundred half wrong.

Be decent, be fair, be generous.

Boost—don't knock.

There's good in everybody. Bring out the good in everybody and never needlessly hurt the feelings of anybody.

In reporting a political gathering give the facts, tell the story as it is, not as you would like to have it. Treat all parties alike.

If there's any politics to be played we will play it in our editorial columns.

Treat all religious matter reverently.

If it can possibly be avoided never bring ignominy to an innocent man or child in telling of the misdeed or misfortunes of a relative.

Don't wait to be asked, but do it without asking, and, above all, be clean and never let a dirty word or suggestive story get into type.

I want this paper so conducted that it can go into any home without destroying the innocence of any child.

WARREN G. HARDING.



Wide World

To enjoy the wonders of an Alaskan sunset from the cozy interior of a modern parlor car is perhaps more prosaic than whirling over snow and ice in a dog sled, but the completion of the new Government railroad in this country not only affords comfort to travelers but marks another epoch in the development of the far North



## One Man's Secret of Success

(Continued from page 389)

sunshine and the rain. But it is hardly necessary to point out that fundamental legislative measures like the Coöperative Agricultural Extension Act; the Cotton Futures Act; the Federal Farm Loan Act; the Federal Aid Road Act; the Food Control Act; the Food Production Act, are not autochthonic contrivances that sprang up unbidden from the soil or self starting automatic agencies that ran of their own motion. Back of them has been a patient, steadfast scholar, statesman and executive, seeing things in the large, adapting means to ends, and getting satisfaction in big results. The old days in America of the virgin soil and the big crop surplus are at an end. It is to the everlasting credit of the Wilson administration, the Congress, and the Secretary of Agriculture that they have focused their attention upon the farmer.

What Administration and what Secretary of Agriculture can point to a nobler and more scientifically conceived scheme of agricultural amelioration than that contained in the program embodied in the eight great acts herein detailed which have sustained the productive strength of the nations in a period of world collapse and promise to stand the test of years:

Federal Reserve Act,  
Marketing Investigations,  
Cotton Standards,  
Grain Standards,  
Warehouse Bill,  
Rural Credits,  
Good Roads,  
Agricultural Extension.

In all these great undertakings the quiet force of the present Secretary of the Treasury has been constantly exerted, and the actual administration of most of them has been his peculiar task. He has been with the Administration since the beginning, and I venture to predict he will remain to the end, discharging the duties of his new and more outstanding office in a financial crisis of the world with the same strength born of knowledge, and devotion born of duty, that has hitherto marked his career. Each new era in the world needs new servants, and generally contrives to find what it needs after many trials and sometimes tragic failures. There have been times when it needed philosophers and soldiers and reformers and radicals and even poets and orators and fierce idealists. It seems now to be searching for the man who can diagnose its troubles and put into play remedies for its ills. This sick world will not be content merely with a physician of impressive and loquacious bedside manner. It asks for one who looks beyond the symptoms to the causes and beyond the nostrums to the vital processes that repair and heal. Here is a man made to order for this welter in which the world finds itself—a scholar without pedantry, a man of action grounded in thought, a patriot without sham or pretense.

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These methods are combined in a dentifrice called Pepsodent. And to let all know its benefits a 10-Day Tube is being sent to everyone who asks.

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## Sisters Under Their Skins?

(Continued from page 391)

of such offenses as getting drunk they try to avoid her accusing eye in just about the same way that a bad boy would dodge his mother. If she thinks it necessary she speaks very plainly to them on the subject of morals.

My first stenographer was an elderly woman whose attitude toward me was distinctly that of a mother. She used to brag about my achievements, she was very jealous of me and especially was she watchful of my health. At another time I had two stenographers, both young. Whenever I returned from a trip it was necessary to work late the first day to catch up with the mail. The girl selected for the extra work was in high good humor for several days afterward and the other was inclined to pout. Both were careless about money. When they were unable to meet pressing obligations, they simply told me about it. They didn't ask for loans. They took it for granted that I would straighten out the affair. And I did. It never occurred to me that there was any other possible course to pursue. I know the present address of every woman who ever worked under my direction with one or two possible exceptions which are due to my own carelessness in losing their letters. A collection of wedding announcements is usually to be found in my desk because I forget my old friends' new names. While many offices in the South and Southwest still maintain such relations, conditions are changing very rapidly. Within a few more years there will be no difference between New York and Texas in this regard. Slight wonder that the "woikn goil" has become the "business woman." She has indeed. To a provincial person like myself the change is astonishing, almost incredible.

The club women of the East are very different also. They are self-confident, assertive, and far from bashful in giving an estimate of the value of their work for the public welfare. The club women of the Southwest are timid when compared to their Eastern sisters. But the Southwestern women have played their cards perhaps better than they know. They appeal to the men of influence to help them. As a matter of fact the women supply the idea and the men are induced to supply the power and knowledge of the machinery of government necessary to get results. I have observed the process with much amusement, especially when I was the person being used. The Eastern women do a great deal more "demanding" and lobbying. Which system is the more effective I do not know, but the two systems are quite different. The one goes frankly and directly to the merits of the case. The other takes advantage of our Southern tradition of chivalry.

It is my observation that the women of the East are much more outspoken, frank and direct than any other women I have ever known. However, there is a suspicion in my mind that the women of Texas and the women of the East are "sisters under their skins." Their

desires and purposes and their attitude toward men are about the same. They simply use different methods. And the drift is toward the Eastern methods. The New York woman openly announces that such is the case and therefore she will act accordingly; she looks you in the eye and asks you by inference what you are going to do about it, suggesting quite plainly that you are not going to do anything about it. The Texas woman says whatever she thinks the man believes she ought to say, but she gets approximately the same results. To put it in plain Texas terms, they both "bring home the bacon." One announces she is going after bacon; the other declares herself on the way to visit her grandmother. But they come home with the same article.

As nearly as I can judge the women of the Southwest are happier than those of the East. There is an itching restlessness about Eastern women. Some are standing just where the rural women of Texas have always been; others are forging ahead to new ideals. Their ways of doing things clash and result in conflicting points of view on the part of men. There are men who are prepared to be partners to the most advanced women of the East. There are other men who cannot judge these new ways and new ideals fairly. This places many women in conflict with a considerable part of public opinion. If I were a woman aged twenty-five and single, I should consider that I had selected a very unfortunate time to be born. There is turmoil and conflict, acute and acrimonious. Woman's position is not fixed. She is fixing it right now. The task is not one of unmixed delight.

**D**URING my first month in New York City I used to give my seat to the nearest woman I observed standing. Not one ever said "Thank you." I decided that such cattle were not worth bothering about and resolved never to give up another seat. But habit is stronger than resolution. I compromised by a process of selection, giving the seat to elderly women or women with children or bundles or to those who were quite plainly tired. To my astonishment I observed that not only these women but any others present seemed to appreciate this. After a while it dawned upon me that those to whom I had previously given my seat took it for granted that I was leaving the train at the next stop. They are not accustomed to acknowledging courtesy in the subway because there isn't much to acknowledge. And then one day I saw a man give his seat to a pretty girl and leer at her as he did so. His manner was quite insulting. Eastern women are disillusioned. They may love or honor or trust one man, but for men they have contempt. There is such a mixture of races and religions and traditions in the East that misunderstandings occur. What is accepted cus-



tom to one person is boorishness to the other, and everyone sees much boorishness—some real, some fancied. The man of one race and religion does not have quite the same respect for the women of other races and religions. He may talk about honor for womanhood but it is really a wholesome respect for the laws of the clan. You see, I am also becoming disillusioned. No wonder the women smile when some of my rural friends and I go through the accustomed motions of being "Southern gentlemen." Slight wonder that women mistake us for burglars or oil stock salesmen. From all of this medley in the East—fraught with so much promise for progress in spite of its ugly features and lunatic fringes—I turn to pleasant contemplation of the most unenlightened of the women of the far rural districts. They are imposed upon, they work too hard, they bear too many children, their husbands are not always as kind as they should be, but those women do not expect anything better. Like Alice they can weep with delight over one smile, from Ben Bolt. I doubt if a woman in New York City has wept with delight during the past ten years. They are too busy and restless and self centered for that.

Fate has played a scurvy trick on these Eastern women. The burden is upon them to bring about a mighty change. It is certain to be for the better. It may not work out just as they plan it but in the long run it will be for the better. They are saving the other women and opening the way into a broader and better life. They are going to make possible new relations between men and women, which will mean greater happiness for all concerned and a much better world in which to live. In the meantime, however, there is considerable disorder. There are women who mistake liberalism for anarchy, women who think they win a victory for their sex when they try to look and act like men, and there are other women who do the bragging for the real workers. I find the workers regard the bragging brigade as one of their principal handicaps.

But the differences between Texas and the East which are so startling today will be less startling ten years hence. With the stimulus of suffrage the more backward women will catch up. With the responsibilities that go with new powers and opportunities Eastern women will laugh the lunatic fringe out of existence. The constructive features of the new movement will remain and the effervescent will vanish. Even now much of the freakishness one observes among women in the East is furnished by women from inland villages. It is their way of registering emphatic protest against repression. They do not realize what they are doing, but that is precisely what they are doing. Just as Czarism produced a reaction of Bolshevism, so the little village with its incessant criticism of women produces the woman revolutionist whose excess of enthusiasm for liberty may make her a freak.

New York City.



## The Laziest People in the World!

"Will you row me across the river?" I asked a Malay one day. "Tuan, I have eaten and I have had plenty," he responded. "You may take my boat and row yourself across the river. Tomorrow, if Allah grants me life, and if I need the boat, I will swim over for it." "That Malay trait of living for the moment has led many a European to murder!" says CHARLES MAYER in the JANUARY number of

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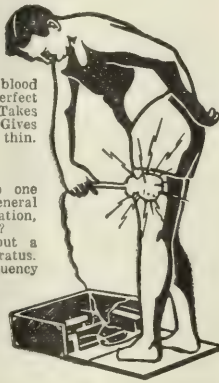
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## The New Germany

(Continued from page 388)

ism are killed as dead as a door nail—certainly for this generation. I found no one who had a good word to say for the late Emperor or the Crown Prince. Both are hated as cowards and of the two the Crown Prince is most detested. I was also told by everyone that there is not the slightest possibility of Germany's secretly re-arming herself and making war upon Europe. The Socialist Party is the only real pacifist political party in the world and it is now in supreme control. Even if the Socialists are overthrown the people are heartily sick of militarism as the failure of the recent military coup d'etat shows.

Under the new constitution there is universal suffrage for everybody over twenty years of age. Kautsky, the Socialist of Germany who most nearly wears the mantle of Karl Marx, told me that Germany now has the most liberal constitution of all the nations of the world. Not only do the German people claim that they have democratized politics, but they propose to democratize industry as well. The railroads were, of course, nationalized before the war, but now it is planned to nationalize the waterways, forests and mines. Besides this strong trend towards State Socialism, there is also a sort of Sovietism growing up within the separate units of industry. Before the war there was no political or economical self-government in all the Fatherland. Politically the Junkers reigned; economically the capitalists reigned. Before the war trade unions and the Socialists were the only forces in Germany that dared to champion the workers. Now in addition to the trade unions there are local factory unions. The twofold purpose of the act that was put into effect by the present Coalition Government last year is (1) to improve the condition of the workers and (2) to increase output. These aims will be accomplished in the following ways: In any factory from a business which employs over twenty people, the workers can elect their delegates to a council or soviet with which the employers must confer. It is the duty of the Council to help the management make the factory more efficient, to report new methods of scientific management, to prevent strikes, to enforce the arbitration laws on the statute books, to promote community of interests between employers and employees and to enforce safety devices, sanitation, etc. The employee has the right to go to the council to protest if discharged for cause. If he has been discharged because of trade union, religious, or military activities he must be reinstated. He cannot be dismissed without cause or because he refused to do work other than that for which he contracted. In other words, there must be a real reason for discharge, such as inefficiency or insubordination. If the Council and the Employers cannot agree, the dispute must go to the Arbitration Court, and if the



Court finds against the employer he is liable to pay a damage, which in the case of discharge may amount to half the employee's income for the last year he has been working.

This law has been in operation a year and is already a great success. The employers were originally terrified at its radicalism, but now their point of view has changed, and they no longer desire a restoration of their former autocratic power. It is now generally admitted thruout Germany that the worker has rights in the management of the concern in which he works, and it is expected that this statute will be put finally in the German Constitution. All these various shop councils are expected eventually to elect a Trades Council and all the trades of the land to elect an Economic Council for the Empire, to propose economic laws and advise the parliamentary government on economic matters. This National Council has already come together in a provisional form, but the matter has not yet been worked out by the Reichstag.

The movement for democracy manifests itself in many other ways. For instance Herr Sassenbach, the Socialist member of the Berlin Town Council and one of the ablest leaders of the new Germany, told me that the German Government is going to have a "social attaché," in addition to its Military, Naval and Commercial Attachés, in all her foreign Embassies and Legations. Thus the German working people will have a special official representative in all foreign countries hereafter to keep them in touch with the working people of other lands. Herr Sassenbach told me that as soon as peace was concluded between Germany and the United States he expected to be the first Social Attaché from Germany at Washington.

Another incident showing the trend towards democracy is the law now in actual practice against tips. Altho this seemed to be a dead letter at the Adlon Hotel, wherever else I went no tips were asked or taken, and when I came to pay my bill 10 per cent was added for personal service.

The deposition of the University Professor from his exalted position in the German scheme of things is another step in the leveling process. In the old days the universities were governed entirely by professors who in turn as state officials were under the direct control of the Government. Now the students are absolutely self-governing in their own affairs. They have their own eating rooms, reading rooms, apartments and offices which they manage themselves. They even have a student parliament. It is expected that they will share the actual government of the university with the professors just as the workers are sharing the management of industry with their employers.

A surprising innovation in Germany which I commend to American tenants is that no landlord is permitted to evict a tenant or raise the rent without specific governmental permission.

## News When It Is News

### On August 14th

THE NATION printed the British note to Soviet Russia outlining conditions on which it would open trade relations.

### On October 13th

THE NATION printed the twenty-one conditions for admission to the Third or Communist Internationale.

### On September 11th

THE NATION printed a message to the National Assembly of President Dartiguenave of Haiti, telling of the outrageous interference of American civil officials in Haitian financial affairs.

### On November 20th

THE NEW YORK TIMES printed the same document as a "Special to the New York Times" from its Washington correspondent.

### On November 14th

THE NEW YORK TIMES printed the same conditions, as a "Special to the New York Times" from its Washington correspondent.

### On November 23rd

THE NEW YORK TIMES, THE NEW YORK HERALD, THE NEW YORK TRIBUNE, THE WORLD, and other papers, printed an ASSOCIATED PRESS interview with President Dartiguenave which was in substance a repetition of what THE NATION had printed more than ten weeks before.

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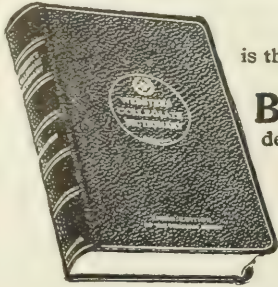
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There may be a sense of guilt on the part of the German people for bringing on this war, but if there is, I found none. They cannot understand why we should have any loathing for them. They apparently have little bad feeling for us. All they want is to forget the whole horror and start afresh as tho nothing had happened. They seem to look on the war after this fashion: War is a terrible thing. Germany had to do things for military necessity that she did not want to do. But the Allies did the same.

When an American, or a Frenchman, or an Englishman, or a Belgian thinks of Germany he thinks of the rape of Belgium or the U-boat warfare. When a German thinks of the Allies he thinks of the economic blockade which he claims starved to death or permanently injured 750,000 women and children, and of his country's betrayal at the Peace Conference when under the promise of the Fourteen Points Germany laid down her arms and then when she was militarily impotent had to accept something far different from Mr. Wilson's program. Apparently we are just as incapable

of understanding the German point of view as they of understanding ours. Moreover, they do not even believe they were the aggressors in the war. My friend, Dr. Sherwood Eddy, who probably knows more about foreign students than anyone else in America, told me that a few days before I arrived in Berlin he made an address before the student body at the University. After he had gained the confidence of his audience he asked them if they had any objection to frankly discussing the causes of the war. They told him "to go ahead," and when he called for a show of hands as to whom they thought responsible for starting the war, 90 per cent said that Russia was to blame and that Germany was compelled to fight a war of defense. This demonstrates, I think, how powerful the German official propaganda has been in fooling all the German people ever since the beginning of the war.

The wisest man that America ever produced, Benjamin Franklin, once said that "the bill for war comes afterwards." The bill is now being presented to Germany. She does not fully realize it yet; but she will as time goes on. Whether this will drive her into Bolshevism only a rash man would predict. Suffice it to say that every German with whom I conferred said that if it ever came to an issue as to which Germany would have to accept—government by Bolshevism or government by General Foch, all Germany would choose Bolshevism.

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## The Largest Corporation in the World

(Continued from page 393)

powers and possibilities. When a man has outgrown his job and we have no other suitable for him, we let him go elsewhere and bid him godspeed. Every business concern should offer his employees as many different avenues of promotion as there are different kinds of position and types of men; this regardless of the selfish interests of the company.

The generous open treatment of competitors by U. S. Steel has created a new standard of commercial ethics. The frank and courteous policy of Judge Gary toward competition has made his business rivals his personal friends—a transformation that a typical business man of a generation ago would have declared impossible. When the Government officials, claiming that U. S. Steel was a monopoly of dire proportions, went about to dissolve the corporation, they were halted by the competitors of U. S. Steel, who arose and defended the corporation as a notable example of business honor, safety and equity!

The world's leading business organization has more than 250,000 employees, with a total annual payroll of nearly \$480,000,000. The average salary or wage per employee per day is \$6.17. The volume of business averages about \$1,500,000,000 a year. In round numbers, the raw, semi-finished and finished products during last year were

as follows: 25,000,000 tons of iron ore mined; 5,000,000 tons of limestone quarried; 28,000,000 tons of coal mined; 15,000,000 tons of coke manufactured; 9,000,000 barrels of Portland cement manufactured; 11,000,000 tons of rolled and other finished steel products made—including steel rails, bars, plates, tubing, pipe, axles, car wheels, wire, wire rods and other products; 30,000,000 tons of blast furnace and steel ingot production.

The property assets equal more than \$1,900,000,000. They include items like these: 800,000 acres of coal property, 23,000 coke ovens, 1,600 miles of railroad, 356 steamers and barges, 59,000 passenger and freight cars and steam locomotives. There are 145 industrial plants, 373 steel works, 66 warehouses, 71 wire mills, 616 roller mills. A complete, itemized list of properties owned or controlled would fill several of these pages.

But we are more deeply interested in figures that show the magnitude of the conception of human relations held by the concern. We quote from the official current report. Last year the corporation expended \$1,131,446 for safety work; \$3,208,661 for sanitary equipment and appliances; \$4,267,355 for measures of accident relief. During the year pensions amounting to \$733,707 were disbursed to retired employees. Active employees—66,477 of them—



subscribed for an aggregate number of 167,407 shares of Steel stock at \$106 per share, thus putting on record the most colossal testimonial of the faith of employees in the product and the management that was ever adduced in the space of a year during the annals of business.

Industrial chemists retained by the corporation have ensured savings of millions of dollars. Electric power for operating an entire steel mill is generated from the by-product gases, formerly wasted, of the blast furnace process. Portland cement from waste slag is turned out in vast quantities, the capacity of one plant being approximately \$30,000 worth of cement a day. By-product coke ovens are saving 20 tons of coke on every 100 tons of coal burned to make it; and as 12,000,000 tons of coke are used every year in steel manufacture, the saving not only reduces the price of steel but also conserves the coal supply of the nation. These by-product coke ovens retain the gases which they elaborate, and from which are derived coal tar, ammonia, benzol and other valuable chemicals, in addition to gas for illuminating purposes, whole cities now being lighted from the harnessed fumes of a battery of coke-ovens.

The locating, interviewing, investigating, employing and training of a new man costs a business anywhere from \$50 to \$150, which amount is, of course, charged against the customer. If U. S. Steel had to break in 100,000 new employees a year because of losing that many old ones—a reasonable estimate according to percentages of turnover in other lines of trade—you can figure what the excess cost would be. Various plans have been worked out to obviate this loss. One of the most effective is the bonus on employees' stock; the corporation shares are first offered to employees at a price below the market valuation, then the employee who stays five years gets not only the regular dividends but in addition a bonus of \$5 a year thereafter on each share of stock a year. The employee thus made a partner is likely to stay and get his bonus.

The monopoly of U. S. Steel is not in market control but in management control. The corporation furnishes less than half the finished steel production of the United States.

All foreign-born workers are helped by U. S. Steel to train for American citizenship by learning to read and write good English, to discuss current events, to regard the public school building as a community center and use it as such, to attend night classes in appropriate subjects, to study at home the science of household economy and the art of child training, to observe and adopt American standards of living. The night-school enrollment in a single district averaged more than 300 a month. Visiting nurses and domestic science teachers carry the message, "America First" to the foreign women and children. Thousands of immigrants are led thru these Americanization campaigns to secure naturalization pa-



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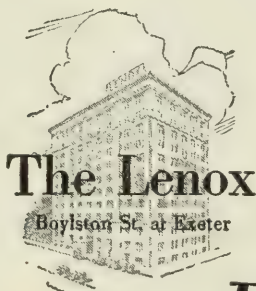
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pers and to feel, think and act like real American citizens.

Practical hygiene is made imperative. The water used for drinking purposes on the grounds of each subsidiary company must be certified pure by a bacteriological analysis, once a year or oftener. Faces and hands are washed in flowing streams, not in stagnant basins or troughs. Care and cleanliness in the home, with health conservation and improvement, are taught by precept, instruction and example. Model houses are built and furnished.

Company restaurants in all parts of the United States are conducted on a uniform, standardized basis, with specifications and requirements as follows: Location convenient to men's work; light and ventilation properly guaranteed; appearance and equipment attractive and comfortable, with sufficient space to avoid crowding; cleanliness absolute; service prompt and available at all hours, with hot drinks sure to be hot; food fresh, of highest quality, well cooked and served in an appetizing manner, with variety limited yet pleasing; prices covering actual cost only; payment by meal tickets bought in advance, to save delay and trouble in making change; management by competent person in charge, with restaurant a department of the works on the same footing with other departments.

Strong nerves and clear brains are essential to mill and factory workers; mineral salts and vitamins are essential to strong nerves and clear brains; fresh garden products are rich in these food elements, and must be supplied regularly, abundantly. The possession of a family garden also aids thrift, health and vitality, good fellowship, wholesome relaxation. The various companies provide land for community or home gardens, plow the land, lay it out in attractive plots, offer it to employees rent free, and give suitable prizes for the best gardens. The employees of one company raised in one year garden produce valued at \$25,700.

Waste land is turned into playgrounds for the children. Almost under the eaves of mills, factories and other grimy prosaic structures may be seen hosts of happy children reveling in the delights of swings, sand-boxes, slides, rings, seesaws, wading pools, and other playthings and sports that boys and girls love.

The community houses recently established are becoming very popular. They combine the functions of housekeeping, educational and social centers. The trained nurses in charge act not only as teachers and demonstrators, but also as personal friends and family counselors when problems of all sorts are submitted for solution. Classes for women and girls are held in dressmaking, bedmaking, infant hygiene, practical housekeeping, public health, art and economy of environment, the most valuable instruction being that in the choosing, preparing, cooking and serving of wholesome, palatable foods. Boys' and girls' clubs, largely self-constituted and self-governing, provide rules and ideals of good conduct.



We regard the conception, creation and operation of the model city of Gary, Indiana, as the most original and important educational service rendered the nation by U. S. Steel. Gary has become internationally famous for its modern school system, but is equally worthy of note for its modern municipal methods.

Fifteen years ago, the site of Gary was a desolate sand dune, where wild fowl resorted, and nothing grew but sage brush and scrub oak. Now the world's largest steel mills operate here, and the residential population of Gary numbers 60,000, making it the world's largest industrial city. Not only was it built "from the ground up"—it was built from below the ground, as houses are but never cities. Before anything would grow on its wastes of sand, about 2,000,000 cubic yards of rich, black earth had to be imported from Illinois, as top soil. About 16,000 trees were planted, over 1,000 homes erected, 120 miles of streets paved with concrete or macadam, and 31 square miles of territory bought and laid out for city property. The cost, thus far, of making Gary a model plant and city has been over \$100,000,000.

The first impression a visitor receives is that of a different atmosphere from other cities. The breezes from Lake Michigan, a couple of miles away, do not account for it.

Almost everybody here works, and thinks at the same time, and does both for a common purpose in a common cause. About 75 per cent. of the people are active steel workers and their families. They run the city.

The city property is about seven miles long and four wide. It was laid out with a view to both present needs and ultimate growth—250,000 people could live here and no one be crowded.

Homes are standardized but not stereotyped. There is a big difference. The homes of Gary workmen stand out as models of both inspiration and utility. They are factory-made, but they don't look it. The standardization is all inside, none outside.

Homes costing from \$1,500 to \$25,000 are built by the company, and sold to employees at a special discount, or to outside people of desirable character at no-profit prices. The company makes a small margin on business property—none on residence. Terms on homes are 10 per cent. down, and 10 years to pay balance. If the employee would rather build his own house, and lacks ready money, he can borrow from the company 75 per cent of the price of the house and lot, and besides get free plans from the company architects, with free consultation and supervision. The company has loaned to employee home-owners \$5,000,000 in the past four years.

All building plans and methods must be submitted to the company, and approved as measuring up to the ideal standards, present and future. Nobody can put up a skimpy, ugly or unsanitary building for any purpose whatsoever.

The high character of all construc-

tion work has so raised property values that city lots bringing \$100 a foot front not long ago now bring \$1,000 to \$1,500 a foot front. And the workers like the place so well, and their home investment so much, that the labor turnover at the mills and shops averages only about 15 per cent.

The conduct of city affairs is based on coöperation, sympathetic and scientific, of municipal, educational, industrial and religious forces and leaders of the community. Government is by and for the workers—free of politicians, pedants, grafters, reformers, idlers, bunglers. The aim is to combine all the advantages of public and private ownership of public utilities, and to omit all the disadvantages of both.

Public utilities are owned and operated by company, that reasonable rates and efficient service may be guaranteed not only to employees but to all citizens of Gary. The head of utilities organization is as efficient as the head of the steel plant—no tolerating of poor men in public service jobs. Gas, water and sewer pipes—60 miles of them—are laid not under streets, but under alleys between the streets, obviating necessity of tearing up streets for repairs. Water is piped from Lake Michigan, at a point three miles out for absolute purity of drinking water.

Thoroughfares are clean, attractive, spacious, with real city name and atmosphere—Broadway 100 feet wide, Fifth Avenue 80 feet wide. Public buildings are models of architecture and serviceability. Gary Y. M. C. A. is the gift of Judge Gary, costing \$260,000, equipped by Steel Corporation, with class rooms, dormitories, gymnasium, swimming pool and other educational and recreational features. There is a Gary Library donated by Andrew Carnegie; the Gary Hospital, built and operated by Steel Corporation, equal to best hospitals in largest cities; the Gary Federal Building, costing \$150,000, a structure maintained for the benefit of all the people, and eliciting their pride. Churches of all denominations are active in social service, and co-operative in educational and civic enterprises.

In short, as a peerless example of modern community growth, whether physical, financial, industrial, social, mental or moral, Gary should be studied by all educators, employers, ministers, welfare workers, municipal authorities.

## We're Sorry

We owe the University of Illinois a sincere apology, and Chicago University a retraction of unearned glory. In The Independent of November 27 we printed a photograph of the University of Illinois' new chimes and of President Emeritus Edmund Janes James, and then gave Chicago the credit for them both! The information came to us accompanying the photograph and we neglected to verify it—a mistake for which we are very sorry. We hope that this correction comes in time to ward off actual bloodshed.

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WALTER G. HENDERSON, Treasurer.

**RAY CONSOLIDATED COPPER COMPANY**

25 Broad St., New York, December 3, 1920.  
The Board of Directors of the Ray Consolidated Copper Company has this day declared a quarterly distribution of \$1.25 per share, payable December 31st, 1920, to stockholders of record at the close of business December 18th, 1920.

L. P. SHOVE, Treasurer.

**UTAH COPPER COMPANY**

25 Broad St., New York, December 3, 1920.  
The Board of Directors of Utah Copper Company has this day declared a quarterly distribution of \$1.50 per share, payable December 31, 1920, to stockholders of record at the close of business December 18, 1920.

JOHN RIDGWAY, Assistant Treasurer.

**BRONX COMMUNITY FORUM**

Auspices, The Young Democracy  
DEBATE

**HAMILTON HOLT vs. SCOTT NEARING**

Editor, The Independent The Rand School  
Paul U. Kellogg, Editor of the Survey, Chairman  
SUBJECT

Resolved: That the League of Nations will benefit the people of the United States if America joins the League.  
Sunday, January 2, 1921, at 2.30

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311 Sixth Avenue New York City

**How to Study This Number****THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS****English, Literature and Composition****I. The New Germany.**

1. Write a fuller description of the incident of the French forcing the Germans to salute the French flag. Write from the standpoint of one person in the crowd, either French or German.
2. Who was Karl Marx? Write out a general statement of his theories. What distinction are people making when they speak of "Fabian" socialism and "Marxian" socialism? Into which class do most people fall? What do you think to be the socialist theory upon which our Socialist party is founded?
3. Do you think Germany has any right to the sense of injury which Mr. Holt found existing among the people? If you think she has write out your argument. If you think she has not, refute the argument of some one in the class who disagrees with you.

**II. One Man's Secret of Success.**

1. There is surely someone in your town, whom no one knows about, whom you have particular reason to admire. Perhaps he brings your mail or tends to your garden or keeps the corner grocery. Whoever he—or she—is, write a sympathetic character sketch.

**III. Sisters Under Their Skins?**

1. Are you an ardent feminist? What does that part of you think of Mr. Crowell's article?
2. What makes the intention of this article humorous, or serious, or both? Write an essay of your own, doing for the people in your school, or your church, or your town, what Mr. Crowell does for Eastern women.
3. The intimate essay is a popular modern form of literature. Do you know whether it has always been so? Look that up.
4. Choose one of the older writers of the familiar essay, whom you think you can like and enjoy, and read as many essays as you can. When you feel thoroly at home with them, write a familiar essay about them—being critical, but not forgetting to be human and sympathetic and readably personal. Mark Twain, Stevenson, Charles Lamb—any of these would do.

**IV. The Largest Corporation in the World.**

1. Mr. Purinton gives a good idea of Gary as a model town. Look up the facts of the Gary School System, and write a clear exposition of them. If you know about any other modern experiment in education you might make your essay a comparison of the two schemes.
2. Probably you have your own ideas about the ideal educational system. Write a criticism of the system in your own town, not simply of its superficial features but of the theories that underlie it. And remember that "criticism" does not mean "attack."

**V. Traitors to Cornell.**

1. Look up the circumstances of the founding of any college you know about—the aims and principles in its founder's mind—and compare what was hoped for with what has happened. You could do it by an interchange of letters between a father and son, both alumni of the college.
2. (a) Debate the question of coeducation in general. The fairest arrangement would probably be to have an even number of boys and of girls in each team. (b) Or debate this question: Resolved, that coeducation in colleges instead of in High Schools would give the best results.

**VI. The Story of the Week.**

1. President Wilson's message. Read the message as it appeared in full in the daily papers, and criticize its literary style. Probably you can find others of his messages and addresses in your library. Read a number of them and write an essay on President Wilson as a writer and public speaker.
2. Blue Laws. Debate one of the following questions: Sunday baseball; Sunday mail deliveries; keeping open soda fountains on Sunday; Sunday traveling.
3. Write a poem with the same idea as that of the cartoon, "The Founding of the Pilgrims."
4. D'Annunzio Defiant. Read what you can find about the lives of d'Annunzio in Italy, and Paderewski in Poland, trying to get a sense of their personalities. Do you think the two have anything in common? If you do, can you think of any others to put in their class?

**History, Civics and Economics****I. The Steel Industry—The Largest Corporation in the World.**

1. What, in the opinion of Mr. Purinton, are the causes of the success of the "steel trust"? Can you name any favoring factors that he does not mention?
2. What does Mr. Purinton have to say about the labor policy of the United States Steel Corporation? Can you find in his article any explanation of the recent steel strike? What demands of labor are not met by Judge Gary's benevolent paternalism?
3. Why did the United States Steel Corporation build a new city "from the ground up" at Gary, Indiana? Study a map, paying particular attention to the location of iron and coal mining regions, rail and water routes and the neighborhood of great commercial centers. In view of these conditions do you think that Gary was a good location for a steel manufacturing center? Give your reasons.
4. What triumphs of municipal government has Gary, Indiana, achieved? What features of Gary's civic life does your town lack?
5. Write an essay showing the importance of the steel industry in peace and war. What differences do you note in the economic life of countries such as the United States, Great Britain, Belgium and Germany which have extensive resources of iron and coal, and countries such as Italy, Russia, Argentina and Greece whose iron and coal resources are relatively small?

**II. The New Germany.**

1. What facts justify Mr. Holt's title? Name as many points as you can in which the Germany of 1920 differs from the Germany of 1913.
2. Compare Germany's present form of government with that which existed up to the revolution of 1918. Do you agree with Mr. Holt that "The world has for the present at least no reason to fear German monarchism or militarism"?
3. Along what lines do Socialism and trades unionism appear to be developing in Germany?

**III. The Department of Agriculture—One Man's Secret of Success.**

1. "This Department touches the business of the nation at more points than any other two departments combined." Justify this statement from facts in Mr. Alderman's article.
2. What has Secretary Houston accomplished to further the agricultural prosperity of the nation?

**IV. The League of Nations—Arbitration for Armenia. Argentina Withdraws. Article X.**

1. What difficulties have developed in establishing a free Armenia? In what way is President Wilson able to help the Armenians now that the Senate has refused to give the United States a "mandate" over the country?
2. What amendments to the Covenant of the League of Nations have been proposed by Argentina and by Canada? What is the method of amending the Covenant laid down in the Treaty of Versailles?
3. Has Argentina "left the League" or simply withdrawn her representatives from the Assembly (hint—Look up Article 1 of the Covenant as to conditions of the withdrawal of a Member State from the League)?
4. Show how the decision of the Assembly as to the meaning of Article X "completely confirms the interpretation of the Covenant made by President Wilson."

**V. National Problems—President Wilson's Message. Harding Speaks in the Senate. The Governors' Conference. Shall We Bar the Gate?**

1. What recommendations are made in President Wilson's message to Congress? Pick out any one of these (for instance, Philippine independence or Federal licensing for corporations engaged in interstate commerce) and prepare a brief for either affirmative or negative.
2. Has the annual conference of state Governors any constitutional standing? When was the custom first established? What advantages may arise from consultations between the executives of different states?
3. Why is there a demand at the present time that Congress raise fresh barriers against immigration? What legislation on the subject would you favor?



# The Independent

FOUNDED 1848

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## I Am the Farmer By James P. McDonnell

I am the provider for all mankind.  
Upon me every human being constantly  
depends.

A world itself is builded upon my  
toil, my products, my honesty.

Because of my industry, America,  
my country, leads the world. Her prosper-  
ity is maintained by me; her great  
commerce is the work of my good  
hands; her "balance of trade" springs  
from the furrows of my farm.

My reaper brings food for today;  
my plow holds promise for tomorrow.

In war I am absolute; in peace I am  
indispensable—my country's surest de-  
fense and constant reliance.

I am the very soul of America, the  
hope of a race, the balance wheel of  
civilization.

When I prosper, men are happy;  
when I fail, all the world suffers.

I live with nature, walk in the green  
fields under the golden sunlight, out in  
the great alone where brain and brawn  
and toil supply mankind's primary  
need. And I try to do my humble part  
to carry out the great plan of God.

Even the birds are my companions;  
they greet me with a symphony at the  
new day's dawn and chum with me till  
the evening prayer is said.

If it were not for me the treasures  
of the earth would remain securely  
locked; the granaries would be useless  
frames; man himself would be doomed  
speedily to extinction or decay.

Thru me is produced the energy that  
maintains the spark of life.

I rise with the early dawn and re-  
tire when the "chores" of the world are  
done.

I am your true friend.

I am the Farmer.

From the "Star Tribune," Waverly,  
Minn.

## I Am the Editor

Let every cock crow for his own  
chicken coop. We were stirred to vindi-  
cate our own noble profession:

I am the provider of news to all  
mankind. Upon me every human being  
constantly depends for something to  
talk about.

I go forth early in the morning with  
my Hoe (press) and return late in the  
evening with my sheaves of garnered  
manuscript.

I burn the midnight kilowatt while  
my subscribers are peacefully sleeping.

I am bowed down with unending toil  
over Russian proper names. I am a  
"galley" slave. My valor and endur-  
ance are daily put to the "proof."

Even the spring poets are my com-  
panions, and they beguile my busiest  
hours with personal explanations of  
their manuscripts. My path is light-  
ened by the letters from "Constant  
Subscriber" who is breaking off a sub-  
scription of fifty years on account of  
my latest editorial.

If it were not for me America would  
be very much like Thibet, where the  
people have nothing to read but old  
Buddhist almanacs. No one would  
know that a political campaign was in  
progress if I did not point out that the  
poor old constitution stood once more  
on the brink of Bolshevism. In war I  
am accused of propaganda; in peace  
of being bought up by the capitalists.

Alas! No capitalist will condescend  
to buy me.

My dreams are disturbed by mis-  
prints; my visions of the printer giv-  
ing President Wilson of Armenia a  
mandate for America. I dread the in-  
evitable accidents which creep past the  
proofreader and brand me with "Lord-  
George" and "Samuel Yonkers." I am  
humiliated by schoolma'ams who ask  
why I split an infinitive, or use a  
preposition to end a sentence with. I  
am convicted of misquotations and sta-  
tistics with too many innocent ciphers  
on the end.

But they also serve who stand and  
get into hot water.

Business would expire without my  
advertising pages and 90,000,000 liter-  
ate Americans would also expire with-  
out my reading matter to discuss and  
cuss.

I am the Editor.

## What Are You?

Perhaps you follow a pro-  
fession almost as noble and in-  
dispensable as agriculture or  
journalism. Perhaps you would  
like to celebrate it in such in-  
spired rhetoric as Mr. McDonnell  
and ourself. If so, The Inde-  
pendent will be glad to look over  
your views on your own occupa-  
tion and award a prize, not to  
the best job (for that each of us  
has), but to the most adequate  
vindication of its worth.



# Another Whittier Poem

In the sixties and seventies The Independent had the honor of being the medium thru which John Greenleaf Whittier gave many of his best poems to the public. After his death his son-in-law and literary executor, Samuel T. Pickard, of Amesbury, Mass., used to favor us with further Whittier poems—some which he found among the poet's literary treasures and which had never been printed and others which he discovered in old magazines which had long since been forgotten by the public and not reprinted in Whittier's collected works. The last of these poems Mr. Pickard sent us just before the war. Mr. Pickard has since died. This, therefore, is probably the last poem we shall ever print from the good Quaker Poet, whose honor and fame will endure as long as the English language is spoken. Mr. Pickard's letter accompanying the poem is as follows:

This is a poem which appeared anonymously at the head of the first page of the first number of the *Boston Daily Post*, in 1831. I am confident that it was written by Whittier. He had been a frequent contributor to the *Statesman*, the weekly predecessor of the *Post*, during previous years. Nathaniel Greene and his brother Charles, who founded both weekly and daily, began their journalistic work in Haverhill, and were personal friends of the Whittiers. The first visit the young poet made to Boston was as a guest of

Nathaniel Greene, then postmaster of that city. In 1831 Whittier had become an active partisan for Henry Clay, and the Greenes as active for Jackson. It occurs to me as probable that Whittier did not give his name to this poem, because he did not wish to appear as a contributor to a Jackson paper. Indeed his name does not appear with any of the poems he had been sending to the *Statesman*, but which are recognizable by the Quaker dating and the signature "W."

SAMUEL T. PICKARD.

## Hymn to the Stars By John Greenleaf Whittier

Aye! there ye shine, and there have shone,  
In one eternal "hour of prime:"  
Each rolling, burning, alone,  
Thru boundless space and countless time.  
Aye! there ye shine, the golden dew  
That pave the realms where seraphs trod;  
There thru that echoing vault, diffuse  
The song of choral worlds to God.

Ye visible spirits! bright as erst  
Young Eden's birthnight saw ye shine  
On all her flowers and fountain first,  
Ye sparkle from the land divine;  
Yes! bright as then ye smiled to catch  
The music of a sphere so fair,  
To hold your high, immortal watch,  
And gird your God's pavilion there.

Gold frets to dust; yet there ye are;  
Time rots the diamond; there ye roll  
In primal light, as if each star  
Enshrined an everlasting soul.  
And do they not? since yon bright throngs  
One all-enlightening Spirit own,  
Praised there by pure sidereal tongues,  
Eternal, glorious, blest, and lone.

Aye! there ye roll, emblems sublime  
Of Him whose spirit o'er us moves,  
Beyond the clouds of grief and crime,  
Still shining on the world He loves.  
Nor is one scene to mortals giv'n,  
That more divides the soul and sod,  
Than yon proud heraldry of heaven,  
Yon burning blazonry of God.

Could man but see what ye have seen,  
Unfold awhile the shrouded past,  
From all that is, to what has been;  
The glance how rich, the range how vast;  
The birth of time; the rise, the fall  
Of empires; myriads, ages flown;  
Thrones, cities, tongues, arts, worships; all  
The things whose echoes are not gone.

Ye saw red Zoroaster send  
His soul into your mystic reign;  
Ye saw the adoring Sabian band,  
The living hills his mighty fane;  
Beneath his blue and beaming sky,  
He worshipped at your lofty shrine,  
And deemed he saw, with gifted eye,  
The Godhead, in his works divine.

And there ye shine, as if to mock  
The children of an earthly sire;  
The storm, the bolt, the earthquake's shock,  
The red volcano's cat'ract fire,  
Drought, famine, plague, and blood, and flame,  
All nature's ills, and life's worst woes,  
Are nought to you: ye smile the same,  
And scorn alike their dawn and close.



# The Independent

December 25, 1920

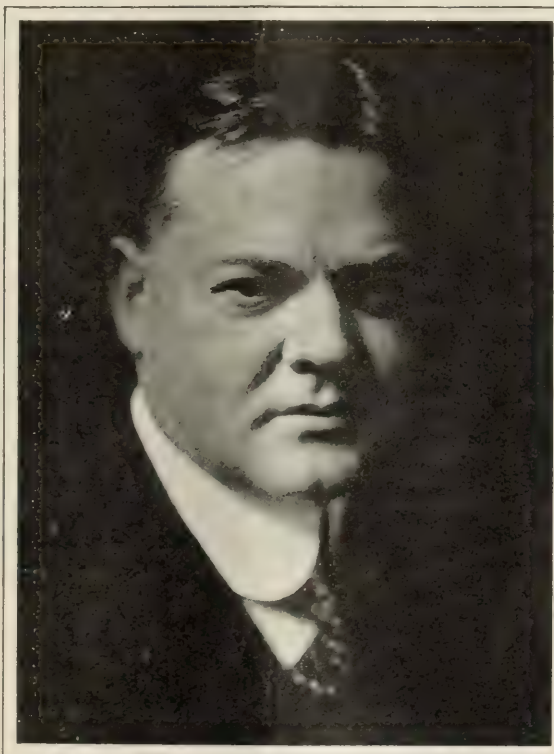
## Peace on Earth, Good Will to Men

A Christmas Message to the American People

By Herbert Hoover

THE test of idealism's worth in a nation or an individual is the extent to which the idealism becomes concrete in service. There has been a great deal of talk lately about a let-down of American unselfishness, a sort of hardening of our arteries so far as sentiment is concerned. I believe that this impression is due to two desires on America's part: first, to check up carefully our own after-the-war situation, keeping in reserve sufficient of our energies and resources adequately to meet those problems vital to the nation's welfare, such as the present tendency toward widespread unemployment; second, to make sure that, in undertaking our share of burdens incident upon the rehabilitation needs of the whole world, we shall assume those responsibilities which have the most just claim, and none that we cannot follow thru to solution. This necessity for survey and sane procedure has been misinterpreted in many quarters. I do not conceive that now, or at any other time, the American people will fail to rise and give of themselves generously in any cause that clearly deserves their support.

We have, in the peril of 3,500,000 helpless children in Eastern and Central Europe this winter, a specific opportunity to avert a tragedy that cannot be prevented except thru our assistance, and we have the stimulating certainty that there cannot be two sides as to the worthiness of so simple and humane an intervention. The task is, of course, a continuation of one which we undertook when the invasion of Belgium created the first of a series of misfortunes to great groups of children in the Old World. I assume that during the period of the war and down to date, at a very minimum, somewhere between 10,000,000 and 15,000,000



Mr. Hoover, Chairman of the European Relief Council, which is the new union of a number of previously existing relief organizations, presents the case of the needy children of Europe. "They are no more my children than they are yours. The task is creedless, raceless, bounded only by the supreme need. It is wholly out of key with our traditions that, depending upon us for elemental succor, these children should be left to death or worse thru our negligence"

children have been supported by American charity for longer or shorter periods. In the middle of 1919 the American Relief Administration alone was feeding more than 6,000,000 children.

The urgent need and our moral obligation to continue large operations grow less as the various European countries win to something like economic stability. In Roumania, for instance, we fed 500,000 children in the winter of 1919. Roumania had a harvest the following summer that gave it a food surplus and we withdrew entirely. This year Serbia has a great surplus of 2,000,000 tons and we have therefore withdrawn our contribution of supplies from Serbia.

The present emergency is indeed grave. The shrinkage of need during 1920 was much less than we had hoped. The invasion of Poland by the Bolsheviks stripped that country of vast supplies of grain and destroyed the growing crops in the areas most depended on for sustenance. Polish money will do some things inside Poland, but it is useless outside, at prevail-

ing rates of exchange, as a purchasing medium for the immense quantities of wheat, milk and fats that must be imported to carry the population. We fed 1,308,000 children a day in Poland at the height of last year's program and now, as winter closes down, the need is certain to leap hundreds of thousands past our December schedule of 900,000 daily feedings. In Austria, another economic impasse for the present at least, we are now feeding 300,000, and January will find the need increased. It goes without saying that we shall continue to support the American Quakers' work in Germany, on the premise, accepted by the bulk of Americans, that, in the saving of helpless children, we will make no discrimination between enemies and friends.



Available funds for American child-feeding in Europe will be exhausted in January, and the American Red Cross, Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and other organizations furnishing medical aid and clothing to children must have financial support at once or abandon children who are desperately needy. Before describing briefly the steps being taken to meet this condition, it seems to me worth while to explain how painstakingly the American Relief Administration has labored, not only to prevent pauperization, but to build up self-help in such form that there will be local organizations capable of carrying on the work when we are able to withdraw.

After the armistice I set up in some twelve or fourteen capitals in Europe, including those of the new nations created under the treaty, an organization of the principal people of each one of those centers. These associations combined all their existing charities and undertook the total child problem in each of the countries, with American direction over all the sub-committees. We require these associations, which extend down into the small villages, to find the whole of any local expenditure; that is, they furnish buildings, labor, equipment, clerical help, cash contributions where possible and all the local food supplies that are obtainable. We narrow our contributions to the locally unobtainable necessities, and for every American dollar used in child-feeding the peoples aided put up two dollars in one form or another. The most gratifying result of this system is that in those countries from which we have been able to withdraw the child welfare work has gone on uninterruptedly after our departure.

It is further worthy of note that not one penny of any American dollar contributed to the child-feeding will go for overhead. Using the same machinery and personnel thru which the child-feeding operations are conducted, the American Relief Administration instituted, with the generous coöperation of the American Bankers' Association, a system of food drafts, purchasable in this country and cashable on the other side in the form of basic food-stuffs. The small profits on these food drafts meet all child-feeding overhead that the Administration pays, enabling every contributed dollar to go in full for the purchase of food. Any further balances of profit are allocated to the child-feeding funds in the countries where the balances accrue.

We face, to sum up, a situation in which America is supplying a vitally necessary part of the sustenance and medical care of about



*Underwood & Underwood*

The squalid and hopeless destitution of this mother and baby in their dark Vienna tenement can be reached only by such organizations as the American Relief Council, that has behind it American minds and dollars and supplies

3,500,000 waifs, under-nourished and orphan children.

More than 17,000 hospitals, clinics, orphanages and feeding-stations depend on our support, and the children will have to be turned into the streets unless the American public responds with the needed funds. By next harvest the problem should dwindle until our obligation is small. In the meantime \$33,000,000 is required, \$23,000,000 for feeding and \$10,000,000 for medical service.

In order to coöperate both the raising of this money and its expenditure, to the end that there shall be no wastage and no overlapping, the European Relief Council has been formed, comprizing the American Relief Administration, the American Red Cross, the American Friends Service Committee, the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, the Knights of Columbus, the Young Men's Christian Association, and the Young Women's Christian Association. I was chosen chairman of the Council; Franklin K. Lane is its treasurer; and the Council's address is 42 Broadway, New York.

The view of this Council is that, until this children's relief is financed, until it can come thru the next year, all American charity save our home necessities should go to that end. It should have complete priority and is the thing that ought to be concentrated on from the American point of view. I have not the slightest hesitancy in bringing this situation before the American people. They are no more my children, as I said in a recent article on the same subject, than they are yours. The task is creedless, raceless, bounded only by the supreme need. It is wholly out of key with our traditions that, depending upon us for elemental succor, these children should be left to death or worse thru our negligence. I can think of no more wisely and humanely American thing for any man to do than to sit down and mail Mr. Lane his check for the largest amount possible.



One of the 3,500,000 helpless and needy children in Eastern and Central Europe this winter, whose peril is America's clear opportunity



# Where Do You Come In?

## Some Straight Talk to Business Men

By Chester T. Crowell

**T**HE purpose of this article, Mr. Business Man, is to spark up your thinking machine. I am not going to be so complimentary as to tell you that I disagree with what you think; I suspect that you are not thinking at all. Your conclusions will probably be something near the truth after you have done your thinking, but as I said, I have a suspicion that you are not thinking.

Some Bolsheviki and Socialists and reformers and self-styled idealists and alleged humanitarians and some dyspeptics who mistake their ailment for patriotism have been yelling at you. They have made you angry and you are yelling back at them. Let us retire from the Arena of Yell for a few minutes and talk this situation over among ourselves.

We will begin with the points upon which we can agree. We are convinced that no good will come of the abolition of private property.

We observe that no matter what label the particular trouble-maker uses, he always makes an assault upon private property.

We have examined more or less casually the remedies our loud-mouthed friends have to offer for present ills and we can see plainly that they are not remedies at all.

Now let us go a step further and say just what they are; we know they are not remedies. Then what are they? They are the hysterical protests of men displeased with the present system.

Did the malcontents found the present system? We know very well that they did not. Do they maintain it? We strongly suspect that they do not. Who then does maintain it? The men who operate it.

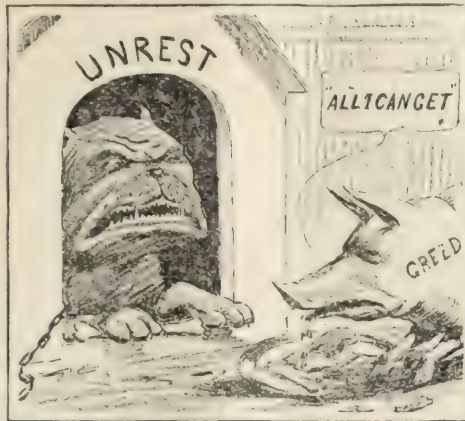
The loud-mouthed complainers do not operate this system. They are operated by the system. We do not hesitate to tell them so. And they say the same thing. But the purpose of any system is to bring order, efficiency and contentment. Is it not? If our system is not doing so then there must be something wrong either with the system or the way we operate it.

I think we are agreed that the system is all right. We believe in our form of government and we believe in private property. If the system is all right then there must be something wrong with the operation of it. That means that there must be something wrong with us, because we operate it. They don't.

These premises being true, wouldn't it be much better for us to close the door and do some constructive thinking instead of engaging in a yelling contest with the malcontents?

Since I have the floor I will speak first. I don't care whether you agree with me or not, if only you will proceed to think. I have unlimited faith in your thinking machinery, provided you use it.

You will probably recall that there was recently a war. As a result of that war, nearly every article of prime necessity became scarce. When the supply of such articles is not equal to the demand speculation



Harding in Brooklyn Daily Eagle

Beware of the dog!

enters. For several years men whose businesses were distribution have found themselves transformed into gamblers and speculators against their will. That is to say, it should have been against their will. It was not against the will of all of them; quite a number of them liked it. There has been profiteering.

I do not say that you are or were a profiteer, but you will admit that there has been profiteering in this country.

Now, let us get at the root of this hatred of the profiteer. Is it not true that we hate him because he is in business solely to make a profit? And that he wants the

largest profit possible regardless of the life and rights of any other human? Surely it cannot be true that a man is hated solely because he makes a profit. We hate the profiteer because he is a pervert, he is a degenerate, he desecrates the temple of business. But, unfortunately, when the plague spot of profiteering appears upon the body economic, men suspect that every atom of the tissue is infected.

That is the position in which you find yourself today. If you have been a profiteer, you have been tearing down our system. If you have not been a profiteer you are the victim of men who have been tearing down the system upon which your hope of stability rests.

Two tasks confront you. One is to root out profiteering to the best of your ability. It is not an easy task. Laws will probably help you very little. Some of them actually hinder. About the most valuable contribution you can make to a campaign against profiteering is not to profiteer. Next, do as little business as possible with profiteers. Your other task is to convince those who live under our system, but who do not operate it, that the majority of business men are still ethical. And what do I mean by ethical? I mean this: the ethical business man believes life is work and work is life—he believes the making of a pair of shoes is a prayer—he believes men build bridges because they like to build bridges, and that they take a profit because if they didn't, economic laws would intervene and rob them of the pleasure of building bridges. This philosophy may sound idealistic, but it is back of every successful business, large or small. You cannot hope that the man who drives a wagon for you will understand this very clearly. If he could understand this as clearly as you do, he would be operating a business of his own. In other words, he would have mastered the system under which we live and he would be operating it instead of being operated by it. You cannot convince this man who drives the wagon that you have any such philosophy as I have outlined, by yelling at him. But you can convince him by facts. Those facts must be visible facts. Facts which you state will not convince him of anything.

Let me call to your attention a few of your shortcomings that have had considerable effect in establishing the bad opinion of you now entertained by the man who drives your wagon. You doubtless know that worth-



less stock has been sold in this country to the tune of millions of dollars. You know that blue sky laws have been passed and that most of them have accomplished very little good. In fact quite a number of them have harassed honest men more than the rascals. But what have you, as a business man, done to discourage the sale of worthless stock? If you are an officer or an owner of a stock company you were damaged by every sale of worthless stock. Real business has been damaged more than foolish investors. You have been damaged also by every man who mismanaged a stock company.

Doubtless you realize that the form of business organization known as corporation is one of the cleverest contrivances the human mind has produced. Without it, business cannot be transacted on the present day American scale. But like everything else it is subject to abuse. I am asking you what you have done to protect it. After all, a corporation is simply a form of expressing faith. Is it not? An aggregation of individuals who have faith in each other and faith in the men they employ, use the corporation form of organization. When faith is diminished this great system with its vast capacity for serving mankind is injured.

I wonder if it has occurred to you that private property is a public trust. Private property is simply the possession of a job. That is why private property should be protected; because it is a public trust. The only difference between you, the owner, and your employee, is that you own your job and he does not. But if you abuse the job which you own you are just as likely to lose it, as tho you abused the job you do not own. And every man who abuses a job like yours is blasting the foundations under your job; he tears down what you build.

Kings and Czars and Emperors used to be considered very necessary and valuable employees. They were so necessary and so valuable that they were permitted to enjoy quite a number of privileges. When they strutted around and pinned decorations on themselves and stuck feather dusters in their hats their bosses were inclined to agree that their egotism was justified.

But, after a while, these employees began to think that the wearing of feather dusters was more important than attending to the business of their bosses. They got the mistaken notion that empires existed for the pleasure of emperors. They lost track of the fact that emperors existed to work for empires. And they lost their jobs. They are a pitiful crew now. Some of them have been hungry during the last twelve months. And none are so pitiful as those who are still wearing the feather dusters.

When the emperor business was in its infancy, a first class journeyman emperor

who knew his business and had some executive ability used to select his lieutenants because they were good workmen. After the emperors ceased to serve, they began to select lieutenants who danced well or who wore feather dusters at a particularly jaunty angle. The same immutable law, which wished upon the unfortunate emperor these grafting sycophants, brings disloyalty into the plant operated for profit only. Unfortunately the germ doesn't confine its activities to profiteering establishments. It spreads.

A business man in these days of theories rampant would do well to arm himself with some philosophy. Permit me to offer you a well established and tested theory: Men will work long and hard and live on a crust of bread in order to pay tribute to "the god of a job well done." They have always been that way.

If I had a shoe factory today I would put over it an electric sign with letters ten feet high: "Here we serve humanity by making shoes." Then if I had to "fire" anyone, he would be disgraced. He would be disgraced because he did not belong to the goodly company of those who serve humanity by making shoes. But if I were making shoes for profit only and "fired" some one, it would be a reasonable assumption on his part that I

was not satisfied with the amount of profit I collected off his labor. He would go out of the place angry and resentful; he might set fire to it or put a bomb under it. No matter what I paid him, he would still be convinced that it was much less than I could afford to pay.

That is the trouble today. The men who do not operate the system, but are operated by it have lost faith in the men who operate it. And so my advice to you is to restore that faith.

You cannot do that by talking or writing. You have got to do that by delivering the goods. A lot of you are doing it now. If you were not the country would be in a revolution before the close of this year. So let us withdraw from the yelling contest.

To the extent that there may be some grain of truth in what the malcontent says, he is going to injure you. When you have brought that element of truth down to a minimum you make a monkey out of him without saying anything.

Our form of government and our system are going to survive. You know that. But they are not going to survive because anyone's mouth is shut by violence. These poor, unfortunate malcontents have no substitute to offer anyway. You are in no real danger of seeing a new system imposed. They have no system. They are furious. They are simply yelling. While they lack the cleverness to build, however, they do not [Continued on page 443]



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Hunting the profiteer



Thomas in Detroit News

PIRATES

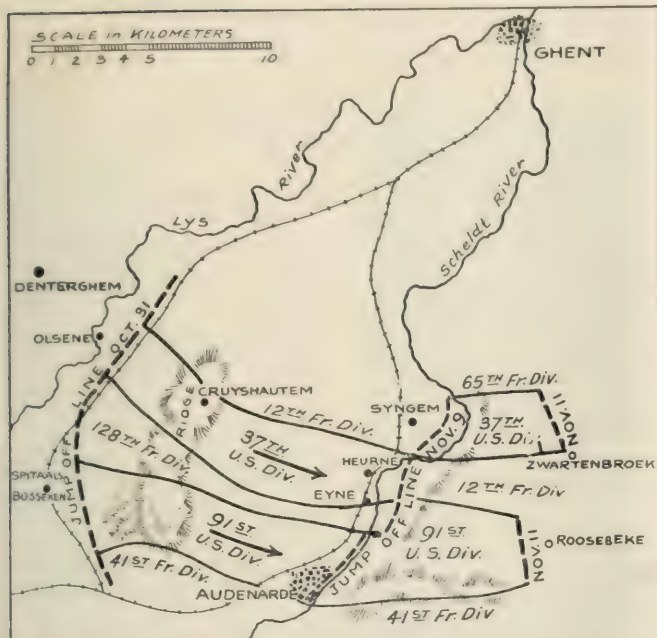
The make-up is different, but the results are the same



# The Americans in Belgium

## The First Complete Story of Our Combat Operations

By Captain Joseph Mills Hanson



Where the 37th and 91st United States Divisions fought in Belgium in November, 1918

WE have followed our soldiers thru all of their greatest operations excepting the one in which two of our divisions shared in the Allied victories at the northern end of the far-flung line and aided materially in loosing the grip of the Germans from heroic Belgium. In taking their places in this area, these divisions completed the record of American troops for participation in the struggle on every portion of the Western front. It was but fitting that before the tale should be completely told some Americans should fight in close coöperation with the steadfast sons of Belgium.

It was in response to a request from Marshal Foch that in the middle of October the 37th and 91st United States Divisions, after having participated in the first phase of the Meuse-Argonne battle, were sent to reinforce the 6th French Army under General Degoutte, which had been added to the Army Group of the King of the Belgians for the forward drive in Flanders. The troops of the Belgian army, aided by French and British forces, had made their initial attack on September 28, from the coast of the English Channel at Nieuport to a point south of Ypres. Thenceforward in heavy fighting against General Sixt von Arnim's 4th German Army they had steadily gained ground until they had compelled the Germans, on October 17, to evacuate Lille, and likewise to give up Ostend and all their submarine and aircraft bases on the coast and to move back their right flank along the frontier of Holland. Progress since that date had been somewhat slower and American coöperation was asked to aid in pushing the center ahead toward Brussels by clearing the enemy from the watershed between the Lys and the Scheldt and forcing the passage of the latter stream.

The two American divisions entered the battle line on October 29 by relieving two French divisions along the grade of the Ghent-Lille railroad, just east of the Lys River, which stream had been conquered by the

Allied troops. The Ohio National Guardsmen of the 37th Division under General C. S. Farnsworth were assigned to General Penet's 30th French Corps and took over a portion of the front called the Cruyshautem sector. General William H. Johnston's 91st Division of National Army troops from the Northwestern states, accompanied by the 53rd Field Artillery Brigade of the 28th Division, was placed in the 7th French Corps and occupied a sector further south, with a French division between it and the 37th. From left to right in this region when the Americans came on the line lay the Belgian Army, closely approaching Ghent with its flank on the Dutch frontier, then General Degoutte's 6th French Army with its 34th Corps on the left, the 30th in the center and the 7th on the right, and then the 2nd British Army of General Plumer, still further to the south. The divisional order of battle in the 30th and 7th Corps was: the 12th French Division on the left, then the 37th U. S., 128th French, 91st U. S. and 41st French.

The resumption of the general offensive by the armies of King Albert was scheduled for 5:30 o'clock on the morning of October 31. Meantime thru the preceding day the Americans lay in their fox holes, awaiting the zero hour. The coming battle was to be fought out over a countryside very different from the one in which the men from Ohio and the Northwest had advanced from Avocourt and the Bois de Cheppy thru Ivoir and Epinonville. In place of the woodlands, the scattered, stone-built villages and the sterile hills of the Meuse-Argonne country, here in Belgian Flanders they were in a land generally open and thickly dotted with villages of cozy, low brick houses, where the infrequent hills sloped gradually to crests crowned by broad-winged windmills.

In the sectors of the 37th and 91st American Divisions, the Scheldt River, the general objective of the attack of the Allied armies in Belgium, was about fourteen kilometers distant, in a southeasterly direction. To reach it General Farnsworth's men would have to mount the long slope of Cruyshautem Ridge to its top, conquer the village of the same name in a narrow valley just over the crest and then push on down the open reaches of farming country beyond to the banks of the Scheldt between the villages of Heurne and Eyne. General Johnston's division had a more southerly portion of the same ridge to cross, but before reaching the crest it had to conquer a detached hill covered with woods called the Spitaals [Continued on page 443]

This is the last of a series of ten articles in which Captain Hanson has told the complete story of what the American troops did on the battle line in France—a series written from a thoro study of the official records and with the background of actual experience overseas. "Up the Line from Cantigny" was published in The Independent of March 27, "Those Desperate Days at Chateau-Thierry" in the April 24 number, "Zero Hour Along the Marne" May 29, "One Day's Work at St. Mihiel" June 19-26, "Covered with Mud and Glory" July 24-31, "Getting on to Berlin" August 28, "Our Greatest Victory" September 25, "The Battle of Blanc Mont" October 30, and "Breaking the Hindenburg Line" November 27



# Confessions of a Movie Educator

"In the course of a month or more" says the Scenario Chief who wrote these confessions of gathering golden berries from the Tree of Knowledge, "I dramatized cheese, soap, ball bearings, frying fat, axle grease, chewing gum, coffee, insurance, rubber tires, tenpenny nails, automobile springs, self-playing pianos, pickled olives, phonographs, artificial pearls, rum barrels, automatic conveyors, premium merchandise, fertilizer, terra cotta and Portland cement"

**W**HEN the Educational Department of our film manufacturing concern was organized, a star salesman was appointed as general manager and a stage-and-film expert as chief of production. The former had successfully sold everything from blouses to couch beds, and the latter had been a highly popular knockabout actor in his time. These qualifications were not deemed handicaps in the educational race, indeed the persuasive and entertaining pair had themselves sold the departmental idea to the movie president who was now thoroly convinced of there being "millions in it." As the most scholarly person of the entourage I was appointed Chief of Scenarios and now beheld myself a full-fledged popular educator!

Of course the movie president didn't expect to pluck immediately one million golden berries from the Tree of Knowledge. The scheme was far subtler than that. It was to manufacture and distribute at a profit industrial, *i. e.*, business and advertising films, which later could be used as educational. A film miscellany nicknamed a magazine presented the weekly table d'hôte of the company's short subjects to the theaters, and it was also planned to distribute this and the company's standard fiction photoplays to the schools, eked out with the pedagogically reëdited business films.

The only faults of the scheme were (1) industrial and technical films may or may not be useful to the schools, and (2) they're not wanted by the theaters at all. Otherwise the scheme was "strictly O. K.," as the Boss said. The weekly release, as I have said, was a fifteen-minute film miscellany devoted to art, science, world's progress, adventure and humor. The general manager was a liberal buyer. He paid a fancy price for "The Confessions of Mrs. Scheherezade" and "Smart Sayings by Saucy People." Both were collections of slangy cynicisms, mostly jokes about unhappy marriage, from the denizens of the Gay White Way.

Ye gods of education! The epigrams arrived in batches of a thousand or so at a whack, and it was my duty to sort out the 'sure-fire laughs' from the tremendous stack and condense them into screen titles or sentences. The rest of this time I spent in getting up tabloids of travel out of old film. Carefully eliminating the geography, I pointed up the thrill, the laugh or the sentiment to tickle the midriff of hoi polloi. With the further aid of a barefoot-dancer subject, a pseudo-scientific subject,



Wall paper

and a cartoon animating the outrageous kiddies of the Sunday comic sections, we burst upon a dazed public with our first number. I believe that we at one time attained a circulation of something like five hundred theaters.

Our real business, now quickly developing, was, however, to meet national advertisers and induce them to buy production contracts. The salesmen—we had ten of them—first presented the general plea. Then, studying the printed matter of the industrial concern, I prepared a synopsis of the proposed picture. If this was liked and approved, I surveyed the factory, office or plant and

wrote the "continuity scenario." Somewhere down the line of the proceedings the client's signature was secured along the dotted line, else the salesmen's labors and mine were wasted and we moved to pastures new.

My educational progress was now certainly most amazing. I called on all sorts of firms and gave them pictorial pointers, generally learning much more than I gave. In the course of a month or more I dramatized cheese, soap, ball bearings, frying fat, axle grease, chewing gum, coffee, insurance, rubber tires, tenpenny nails, automobile springs, self-playing pianos, pickled olives, phonographs, artificial pearls, rum barrels, automatic conveyors, premium merchandise, fertilizer, terra cotta and Portland cement. Never in my life—not even during college crams—have I acquired so much knowledge within so brief a period. It's all forgotten now, but it's all back within the subliminal self—yes, I sometimes dream it in my sleep! Where my education stopped, the education of the director and the cameraman began. They trod the paths I had trod before, learned the jargon of salesmanship and the meaning of many technical terms, and "shot" scenes in big industrial plants where applied technology and not stagecraft was the thing.

Meantime our tiny Visual Instruction Division of the organization was almost a still-born infant. Vainly did our general manager try to oxygenate it or bottle-feed it. It was always gasping for breath or crying for educational. In default of some fairy Rockefeller to finance real film textbooks, we worried along renting "features" and "magazines" to the schools and expecting to impart plenty of facts to them later in our automobile, rubber tire and domestic science industrials. We had far better luck with churches. Several of the denominations became our clients, and one of them actually moved over its publicity staff and camped out with us. The church folk were friendly, very amiable and quite willing to learn. If too often they began by filming some high ceremonial that wouldn't register on



Tires



the screen, they usually wound up by writing and supervising the production of human and interesting stories.

The office was now all agog with the preparations for issuing the industrial motion pictures. The production chief was like a conjurer in his art of keeping men and objects flying. The night stands and the two-a-day vaudeville had given him a fast pace, which studio training had redoubled. He was in his glory now—ordering directors here, cameramen there, buying free lance negative, bossing cutter girls and printers, getting artists to illustrate and editors to title the successive pictures as they arrived from Akron or the Yellowstone, from some big New York factory or from a great automobile plant 'way out West. Extremes met, the fool became the monarch and the clown the savant, when the artists of our coarse comics tackled the scientific subjects. The very chap who'd been drawing jam-eating kiddies or jazzing dancers or impossibly somersaulting dogs would turn aside to make and pile up heaps of celluloid accurately picturing the transmission gear of a motor car or the processing of materials inside a mill.

There was enough talent in that organization to have built a film Encyclopedia Britannica; to have picturized the school syllabi of all the states; to have made a complete workable course in general technology. They possessed both breadth of vision and accuracy, and it was certainly an ironic fate that condemned them in the very midst of an "Educational Department" (God save the mark!) to draw dog-and-cat futilities and picture screen advertisements of doubtful value.

Our first industrial release was "At Home with the Tire Makers." Our second was a technical automobile story, and our third a scenic showing the triumph of the same motor car over rough roads. Each of these was released in short form thru the film miscellany or magazine. Longer editions were prepared for the use of the manufacturer-clients and ultimately it was hoped for the schools.

The first industrial didn't create much commotion, but we heard a-plenty from the second and the third. Please remember they were being circulated in motion picture theaters along with the travel and adventure stuff and the "Sunday supplement" cartoons that formed the burden of our miscellany. About four weeks from the first release date the general sales manager of the company came tearing into the departmental manager's office and waving aloft a Western Union telegram cried: "Will you look at this!" The Educational manager read:

Exhibitors' Association Pittsburgh District voted to exclude \_\_\_\_\_ Magazine from all their theaters. Advertising in release must be stopped, otherwise feature pictures as well as Magazine will suffer.

(Signed): \_\_\_\_\_  
Manager Pittsburgh Branch Exchange.

"'Twas that confounded ad film did it; I wish all our short subjects could be dumped!" ejaculated the sales manager bitterly. "Say," he added, eyeing my superior none too amiably, "I sometimes think we'd make more money if your whole Educational Department were fired!"

It was indeed a crisis. The great movie corporation could not afford to endanger its millions upon millions in feature rentals by continuing to handle a boycotted short subject, one boycotted furthermore because of advertising masked as entertainment. On the other hand, the Department's side was not to be ignored. The "education" of manufacturers was proceeding rapidly and they were paying as high as \$15 per film foot—\$15,000 per reel—for the privilege of telling their business stories via the screen. One of the contracts was in six figures, others were being signed up quickly. Were these lucrative contracts to be canceled and a valuable new business relinquished because some of the advertising was too bald?

The production manager thought he saw a workable compromise by cutting out direct advertising and putting over the business stories as apologue or fiction. And we tried that. We invented heroes and heroines, made studio scenes, drew characters, devised thrillers, and raised and smoothed away all kinds of obstacles in the path of true love to Portland cement homes, ideal frying fats, imitation pearls and preserved pickles. It was not at all pleasant, I can assure you. If an industrial is worth anything, it is worth telling on its own merits. I don't think any of the films of that unhappy period will survive.

The ultimate debacle came a few weeks later thru the continuance of the automobile scenics. They were really not very "raw." In the picture-series a certain make of car went everywhere and did everything, touring Bad Lands, climbing Rockies, exploring the Yellowstone, with the leader of the party a certain film comedian to whom all sorts of funny trouble happened except of course the breakdown of the Impeccable Car.

What the exhibitors took a dislike to was not the fairly possible story, but the name of the car and of the manufacturer hugely placarded on garages and service stations en route. It seems that this automobile manufacturer had previously had some films of his own and had unsuccessfully tried to introduce them in Central West theatres. When therefore exhibitors saw his car brand and his placards traipsing thru the Magazine and literally obtaining footage on their jealously guarded screens, they rose in their wrath and the Middle West added its voice to that of Pittsburgh in noisy official boycott. They [Continued on page 447]



Candy



Socks



# The Christmas Gift the World Needs

By Charles Edward Jefferson, D.D.,

Pastor of Broadway Tabernacle, New York

CHRISTMAS is one of the things which are inexorable. It arrives in the month of December inevitably. It comes on the twenty-fifth of that month punctually. Not all the king's horses nor all the king's men can dislodge it from its place in the procession of the days. It is impossible to postpone it. There are years when we are not ready for it, but it comes nevertheless. Failures and disappointments and worries may have thrown us into a dishevelled and dismal mood, but no matter what our mood, Christmas knocks at the door and comes in. There is no escape from the clutches of the calendar. We may have fallen among circumstances which like robbers have left us bleeding and half dead, but Christmas, like a good Samaritan, picks us up and does its best to send us along our way rejoicing.

Surely the world just now is in sore need of Christmas. The human race is in a surly and disgruntled mood. All the spirits of the underworld are working overtime. The human heart in every land is torn and feverish. The great war has left us a legacy which many of us had not counted on. War quickens and feeds all the demons of the heart, and these do not suddenly languish when the guns have fallen silent. The passions which war unchains do not go back swiftly to their cells. War is an arch demoralizer. It upsets everything. It brings down standards which the toil of generations had established, it dims ideals to eyes which had been trained to follow them. All the rapacities and greeds, the dishonesties and cruelties of the heart find liberty in times of war, and when peace comes they go right on working their depredations. When was civilization ever more plagued than now? When was society ever more chaotic and hysterical? The wounds are deep and the world is faint from loss of blood. In its weakness vices, which are easily thrown off in days of health, fasten on it with tenacious grip. Selfishness has attained a new robustness by what it fed on thru the war, and everywhere there is suspicion, and greed, and discontent, and a disposition to fight.

Into a world which has become unusually bitter and wrathful, there now comes like a messenger from heaven this festival of Christmas, with its carols and laughter, its memories of light and its spirit of good will. Christmas is a kind, charitable time. It speaks to the angels of our better nature. It is the anniversary of the birthday of a baby, and who can be surly and mean in the presence of a baby? This baby grew to be a man who thru nineteen hundred years has been known as the "Prince of Peace." His heart was gentle and his spirit was sweet. He nourished no prejudices, and he gave room to no dark passions. His sympathies were broad and his ideals were high. Suspicion and malice, envy and fear found no place in his heart. Race hatred was odious to him and religious bigotry was abhorrent. He was free from class consciousness and he claimed all men as his brothers. His spirit of brotherly kindness began at once to influence those who were nearest to him, and after his death they banded themselves together to spread his spirit over their own nation and then over the entire world. Wherever the spirit of Jesus becomes established, anger and clamor and railing are put away, and men become kind one to another, tender-hearted, and ready to forgive.

This is the spirit which the world now conspicuously lacks, and it is the spirit which the world must possess if civilization is to escape unimaginable disaster. All thoughtful men are coming to see more and more clearly that without the spirit of Jesus society is doomed. Man has harnessed forces and created machinery which, unless con-

trolled by the mind of Jesus Christ, will work his undoing. It is not merely members of the Christian Church who are saying this; it is being said by Jews and Agnostics, and by many representatives of non-Christian religions. Statesmen and business men, publicists and diplomats, now see that there is no way out of our present distresses but by a fresh baptism of the spirit of good will. The world needs to breathe in the soul of Christmas.

It is easy to catalog the things which the crowd would like to have. Multitudes clamor for cheaper rents and groceries, many long for lower taxes, others set high hopes on a league of nations, and still others dream of some social or economic reorganization of the world, but there is a need which lies deeper than any of our conscious wants, and that is the need of more brotherliness in the hearts of the people. The whole world needs just this, and without this we must perish.

There are many who are despondent. There are some who are without hope. They sit in the seat of the scornful, and they refuse to be comforted even amidst the festivities of Christmas. They persist in staring at what they call the facts. All the facts which they see are dark. There is no light anywhere. Conditions in America are bad—in the Old World they are worse. "Let us not delude ourselves. Let us feed ourselves on no foolish dreams. Let us face the facts!" This is the burden of their story. By all means let us face the facts. Let us hide our eyes from nothing. But let us be sure that we face all the facts. Let us be careful not to drop out of sight the most important fact of all, the fact that at the center of the universe there beats a heart which is wonderfully kind. This is the fact to which Christmas calls our attention. It is easy to overlook it, but we cannot ignore it without immeasurable loss. The universe is founded on good will. The earth is wrapped in the meshes of the law of brotherly kindness. The mightiest of all known forces is love. If the Creator of the universe has a heart which is gentle and loving, then the future of mankind is secure. If we are held in the hands of a God of good-will, those hands will never let us drop. Some time, somehow, our ugly passions will all be conquered, and all men will find their supreme delight in doing their Maker's will.

Christmas is a day of giving. What shall I give? is a question which springs spontaneously to every tongue. Many express the answer in terms of matter. They think of things which can be bought in the store. But those who discern the spiritual significance of the day, see that it is not things which the world is most in need of but life, not toys but disposition, not confectionery but temper, not diamonds but a sympathetic spirit. He then most truly celebrates Christmas who casts out of his own soul all racial prejudices, and national antipathies, and class hatreds, and religious animosities, and social resentments, and gives to society the grace and power of a loving heart.

## The Test of Citizenship

A GOOD citizen may, indeed ought to, criticize and seek to change the laws he does not happen to like. But he will obey them. Anyone who for the "sake of the joke," or to gratify his appetite, or to vindicate his "personal liberty" violates the eighteenth amendment and the Volstead Act is in the same class as the man who smuggles goods past the customs because he disbelieves in tariffs or "expropriates" somebody else's diamonds because he dis-



believes in private property. A prohibition law is neither more nor less a restraint on natural liberty than a tariff or a legally established right to ownership. All three derive their authority not from any divine commandment or principle of pure reason, but from the common agreement of all citizens in a democracy to submit to the laws made by their constitutionally chosen representatives. A good citizen is a man who "plays square with the gang"; a good sport, in short.

### To New Yorkers

GOVERNOR-elect Miller has started off well by disproving any further attempt to expel lawfully elected Socialists from the Legislature. In this he is a worthy successor to Governor Smith who refused to sanction the anti-Socialist laws. The Empire State should be proud of her two liberty-loving chieftains.

## The Anti-Semite Scare

By Edwin E. Slosson

AMONG the evil influences that come from Europe to America since the war is the anti-Semitic movement, which has for many years caused trouble in France, Germany, Russia, Rumania and other countries, but from which the United States and Great Britain have hitherto been free. Such prejudice as the Hebrews in America have had to endure is due to social snobbishness, business rivalry and personal antipathies. There has been no concerted political and literary anti-Jewish agitation, no deliberate attempt to inflame the mob-mind as in continental Europe. The Jews have not been worse treated than other immigrants. If one will turn to the caricatures of our esteemed constituent, *Harper's Weekly*, he will find that the Irish on their arrival by wholesale in this country had to suffer much more from the contempt and hostility of the earlier immigrants than the Jews have met in spite of their more rapid influx and the strangeness of their language and customs. There was indeed good reason to hope that we were gradually outgrowing the xenophobia to which all human beings are congenitally subject.

But now it seems that the Anglo-Saxon race is not immune to the virus of anti-Semitism. In England, G. K. Chesterton and Hilaire Belloc, an Anglican Catholic and a Roman Catholic—forming together what Shaw calls "the Chesterbelloc"—have turned their pointed pens against the Jews and in the United States Henry Ford has taken up the idea as his latest hobby. The London *Morning Post* is matched in virulence by the *Dearborn Independent*, which, much to our annoyance, is sometimes quoted without the first word of its title. American publishers have been found for two of the most pernicious of the anti-Semitic volumes, "The Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion" and "The Cause of World Unrest."

Both are anonymous. The former was first brought out in 1905 by a Russian fanatic named Nilus, who wrote on the coming of Anti-Christ. It purports to be the plan for the subversion of Christian civilization and the overthrow of all governments to secure the supremacy of the Jewish race over the world. The American Jewish Committee, 31 Union Square West, New York, has issued a denial of the existence of any such organization as the Wise Men or Elders of Zion and refutation of the arguments based on it.

Even the editor of the London *Morning Post*, who brings out the second book, does not deny that it may be a forgery. Nilus said that the manuscript was given to him by a friend who said he got it from a mysterious lady, but nobody knows whether Nilus is alive or dead. But the unknown author of "The Cause of the World Unrest" tacitly assumes the genuineness of the "Protocols" and so lays to the secret council of the "Elders of Zion" everything in the

world that he dreads or dislikes. As an Englishman he unconsciously presupposes that Great Britain is the leader and sole support of modern civilization, so any anti-British movement in any part of the world must be instigated by the Jews. He admits that the Irish republican movement, the Indian nationalist movement, and the British labor movement are not known to be under Jewish leadership, but this is, to his mind, additional proof that they really are due to the machinations of this secret Hebrew council. This gives him a wide net and he hauls in horrors enough to raise the hair of any reader who has hair to raise. Gandhi and other Hindu agitators have been considered disciples of Vishnu rather than of Moses, but since they are anti-Christian they must be pro-Jew.

The Jews are held responsible not only for all national movements but for all international movements. Therefore, Wilson with his League of Nations and Lenin with his Third International are really working hand in hand, altho in public they profess little liking for one another. Of course both the American and the Russian, altho they appear to be men with wills of their own, are mere puppets pulled by Jewish wires. "Between the Fourteen Points and the Kremlin manifestoes there is little to choose," and the author adds that "'making the world safe for democracy' and 'the dictatorship of the proletariat' sound equally sweet in a rebel's ear." The principle of self-determination and the scheme for a League of Nations were, it seems, both hatched in the hidden Hebrew conclaves. It had hitherto been supposed by historians that George Washington believed in national self-determination and William Penn had a league of nations hobby. But possibly they were crypto-Jews and we may be told next that the Father of his Country was named Cohen and that the Quaker statesman was Goldfeder in disguise.

AMONG the agencies which are mentioned as carrying out the Jewish plot to destroy civilization by putting a stop to war are the League to Enforce Peace and the League of Free Nations Association. Now my colleague on The Independent staff, Hamilton Holt, was one of the three men who met to start the League to Enforce Peace and I happened to sit in with the group who first formed the League of Free Nations Association and we have attended the councils of these organizations very faithfully ever since. No Jews were in at the birth of these bodies. Neither Mr. Holt nor I read Hebrew, so if we have been acting under orders from the Elders of Zion they must have been transmitted by subconscious telepathy. And if Jewish capitalists have been any more ready to contribute to the funds of these associations than Gentile capitalists they have successfully concealed their desires from the finance committees. The whole volume is filled with this sort of absurd insinuations.

The author of this scare story makes the most of the Masons. It is thru this and similar secret societies that the Jews fomented the French and Russian revolutions and now scheme to overthrow all other governments and to annihilate Christianity. Some objections naturally arise in one's mind; for instance, that Jews were formerly excluded from British and German Masonic lodges; that one important branch of Freemasonry, the Knights Templars, is the outgrowth of a militant Christian organization, not particularly pleasant to the Jews; that the medieval Masons were cathedral builders; that the Rosicrucians were by name men of the Red Cross; that Jews were not conspicuous in the French revolution and Freemasons were not conspicuous in the Russian. But Nilus says that his Protocol was "signed by representatives of Zion of the thirty-third degree," so that settles it.

The author has with his uncanny insight discovered that Freemasons have some symbols and phrases in their ritual that indicate Hebraic origin. I got ahead of him in that



discovery. In fact when I was a boy a Masonic friend in a moment of unguarded confidence imparted the information that the Freemasons built Solomon's temple. I forbear to mention his name lest he should have his tongue pulled out by the roots. I did not believe him then and I do not now, but I add this to the similar evidence contained in this volume. If the author keeps on with his sleuth work he may discover evidences of Hebraic origin in Christianity and that would cause a scandal!

I have not yet heard that Pope Benedict is a Hebrew and a thirty-third degree Mason, but I expect to any day. I have, however, been seriously assured by a traveler recently returned from Switzerland that "all Europe knows" that the Vatican, the Soviet and the Sinn Fein are allied and that the Pope, Lenin and De Valera are working together to overthrow British Protestantism and Russian Orthodoxy. Now if, as the *Morning Post* holds, the Jews and Freemasons control at least two out of these three organizations, this is indeed a "formidable sect."

Who can prove that such a conspiracy does not exist? No one. A secret can never be disproved. Once get a conspiracy complex on the brain and not even a psychoanalyst can dislodge it. The perverted imagination will find additional evidence of its delusion in every newspaper. The fanatical Protestant believes that every Catholic church has an armory in its basement and that it is the intent of the papists to substitute the auto da fé for the automobile. The fanatical Catholic believes every Protestant is at heart an atheist and sees in every modern movement the disintegrating and demoralizing influence of the arch-fiend Luther on the family and the state. The anti-Mason is sure that the lodges are up to some nefarious business else why should they be secret? In every reform movement the capitalist sees red and the Socialist suspects the crafty hand of the multi-millionaire. Some say "the Mongol waits" to wipe out all of us white folks; others see a negro in every woodpile. A few years ago we were scared of the Germans; now the Bolsheviki are our bugaboo. If the landlord who takes away a large part of our money and the Communist who threatens to take away all of it both happen to be Jews, then we are ready to give ear to the insinuation that the two are joint conspirators against us in spite of their ostensible disagreement.

The conspiracy phobia is one of the worst forms of crowd-madness, easy to start, hard to eradicate and leading to persecution and pogroms, riot and revolution. Let us not encourage it.

## England and Ireland

By Hamilton Holt

**I**T is inconceivable that England will give Ireland her independence. Self-preservation, the first law of life, prevents.

England, to be sure, had to permit her American colonies to set up their own separate government. She would doubtless permit her overseas dominions to do the same today if they wished. But Ireland is, and has been, an integral part of the United Kingdom. To expect England to let Ireland secede, set up a new government, make treaties with her enemies, and become a possible base of operations against her in time of war, is to expect the impossible. England will fight to the last man to prevent this, as the North fought in 1861-4 to prevent the South from seceding.

England, however, has given Ireland just cause for rebellion. She has temporized and temporized and temporized. Her policy of never settling a thing right, once and for all, but always compromising, has got her into her present predicament.

Ireland has appealed to force. Force can only be met by force. England has retaliated. But England cannot solve

the Irish question by force and everybody knows it. There are too many civilized people in England to countenance the extermination of the Irish people. Ireland has only to continue fighting and sooner or later she will get justice.

What is justice to Ireland? It seems all very simple to us in America. In all affairs that concern the Empire let Ireland be given a voice in proportion to her population. In all affairs which concern Ireland alone let her have complete home rule. But that is not enough. Let the four provinces and eighteen counties within Ireland be given complete autonomy within their respective boundaries. Ulster should be given the same freedom by Ireland that Ireland asks for herself from England. And so on down to the smallest political subdivision.

Does this mean a revolution in the government of Great Britain? It does. But it is the only just solution of the Irish question. It is, moreover, the only solution that Great Britain would be justified in imposing on Ireland whether the Irish approve or not. England can justly use force against Ireland to compel her to accept justice. Ireland can justly use force against England until justice is granted. Let us have justice.

## Overdue Reconstruction

**W**HEN a man's house is burning he doesn't wait to criticize the arrangement of its rooms. But when the fire is over and repairs are in order then is just the time to consider long needed changes. We suffered much from inefficient administration during the Great War, but President Wilson and his colleagues had at least the excuse that their first task was to save the nation, not to reform it. But in the days of reconstruction it would be unpardonable not to reconstruct the Federal Government on a business basis: adopt the budget system, reorganize the cabinet departments, abolish what remains of the spoils system in the civil service and base preferment on merit instead of seniority or political pull.

## Jonathan Edwards as a Freudian

**T**HE idea, now exploited to the extreme by Freud, Jung and Adler, that dreams indicate our unconscious desires, is not so new as some seem to suppose. The greatest of early American theologians, Jonathan Edwards, used the Freudian method, but on himself, not on other folks. In that very remarkable record of auto-analysis, his diary, he notes under the date of May 2, 1722:

I think it a very good way to examine dreams every morning when I awake; what are the nature, circumstances, principles and ends of my imaginary actions and passions in them; in order to discern what are my prevailing inclinations, etc.

Doubtless Edwards got the idea from the Bible, which lays great stress upon the interpretation of the symbolism of dreams. For instance, it is evident from the story of Joseph, as narrated in Genesis 37, that when the spoiled child dreamt that his brothers' sheaves bowed down to his and that the eleven stars made obeisance to him, that he was simply dramatizing his secret ambitions. His father Jacob promptly gave the Freudian interpretation, no doubt correctly. The Adler idea is also involved for Joseph in his dreams was endeavoring to compensate for his sense of inferiority as the youngest and weakest of the twelve brethren. A lot of coarse big brothers would be sure to rub in an "inferiority complex" to papa's pet.

Edwards also employed the Freudian therapeutics of frank self-examination, starting in random reverie. In the entry dated "Saturday, August 10, 1722, about sunset," he records the resolution:

As a help against that inward shameful hypocrisy, to confess frankly to myself all which I find in myself, either infirmity or sin; also to confess to God and open the whole case to him, when it is what concerns religion, and humbly and earnestly im-



plore of him the help that is needed: not in the least to endeavor to smother over what is in my heart but to bring it all out to God and my conscience. By this means I may arrive at a greater knowledge of my own heart.

When I find difficulty in finding a subject of religious meditation in vacancies, to pitch at random on what alights in my thoughts, and to go from that to other things which that shall bring into my mind, and follow this progression as a clue, till I come to what I can meditate on with profit and attention and then to follow that.

The significant difference between the Edwardsian and Freudian methods is the religious element which permeates the former, but which the new psychology endeavors to eliminate. Laplace, when Napoleon asked him why he had not mentioned God in his great work on "Celestial Mechanics," replied: "Sire, I had no need for such an hypothesis." This may work for physics, but it remains to be proved whether psychology can dispense with the idea of God without impairing its healing and reformatory power.

Another point of importance. It has always been recognized that "confession is good for the soul." But hitherto those who received or elicited the confessions, whether priests, preachers or physicians, were all expected to be men of proved probity, trained for the purpose and upheld by a high standard of professional ethics. But the modern psychoanalyst is a free lance, authenticated by nobody and uncontrolled by his colleagues. He may not even be master of his own science and he may even make use of the intimate secrets entrusted to him for blackmail or personal power. He may be moved by pure scientific zeal or drawn by an evil-minded curiosity. To impose state regulations upon this infant science in its formative period would be injurious to its prospects, but it is well to warn those who enter the new confessional to exercise a certain caution before they expose the contents of their mental garrets and cellars to the gaze of a stranger.

## Salvation Is More Than Rescue

By Shailer Mathews

UNLESS optimism is a deceiver, the quadrennial meeting of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America held in Boston, December 1 to 4, marks a real advance in the coöperative action of American Protestantism. The disappointing outcome of the Interchurch World Movement had at least the result of showing that coöperation must be organized with full regard for the new sense of denominational solidarity. This has always been the policy of the Federal Council, and its justification is now in no need of argument. There are great social and religious tasks which confront all churches. A super-organization cannot face them. So long as American Protestantism is denominational, so long must the center of common responsibility be found in denominational coöperation rather than outward church unity.

This was the keynote of the great convention in Boston. Picturesque features were not wanting, but the undercurrent of feeling was one of solemn acceptance of the work of coördinate meeting of the world's misery and moral need. The Council sees its duty clearly. In accepting the memorable report of its Committee on Methods of Coöperation, undoubtedly the Council's most important action, the Council instructs the Execution and Administration Committee to plan the work of the Council in accordance with the view that the time has come for fuller action in the prosecution of work that can be better done in union than in separation. To this end the Council is ready to adjust its organization so far as its broad constitutional powers permit, strengthen its secretarial staff, summon a conference of inter-board agencies of the denominations. It proposes to raise an annual budget of \$300,000 from its constituent bodies. All this

is in the right direction. The election of Robert E. Speer as President assures deliberate planning and well considered progress. What the Interchurch Movement failed to accomplish, there is good reason to believe the Federal Council is now prepared to perform.

But machinery, while needed, is after all machinery. What the meeting in Boston seems to have done is to supply inspiration sufficient to make the machinery run. Not that results will be immediate. Churches are always behind their leaders. But the inspiration was not lacking. The addresses before the great popular meetings as well as those before the Council itself were full of an almost prophetic insight into the state of the world. Mr. Hoover pleaded for the starving children of Europe, Mr. Bible for the starving millions of China. The Council will see that their pleas are brought to the churches of the land. Temperance legislation was supported and government officials entrusted with its enforcement were warned. Sectarian control of national policies was condemned. Internationalism was urged as practicable. Fraternal greetings were sent to the churches of European countries, both our former allies and among our former enemies. Industrial justice was championed, negroes were assured fraternal care, education was urged to recall its ideals, anti-Semitism was denounced.

Here is a new reading of Christian morality. All these mighty appeals were made by Christian churches! When one looks back twenty-four years, the new spirit seems indeed providentially begotten. Christianity is no less eager to save the individual than in the last generation, but its leaders have come to see that salvation is more than rescue. The gospel must touch creative social forces. A polemical denominationalism will be impotent to maintain the morale of a world struggling to newer freedom and without the moral control demanded by great social movements. Internationalism of the Christian sort is an ideal that demands interdenominationalism. A common danger demands a united operation. The Federal Council can furnish what the day needs, if for no other reason than that its leaders understand the magnitude and the complexity of the church's task. It is a seasoned institution. Its leaders have high purposes but are never swayed by unreasoning enthusiasm. If only the denominations can be made to share in its purposes and coöperate in its sane and practicable policies, its next quadrennial will mark even greater progress in applied evangelicalism than did even those at Chicago, St. Louis, and this the greatest of all, Boston.

## Radicalism

THE Socialist Party obtained only about 950,000 votes in the November election. Allowing for the doubling of the electorate by the woman's vote, this is a poorer showing than in either 1912 or 1916. The vote for the somewhat less radical Farmer-Labor Party was apparently even smaller. The number of Communists, Communist Laborites and anarchists in this country is all told probably less than a tenth that of either of these parties. The I. W. W. and other radical or syndicalistic labor unions are at all times so insignificant in numbers that if they should all go on a general strike at once industry would suffer only a local and temporary embarrassment.

In these facts there lies a message to both radical and conservative. The radical must learn that in a country with so overwhelming a conservative majority even among the "proletariat" he can accomplish absolutely nothing by violence or violent talk. The conservative must see that all panic talk of the United States being in danger of Bolshevism and needing drastic sedition laws is as silly and undignified as it is cowardly. Public opinion in the United States is as widely removed from that in Moscow as the distance which separates American prosperity from Russian starvation. There is as much chance of the nation going Buddhist or Voodooist as of its going Bolshevik.



# The Story of the Week

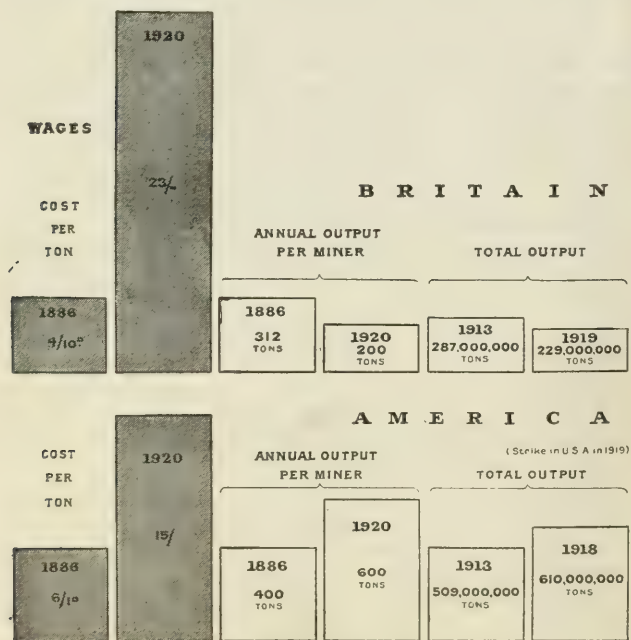
## The Near East Tangle

THE trouble with that unhappy part of the world known as "the Near East" is the trouble with a pile of jack-straws; you cannot touch any part without affecting the whole. Turkish nationalism, Bolshevik propaganda, the oil wells of the Caspian region, the oil wells of Mosul, the French designs on Syria, the British policy in Arabia, the refusal of the American Senate to let President Wilson assume a mandate in Armenia, the refusal of the Greeks to support the Venizelos policy of a Greater Greece, the National rivalries of the Balkan States, the ambitions of Italy, the desire of French creditors to realize something on former loans to Russia and to Turkey—all these factors are intertwined in such a way that, with the best will in the world, the whole of Christendom looks on while Turks and Kurds and Bolsheviks overrun Armenia.

For the moment the Armenians have bought a respite from massacre by becoming, or pretending to become, converts to Bolshevik doctrine. It is reported that the Armenians have agreed to Turkish terms which limit the boundaries of the country to the Erivan and Lake Gokcha region, excluding the important cities of Kars and Alexandropol. The Turks have also imposed disarmament on the tiny little country which remains. Even this petty tract of independence is not really a free government since under

Russian pressure it has been forced to adopt the soviet form of constitution. President Wilson has submitted his decision, under the terms of the Treaty of Sèvres, defining the boundaries of the Armenian Republic. But it is only too probable that this will remain a "scrap of paper" since the Turkish Nationalists are in possession of nearly the whole territory in question. President Wilson has offered to act as mediator between the Armenians and the Turkish Nationalists but he is supported by no military forces to enforce his decision in case the Turks reject it. The Senate has not authorized him to give American military, financial or administrative aid to Armenia, and while the European Powers offer "moral support" they are as reluctant as the Senate itself to give any effective material aid. England and France relied on Greece to crush the Turkish Nationalist army, thinking that a mandate over the Smyrna region in Asia Minor was reward enough for this service, but the recent overthrow of the Venizelos Government has killed this hope.

King Constantine has been officially notified of the result of the plebiscite in his favor and the Greek Government has made all arrangements for his return. He has refused all suggestions that he abdicate in favor of the Crown Prince or of anyone else. He assures the Allied Powers that he has never been a pro-German and is "going to be their best friend" in the future. The Entente statesmen do not appear to place any confidence in his assurances but they seem to have given up the idea of placing an absolute veto on his return to power. The French, however, are saying a great deal in favor of revising the Sèvres treaty at the expense of Greece. The decision of the Greeks to recall King Constantine to power in defiance of the wishes of the Allied Powers may cost Greece all or part of her treaty rights in Asia Minor and at the same time diminish her chances of getting foreign loans. The Russian Bolshevik Government has formally protested against any coercion of the Greek people by the Allied Powers; ostensibly on the grounds of abstract justice and the right of self-determination, but perhaps more fundamentally because the withdrawal of Greece from coöperation with the Allies would give the Bolsheviks a freer hand to carry on their propaganda in Armenia and Anatolia.



THE BRITISH COAL CRISIS

The London *Sphere* publishes the above diagram which shows graphically the danger that threatens the British coal mining industry and the foreign commerce that depends on exporting coal. The wage cost per ton of coal has increased much more rapidly in England than in America in the last thirty-four years as appears from the dark columns. The next pair of rectangles shows that in England each miner on the average brings to the surface only 200 tons of coal in the course of the year instead of 312 tons as he did formerly. In America, on the contrary, the coal miner is increasing his efficiency and now produces 50 per cent more than he did in 1886. The result is that the total output of coal is falling off in England while increasing in America. The decline in the British production is in large part due to the policy of the unions which oppose the use of mining machinery and believe that they can gain more wages by doing less work

## The Burning of Cork

ON the night of December 11 the city of Cork, the most important city in the western part of Ireland and surpassed in commercial importance only by Dublin and Belfast in the whole country, was set on fire and a large part of it burned to the ground. The property loss is placed at \$15,000,000. Few persons lost their lives in the flames but hundreds were rendered homeless. The city hall, the business district and the Carnegie library were swept by the conflagration.

The cause of the fire is not known. It is commonly believed in Ireland that it was the work of the British military or police forces in reprisal for Sinn Fein outrages. Early in the evening some Sinn Feiners threw bombs from ambush into a motor lorry. Twelve policemen were killed or injured. Shortly afterwards fires broke out all over the city. The fire department was unable to cope with the damage and a special fire engine was sent clear from Dublin to help put out the blaze. A large military force was sent to Cork to keep order in the stricken city.

Cork has for many months been a center of Sinn Fein





International

Months of fighting between the Sinn Fein rebels and the British police in the city of Cork culminated on December 11 in a great fire that destroyed \$15,000,000 worth of property. It is thought that the fire was started in reprisal for the attempted murder of a motor load of British policemen in whose midst some ambushed Sinn Feiners threw bombs earlier in the evening. This photograph shows one of the motor lorries filled with British policemen on a principal street of Cork

activity and has suffered numerous outrages from both sides in the civil war. Two mayors of the city have lost their lives in recent months. Lord Mayor MacCurtain was assassinated in March, but the murderer was never discovered. Lord Mayor MacSwiney, who was elected to succeed him, starved himself to death in prison. Both officials were of the Sinn Fein party. Scores of police constables have been assassinated in Cork or its vicinity and many buildings have been burned by one party or the other, but no destruction comparable with the recent great fire has taken place in any part of Ireland since the Dublin riots of 1916.

## Civil War in Ireland

NO longer can conditions in Ireland be discussed as a mere epidemic of riots, outrages and disorders; the case is now one of civil war in the full meaning of the phrase. This is admitted by both sides. In County Monaghan the Sinn Feiners have posted a proclamation declaring that "the public must at once realize that Ireland is in a state of war with forces of the British crown." On the other hand, Premier Lloyd George, speaking in the House of Commons of the "insurgent forces," declared "we have decided to declare martial law and to mete out to these persons the same treatment as if they were open rebels." In other words, the "Irish Republic" is in the same position as the "Confederate States of America" during the American Civil War: it is a *de facto* Government, deriving its support from one section of a country, claiming independence and in open insurrection to obtain acknowledgment of that independence from the ruling Government and from foreign powers. Foreign nations have thus far refused to recognize the Irish Republic, as to do so would be a hostile act toward Great Britain, just as it would have been a hostile act toward the United States if the French or English had formally recognized the independence of the Confederacy in 1861.

The chief difference between the Irish Civil War of 1920 and the American Civil War of 1861-1865 is in the relative strength of the forces engaged. The Confederate States were strong enough to be for several years the sole ruling authority in the Gulf States and in some of the border states and they fought the Federal armies with definitely organized armies of their own along a fairly definite war zone. But the Irish are so few in number and confined to so small an area that the British Government is able to place soldiers and police in every town. The Irish cannot organize in formal armies and are reduced to guerrilla or

skirmish warfare. Thruout all history, this has been the cruelest form of warfare. Insurgents, hiding in ambush and disguised as civilians, carry on war by assassination, bomb plots and midnight raids. Government forces in reprisal burn and loot the towns which are the centers of insurgency.

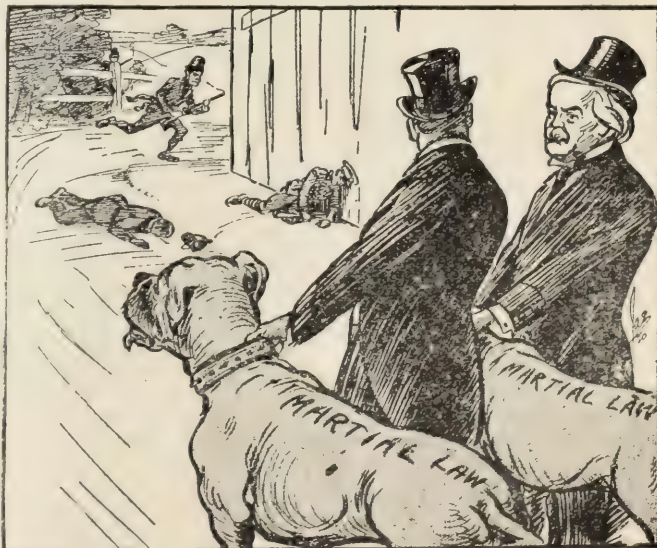
Premier Lloyd George apparently sees no way out of the situation but to carry on coercion more relentlessly than ever. Martial law has been proclaimed over the City and County of Cork, the City and County of Limerick and the Counties of Tipperary and Kerry. Within this zone persons carrying arms without authority are liable to trial by court martial and the death penalty. A large bomb plant, camouflaged as a bicycle repair shop, has been seized in Dublin, which is not yet within the martial law area.

While expressing his unrelenting determination to crush rebellion, Lloyd George said at the same time that he would welcome negotiations with Sinn Fein leaders who had not been "involved in the commission of serious crimes." He said that the Government could not deal directly with the "Irish Republican Parliament" since it did not recognize the existence of an independent Irish Republic, but that those members of the Irish Parliament who had been elected on the Sinn Fein ticket to the British House of Commons and had not been guilty of serious crimes would be given every facility and safe conduct to meet and negotiate with the British Government. This peace offer was in reply to the proposal of negotiations by Father O'Flanagan, one of the more moderate Sinn Fein leaders, and also by the Galway County Council.

## Relief for China

A great famine in northeastern China threatens the lives of more millions of human beings than perished during the Great War and the famines in Europe which came as its result. The President has appointed a relief committee of 180 under the chairmanship of Thomas W. Lamont, with Mr. Norman Davis, under-Secretary of State, as treasurer. The President's statement graphically depicts the situation:

A famine, alarming in its proportions, today holds in its grip several important provinces in China. That crop failure is complete, and the present distress which is great is likely, before winter has run its course, to become appalling. In fact our diplomatic and consular agencies in China inform me that the loss resulting from death in distressing form may run into millions of souls. It is certain that the local Government and established



The People, London

WHY NOT LET 'EM LOOSE?

A demand for reprisals has been growing in English sentiment with the desire to punish the Sinn Fein murderers of British policemen in Ireland



agencies of relief are unable to cope with the magnitude of the disaster.

The case of China I regard as especially worthy of the earnest attention of our citizens. To an unusual degree the Chinese people look to us for counsel and for effective friendship. Our churches, thru their religious and medical missionaries, their schools and colleges, and our philanthropic foundations have rendered China an incalculable benefit, which her people recognize with gratitude and devotion to the United States.

The movement for relief to the Chinese famine unfortunately comes at a time when there are also calls on American generosity to preserve from starvation the children of Armenia, Syria, Austria, Poland and other parts of Europe and western Asia, but it is hoped that the people of the United States will from the surplus of their wealth be able to check the famine in both poverty-stricken areas. At any rate, if the United States does not do so, no other nation has the resources to come to the rescue.

Famines may be divided into two types. One, which may be called the "European" famine, is due to a breakdown of normal economic life under some exceptional calamity. Such is the case of the countries of central Europe, which would be able to feed themselves without any aid from foreign charity had not the Great War dislocated manufactures, taken men from agriculture, inflated currency till money would buy nothing, and broken the threads of commerce with other nations. Even Armenia, with a more primitive economic life, would be self-supporting if the Turks, Kurds and Bolsheviks had not carried fire and sword into the country. Those parts of Europe which have returned to peace are already returning to agricultural sufficiency.

But the other type of famine, which we may term the "Oriental," is different. It is not the result of some exceptional disaster, such as war or earthquake, but recurs every few years after a succession of bad crop seasons. The present famine in China has no relation at all to the Great War and has only in a slight degree been made worse by the recent civil wars. The provinces of Chili, Shantung, Honan, Shansi and Shensi, in the region of Hoang river, have had a drouth on top of three or four years of inferior crops. There is no agricultural reserve and the people have no resources to fall back on; nor can the rest of China send relief, because in the best of years the Chinese produce barely enough to live on. Famines of this type are common in China, India and the remotest districts of Russia. The reason for them is partly over-population and partly a primitive stage of economic development with lack of modern facilities for production and distribution. Conditions which in the United States would mean "hard times" or a "bad year," with farm mortgages, unemployment and bankruptcies, mean to China wholesale starvation, suicide and the selling of children for a few pounds of rice.

## The Lord of Kamchatka

WASHINGTON Baker Vanderlip, American financier and promoter, is back from Russia with marvelous tales of trade opportunities and with contracts and concessions alleged to be worth \$3,000,000,000 in his pocket. He gave out a detailed list of exports which Russians are eager to obtain from the United States in return for the concessions in eastern Siberia and the great and desolate peninsula of Kamchatka. In this almost uninhabited region there was, he declared, vast wealth in coal, oil and other resources. He denied many rumors that had grown up about

his mysterious mission to Russia, such as that he was authorized by President-elect Harding to promise the recognition of the Bolshevik Government, that he was backed by Standard Oil interests, that he was an agent of British companies, and that his real object was to gain concessions in the Batum oil district. He also denied that he was a Bolshevik or inclined to promote Bolshevik interests in the United States. He said that he told Lenin quite frankly that there was no chance of a revolution in the United States and that Lenin had replied that a revolution was hardly to be expected "in a country where there virtually was a motor car for every man."

Reports sent by way of Riga and Helsingfors, however, have it that Lenin claims to have outwitted the American capitalist. Lenin, according to this account, declared that Russia sacrificed nothing, since in case of a general war against the bourgeoisie of the world it would always be possible to retake the concessions as booty, and that granting concessions in eastern Siberia to Americans would tend to embroil Americans and Japanese to the advantage of Russia.

## Another Infant Republic

NEWS comes from Vienna that one of the Hungarian counties is in revolution. In southwestern Hungary, near the Yugoslav frontier, is the city of Pecs, the chief city of Baranya. Here the independent republic of Baranya has been proclaimed by a group of insurgents. The Serbs coveted this region, but the Peace Conference awarded it to Hungary. But now that the district has exercised its "self-determination" and revolted from Hungary it is not easy to see how the Government of Admiral Horthy will bring it back under Hungarian control until the people are better pleased with the course of events at Budapest. The Yugoslav Government has extended its "protection" over the infant republic, and a war between Hungary and Yugoslavia would also involve Rumania and Czechoslovakia as nations friendly to the Yugoslavs and hostile to the Magyars. So Hungary refrains from crushing the new Republic of Baranya in the cradle.

There is no reason to think that the new Republic will be permanent. It is but a symptom of the present political instability along the Danube. Hungary is in the position that France was in for a few years after the Franco-Prussian War; it has a monarchist Government but it is without a royal head. Admiral Horthy is maintaining order and acting as provisional head of the nation until international conditions are such that it is safe to call a Habsburg to the throne. Such a move would be unpopular with the Allies, who seem to care little for the abstract issue between monarchy and republic but dread lest a Hungarian ruler would take steps to restore the old Austro-Hungarian State. The rebellion in Baranya seems to prove that many Hungarians are likewise displeased at the reactionary tendencies of the Government. The report that the Hungarian Government contemplates the disfranchisement of all its Jewish population has caused much unfavorable comment in the European press.



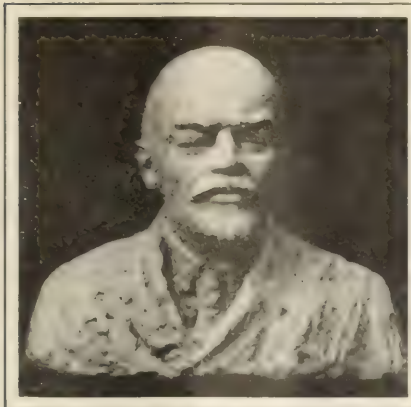
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Washington B. Vanderlip, American mining engineer, has come back to this country from Russia and Siberia with contracts concessions from the Soviet Government that he says are worth \$3,000,000,000, and which cover 400,000 square miles of Siberian territory. Mr. Vanderlip accomplished these negotiations by personal interviews with Lenin; he was backed by a syndicate of Pacific Coast capitalists





TROTZKY, MINISTER OF WAR



Wide World

## The Leaders of Soviet Russia

NIKOLAI LENIN, PREMIER



ZINOVIEV, PRESIDENT OF PETROGRAD

These statues were modeled by Mrs. Clare Sheridan, an English sculptress, who has just returned from Moscow where she was given every opportunity to study the government of Soviet Russia

In Jugoslavia itself there is a republican and separatist movement in Croatia. The Croatian nationalists, however, seem to be in a minority even in their own part of the country and the Serbs are a unit against any attempt to break up the unity of the Yugoslav monarchy. The recent elections are reported to have given the following division of strength in the Assembly: Radicals, 96; Democrats, 92; Communists, 55; Radich (Croatian nationalist) Party, 50; Mussulmans, 25; Clericals, 22. The Radicals and Democrats are the parties which support the present Government. Naturally, the refusal of d'Annunzio to give up his dictatorship and accept the frontier terms agreed on between Italy and Jugoslavia adds to the instability of the whole situation in southeastern Europe.

## The Church and the League

THE Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, recently in session in Boston, adopted a message to the churches of the thirty Protestant denominations represented in the Council. Perhaps greatest interest attaches to the declaration in favor of a League of Nations:

We welcome, therefore, the proposal for a League of Nations which shall be in truth an association of free peoples for mutual helpfulness in the tasks of peace, and we call upon our own nation to join with other nations in moving along this new pathway of hope.

Other resolutions called for a stricter enforcement of the prohibition law and a campaign to "banish from the entire world traffic in intoxicating liquor and debasing narcotics"; favored coöperation with other nations for general disarmament; sent fraternal greetings "to all our sister Churches in Europe, both in allied lands and in those countries with which we have lately been at war"; commended the "most Christian utterance" of the Anglican Church at Lambeth on Christian unity, and condemned as "cruel and unwarranted" all attempts to "create race prejudice and arouse animosity against our Jewish fellow-citizens."

## Sword or Olive Branch?

SHALL the United States coöperate with other nations in the reduction of armaments? This question has been made urgent by the current discussion of disarmament in the League of Nations Assembly. President Wilson has refused to send special representatives in a consultative capacity during the discussions by the Commission on the Reduction of Armaments. He made the following statement:

The President is deeply interested in this question and is most

desirous of coöperating to this end, but as the Government of the United States is not a member of the League, he does not feel justified in appointing a commission to take even a *de facto* participation in the deliberations of the Council or of the Commission acting on behalf of the Council in the execution of provisions of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

The refusal of the United States to participate in the general work of disarmament has reacted unfavorably on the disarmament program of the member nations of the League. Viscount Ishii of Japan told the Armaments Commission that Japan could not accept any resolution pledging the nation to curtail military expenditures so long as "one certain great power" (meaning, of course, the United States) was not bound by any action of the League. The Commission eventually agreed to "recommend" to the member nations of the League that none of them add to their armaments for the next two years, but this recommendation has no positive binding force. The Assembly by a vote of 30 to 7 acted favorably on the report of the Commission and recommended to the Council a two years' truce in armament building. France voted with the minority.

General Tasker Bliss, who was one of President Wilson's colleagues at the Paris Peace Conference, has urged that the United States take the lead in world disarmament. He said that the United States should issue the following manifesto to the other Powers of the world for reducing all armaments to a purely defensive status:

We will agree with you that each nation that so desires shall keep and build whatever frontier and coast fortifications it wishes. Fortifications cannot stride across the earth, devastating fields and destroying cities.

We will agree with you that each nation may maintain its navy. No navy without an army can conquer and hold foreign territory.

We will agree with you on a date when we shall simultaneously abolish any military system which is solely necessary for international war.

We will agree with you on a date as remote as the existing conditions make absolutely necessary when we shall begin the gradual reduction of our armed forces until they are at the limit necessary for the maintenance of internal order. . . .

We will agree with you on the proper amounts of material to be kept on hand for the reduced forces. And we will further agree with you to cease the manufacture of material until the amounts now on hand are reduced to what we agree upon as necessary for the reduced forces.

Secretary Daniels of the Navy declares that if the United States joins the League of Nations and takes part in the work of disarmament "our present navy, with the addition of some special types, will be adequate for our defense and the prevention of aggression." On the other hand, if the



United States stands aloof and isolated another three-years' building program would have to be authorized. This program includes the construction of three new battleships, a battle cruiser, thirty light cruisers, eight gunboats, eighteen destroyers, twelve mine laying submarines, six cruiser submarines, three destroyer tenders, three submarine tenders and four airplane carriers; eighty-eight vessels of all types to be under construction by 1924. He defended the policy of having "two great fleets, one in each of the great oceans we are called upon to defend," and recommended the development of Hawaii as a naval base. Senator Borah offered a resolution for disarmament by the common agreement of Great Britain, Japan and the United States.

## Wilson Gets Nobel Prize

THE Nobel peace prize for 1920 was formally awarded to President Wilson on December 10. At the same time, the prize for 1919, which had not been awarded last year, was given to Léon Bourgeois, who represented France in the negotiations at Paris for the establishment of the League of Nations.

It is a remarkable tribute to the peace-making diplomacy of the United States that three Americans have received the Nobel peace prize. Theodore Roosevelt in 1905 and Elihu Root in 1912 shared the honors now granted to Woodrow Wilson. During the Great War, as if in silent rebuke to the belligerent world, no award was made of the annual peace prize, save that in one year it was given to the Red Cross. It is significant that with the restoration of peace it was decided by neutral judges that of all the statesmen who met at Versailles, President Wilson had done most to bring about an enduring peace.

As President Wilson could not go to Christiania in person, the prize was taken on his behalf by the American minister to Norway. But the President sent a letter of thanks in which he said:

May I not take this occasion to express my respect for the far-sighted wisdom of the founder in arranging for a continuing system of awards? If there were but one such prize, or if this were to be the last, I could not, of course, accept it, for mankind has not yet been rid of the unspeakable horror of war.

I am convinced that our generation has, despite its wounds, made notable progress, but it is the better part of wisdom to consider our work as only begun. It will be a continuing labor. In the definite course of the years before us there will be abundant opportunity for others to distinguish themselves in the crusade against the hate and fear of war.

There is, indeed, a peculiar fitness in the grouping of the Nobel rewards. The cause of peace, and the cause of truth are of one family. Even as those who love science and devote their lives to physics or chemistry, even as those who create new and

higher ideals for mankind in literature, even so with those who love peace, there is no limit set. Whatever has been accomplished in the past is petty compared to the glory of the promise of the future.

## Houston's Horrible Hints

SECRETARY Houston of the Department of the Treasury is making himself very unpleasant just at present by pointing out that the state of the nation's finances makes imperative new taxes if the Excess Profits tax is abandoned. In his annual report he points out:

Revision of taxes should be effected. There can and should be a better distribution of the tax burden. Unwise taxes should be eliminated. But any scheme which would, after this fiscal year, yield for several years to come less than \$4,000,000,000 would be incompatible with safety and sound finance. And the country should face the fact that present taxes even may not in the future be relied upon to yield the needed revenue.

He agreed that the Excess Profits tax in its present form was not working well because it discriminated against conservatively capitalized corporations and encouraged over-capitalization, and also that some of the wartime consumption taxes which had proved difficult to collect might be abandoned and that the supertax on incomes might be so modified as not to drive the very wealthy to investing all their wealth in tax-exempt securities. So far, so good, says the taxpayer. But look at the new taxes which the Treasury Department thinks necessary to fill the vacuum so created:

Tax of 20 per cent on corporation profits, distributed or undistributed, plus a higher surtax rate; to yield \$690,000,000.

Additional tax of 6 per cent on corporation incomes; to yield \$465,000,000.

Readjustment of supertax on individual incomes; to yield \$230,000,000.

Abolition of \$2000 exemption on corporation incomes; to yield \$58,000,000.

Increase from 4 to 6 per cent on incomes of \$5000 or less, and from 8 to 12 per cent on incomes from \$5000 to \$10,000; to yield \$150,940,000.

Tax of two cents a gallon on gasoline; to yield \$90,000,000.

License tax of 50 cents a horse power on motor cars; to yield \$100,000,000.

Additional sales tax on automobiles, motor cycles and accessories; to yield \$100,000,000.

Additional 10 per cent tax on theater tickets, to yield \$70,000,000.

Additional \$2 a thousand on cigarets; to yield \$70,000,000.

Additional 25 cents a thousand on cigars; to yield \$5,000,000.

Additional tax on tobacco and snuff; to yield \$8,000,000.

Additional tax of 5 per cent on candy; to yield \$20,000,000.

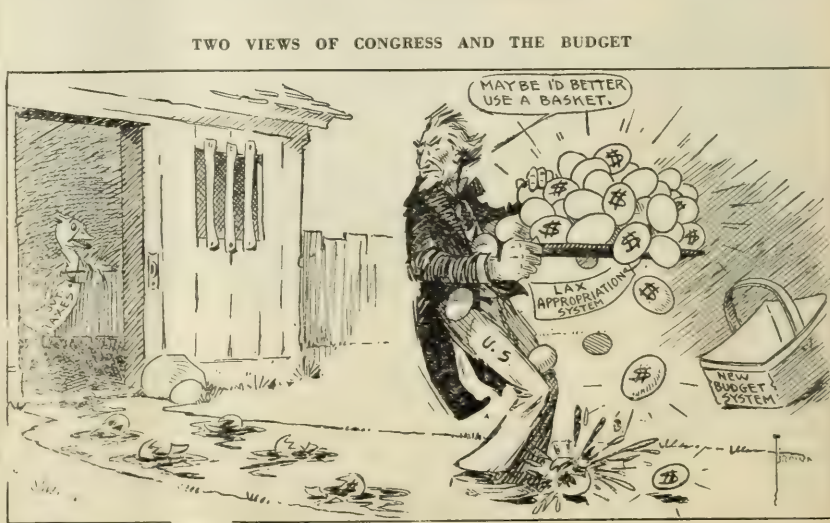
Additional tax of 7 per cent on chewing gum; to yield \$2,000,000.

Additional tax of 7 per cent on toilet soap; to yield \$4,000,000.

A 10 per cent tax on sales by manufacturers and importers of cosmetics, perfumes and medicinal articles, in place of present tax on consumer; to yield \$10,000,000.



Norrie, for George Matthew Adams

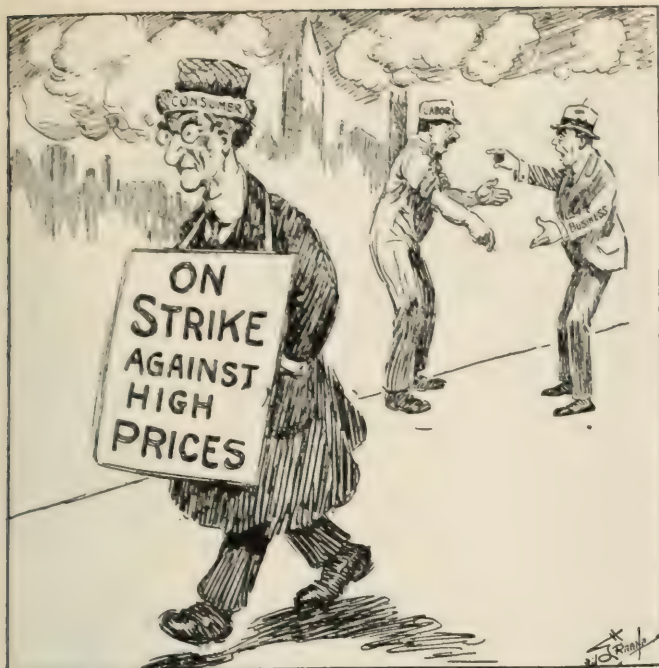


Brown in Chicago Tribune

Congress: This hurts me more than it will you

Seems kind o' careless, doesn't it?





Greene in New York Evening Post

It's his turn now

Additional tax of 5 per cent on jewelry and precious metals; to yield \$25,000,000.

Additional tax of 5 per cent on musical instruments; to yield \$13,000,000.

Additional tax of 5 per cent on motion picture films; to yield \$4,000,000.

## Immigration Bill Passes House

ON December 13 the House of Representatives passed the Johnson bill establishing a temporary bar against all labor immigration. The vote was 293 to 41. Twenty-three Democrats and eighteen Republicans voted in the minority; nearly all the opponents of the bill representing industrial constituencies in such states as New York, Illinois and Massachusetts. The measure is not intended as a basis for permanent immigration policy, but simply as an emergency "injunction" to halt immigration until Congress, with its usual leisureliness, can determine the policy it wishes to adopt.

The bill as originally drafted barred immigration for two years, but in the course of discussion in the House it was amended to a one year's exclusion policy. Further important amendments are expected in the Senate. Senator Dillingham of Vermont has introduced a bill limiting the number of aliens of any nationality who may be annually admitted to the United States to 5 per cent of the number of persons of that nationality already resident in the United States. The aim of this measure is to restrict immigration from southern and eastern Europe and from Asia, without any direct discrimination against any nation, and this is possible because the older immigration, which would count largely in determining the number of persons resident in the United States, came largely from such countries of northwestern Europe as Germany, Scandinavia, Great Britain and Ireland, and the big immigration from such countries as Italy, Poland, Russia and Syria is comparatively recent.

The House of Representatives voted unanimously to repeal legislation "that by its terms is in force only during the existence of a state of war." The Lever Food Control Act, the Trading with the Enemy Act, the War Finance Corporation Act and the acts governing the Liberty and Victory loans were not comprized within the scope of the original resolution, but by a vote of 179 to 137 an amend-

ment was adopted, on the motion of Representative Bland of Indiana, including in the repeal the Lever Act with the exception of a section relating to rents in the District of Columbia. Among the measures repealed were the temporary clauses of the Espionage Act, frequently used during the war to suppress pro-German and pacifist agitation, and the Overman Act, which enabled the President to reorganize at his will the machinery of the executive branch of the Government.

## On the Listening Porch

PRESIDENT-elect Harding is spending his days at Marion picking thoughts from "great minds" before he announces the personnel of his cabinet or the direction of his foreign policy. He is keeping his pre-election pledge that he would make the Marion porch a "listening post" and would consult with representative men of all shades of thought in the endeavor to reconcile differences and find a common ground on which all Americans might stand. Asked if he had determined on any cabinet appointments he said to the reporters that he had made no offers to anyone and "You can put that in your papers today and tomorrow and every day after until announcement to the contrary is forthcoming." Among those who have been asked into consultation by Senator Harding are ex-President Taft, Elihu Root, Herbert Hoover, Charles E. Hughes, Colonel George Harvey and many members of the Senate. The exact advice given by these men is, of course, confidential; but it is believed that Taft, Root, Hoover and Hughes favor the existing League of Nations with some amendments, and that Harvey and many Senators, even including some who were formerly "Lodge reservationists," are opposed to the whole idea. President Wilson has intimated that he would be glad to confer with Senator Harding, but no definite arrangements have as yet been made for a White House conference.

Governor Cox has extended a signal courtesy to his successful rival for the presidency. He telegraphed Harding that he would appoint Senator-elect Willis, who is a Republican, to the Ohio Senatorship if he wished to resign now. Hitherto Senator Harding has hesitated to resign for fear that the Democratic Governor of Ohio would appoint a Democratic Senator in his place to fill out the term.



International

Here is a real stunt in horsemanship—pyramid riding three abreast and three deep. It was exhibited by members of the New York City police force as one of the incidents in their annual Field Day



# A Little of Everything



## Telephoning Pictures

We think our present news-gathering facilities are perfect, yet that is far from true. Correspondents throughout the world send their stories to the newspapers and periodicals via telegraph, cable and wireless. But until now we have had to send our photographs by courier, express or mail. The far-off correspondent sends his story by the fastest route, and the photographs come along several weeks or months later.

With a view to perfecting our news-gathering facilities, several inventors have been at work on some means for sending photographs over telegraph or telephone wires, and possibly cables and wireless. By far the most successful of these schemes is that of Edouard Belin, of Paris, France, who is now in this country for the purpose of demonstrating his system. Already Belin has transmitted photographs over hundreds of miles of telegraph and telephone lines in France and Belgium, as well as over the short cable under the English Channel, in a test from Paris to London. His system is certainly well beyond the laboratory stage.

The photograph to be transmitted is



Now escaping convicts will find their photographs there before them, and telegraphed news stories can be accompanied by news pictures. This photograph was received over 550 miles of wire in France, retaining remarkably the expression and the light-and-shade values of the original

photographically printed on to a brass cylinder, which print is then treated so as to produce the printed photograph in bas relief. The cylinder is then placed in the transmitter, which resembles the old-time cylinder type phonograph. As the cylinder is revolved at a speed identical to that of the receiving cylinder at the other end of the line, there presses on its uneven surface the stylus of a microphone. The latter member is not unlike the usual telephone transmitter. The uneven surface of the bas relief photograph on the transmitter cylinder causes more or less current to flow over the telegraph or telephone line. Obviously, then, the delicate half-tone modulations of the original photograph are thus translated into delicate modulations of an electric current.

Following the delicate modulations of the current over the wires to the receiving end, we find that they are passed through what is known as a Blondel oscillograph, an instrument which carries a diminutive mirror on a pair of silver wires, said mirror turning more or less on its axis in accordance with the strength of the received current. A special form of lamp is employed to project a thin but intense beam of light on to this small mirror. As the mirror swings about on its axis, it reflects the beam of light in a horizontal plane from side to side. This reflected beam passes through a screen of varying density, through a lens which concentrates the beam, and on to a tiny hole no larger than the finest needle hole. Obviously, when the beam passes through the more transparent parts of the screen, the light falling on the tiny hole is strongest, and when the beam strikes the opaque sections of the screen, the light does not reach the tiny hole. Thus the current fluctuations, which represent the photographic blacks and whites and half tones at the transmitting end, are translated into varying strengths of light.

Behind the tiny hole is a cylinder revolving at exactly the same speed as the transmitter cylinder, but covered with sensitized photographic paper. The tiny hole starts at one end of the cylinder and travels over to the other end, thus covering every part of the cylinder. The changing values of light are recorded on the sensitized paper or film, which is then developed in a dark room in the usual manner.

The speed of transmission is a matter of photographic detail. If a coarse result matters little, then the speed can be increased. If a photo-

graph is quite detailed and this detail must be preserved, then the speed is materially reduced. Thus good work requires from four to eight minutes; crude photographs can be transmitted in from three to six minutes. By a special attachment at the transmitting end and a slight modification in the receiver, type matter, handwriting, drawings, maps and other documents executed in black and white can be rapidly transmitted.



© Underwood & Underwood

In Hamburg, Germany, all the street cars running past the post-office have been fitted with post boxes into which letters can be dropped at any point. All the mail clerk has to do is to get the letters from the boxes when the cars stop at the Post Office. Not so much walking for him, and a far more rapid transit for the letters

## When Dragons Lived in Canada

A half-dozen fossil skeletons of giant dinosaurs that lived millions of years ago have been recently taken out of the Red Deer bone quarries in Alberta, which had already produced some of the most remarkable prehistoric relics in the world. An expedition from the Royal Ontario Museum was in the field thru the summer, and its discoveries have been removed to Toronto to be mounted.

Dr. W. A. Parks, in charge of the bone-hunting work of the Ontario museum, believes that he has among this year's finds a dinosaurian skeleton different from any previously known to science. It is a crested dinosaur with a backward spine-like prolongation of the skull. The skull measures fully six feet from the tip of the jaw to its extreme point.

The Red Deer River fossil beds are now known to be as good a hunting





He measures 30 feet in his bones. And there were more like him on the Red Deer river-banks, three million years ago

ground for reptilian remains as are the South Dakota Bad-Lands for mammals. The river cuts thru the prairie, about one hundred miles north of Calgary, to a depth of 400 feet, and sides in the canon, caused by the river current setting against the bank, have laid bare many bones of various sorts and sizes. With these clues to work on, the relic hunters have dug further into the bank, finding the best specimens still imbedded in slabs of rock, which they have then packed in plaster paris for shipment. Cutting the skeletons loose from the rock for mounting, the final process at the museums, is always a work of extreme difficulty and delicacy.

It is believed to be at least 3,000,000 years since the creatures found in the Alberta boneyards were in the flesh. That was before the Rocky Mountains existed, or when they were in process of formation, and what is now the prairie country east of them was but slightly raised above sea level. It was then a well-wooded country and was full of marshes, lakes, and sluggish streams. The conditions were thus perfectly adapted to an abundant reptilian life, which at last was overwhelmed by the gigantic earth-push that came in from the Pacific, raising the mountains and filling up the country immediately beyond them. That a change of climate came with that vast re-creation is evident in the contrast between present conditions and those indicated by the sub-tropical remains in the Red Deer valley.

While the most important discoveries have been classified as dinosaurs—crested, horned, and duck-billed—there have been many reptilian specimens of minor proportions as well, such as, the scientists tell us, batrachians, plesiosaurs, and rhynchocephalians. Furthermore, the relic-hunters have found remains of turtles and fishes, of crocodiles and primitive mammals, of tree trunks and now extinct plant life. And the sum total of these remarkable discoveries has been of many tons' weight.

With all the bones that have gone from the Red Deer quarries to Ottawa, Toronto, and New York, there are still many more, it is believed, awaiting future digging. The erosion of the canon-sides as time goes on will lay bare further treasures, and some more big skeletons will be added in due time to the continent's fossil galleries.

## Between the Acts

Frank Vanderlip, the banker, has purchased the entire village of Sparta, New York, which he will rebuild as a model town.

\*\*\*

In Nebraska, owing to the high price of coal and the size of the corn crop, farmers are again burning corn for fuel as in pioneer days.

\*\*\*

A "jinrickmobile" has been established in Tokio. It has the framework of the old jinricksha but is run by motor instead of by man power.

\*\*\*

According to the United States game warden of the Department of Agriculture there are 7,000,000 people in the United States who make a practice of hunting.

\*\*\*

A London barber computed that it takes 200 razor strokes to shave a customer. He estimated that he made 288,000 razor strokes a week in the course of his trade.

\*\*\*

According to *The Wall Street Journal*, which ought to know, with the exception of the election of 1916 the party with the largest campaign fund has been the vic-

torious party in every national election since 1860.

\*\*\*

Lynchings in the United States so far during 1920 have reached fifty.

\*\*\*

Mr. Christensen, Farmer-Labor candidate for President, announces that the party will start a shoe factory to finance its next campaign from the net revenues.

\*\*\*

The trend toward standardization keeps up. American paint manufacturers have reduced the number of standard colors from 100 to 24 and automobile tire manufacturers have reduced sizes from 287 to 9.

\*\*\*

The new superintendent of police in Chicago has ordered a chart prepared showing the home of every known criminal in Chicago. Patrolmen will be required to keep a record of every change of address of those on the crook list.

## Lives and Dollars

One hundred dollars a year does not seem a very high valuation for the average human life—in fact, many of us might feel that we are worth rather more than that. Yet, with only this amount as a unit, it has been estimated that the economic loss to the United States thru one disease alone is \$25,000,000,000, and possibly double that sum. A recent study made by the National Tuberculosis Association and the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, indicates that an average of two and a half years could be added to every individual's life if tuberculosis were eliminated.

Since the National Tuberculosis Association began its campaign fifteen years ago, the death rate from tuber-



"American Ladies Will Not Be Slaves. Give Us a Fair Compensation." And the picture on the banner is of a shawled and be-flounced "lady" kneeling at the feet of Tyrant Man. Way back in 1860 the women workers of Lynn, Massachusetts, went on strike for more wages, with slogans and parades and all the other trimmings. This is the scene reconstructed for the industrial film that Carlyle Ellis has just made for the Industrial Committee of the Y. W. C. A., National Board. This three-reel picture, "From Whistle to Whistle," and another two-reel industrial film, "When Women Work," both produced and directed by Mr. Ellis, are two interesting evidences of the widening range and reach of the motion-picture medium. "When Women Work," in which the subject is treated in fictional narrative style, was prepared for the Women's Bureau of the United States Labor Department



culosis has declined from over 200 per 1,000 population to approximately 145 thereby saving the country about 50,000 lives a year. But there are 1,000,000 cases of tuberculosis in this country at the present time and approximately another 1,000,000 persons have the disease in a quiescent stage. If the terrific economic loss from the disease were confined to one occupation, the enormous waste of human life caused by a preventable and curable disease would stagger the civilized world. But tuberculosis takes its toll from all classes of society and its victims are scattered thru every trade and profession.

In order to continue its campaign against the white plague, the National Tuberculosis Association and its 1,200 affiliated agencies are conducting a sale of Christmas seals from December 1 to 11 inclusive. It has been estimated that the necessary health machinery to control tuberculosis would cost approximately \$2 per person in any American community, or a total for the entire population of the United States of \$2,000,000 spread over a period of ten years. This would mean a net saving to the United States of producing power valued at approximately \$23,000,000,000 within ten years if tuberculosis could be eliminated.

## Grow Your Own Ice

To make natural ice one essential is water, and the other is freezing weather. The trouble is that in many cases there is plenty of the right kind of weather, but little or none of the water, at least the kind of water that will be still long enough to be frozen. There are several ways of getting around this difficulty, according to "Harvesting and Storing Ice on the Farm," a farmers' bulletin issued by the United States Department of Agriculture.

Suppose a farmer finds no suitable lake or pond in his neighborhood. He can create an artificial lake by diverting a stream into an excavation, or by building a dam across a low piece of ground. Some farmers have made artificial lakes in their front yards, and they have been pretty in summer as well as useful in the winter. One thing that must not be forgotten is to keep these lakes pure and clean.

But suppose a farmer has no place for a lake, altho cold weather prevails

in his part of the country for several weeks at a time. He can freeze his ice in metal cans or special paper bags.

"The cans may be made in any convenient size by a local tinsmith," says the bulletin, "and should be of galvanized iron reinforced at top and bottom with iron strips."

"The bottom is made smaller than the top, to make the removal of the ice easier. The cans are placed near the water supply, filled with water, and left exposed to the weather. A shell of ice soon freezes around the inner surface, and when the shell is from one and one-half to two inches thick, hot water is poured over the outside of the can and the shell removed. A hole is broken thru at the top of the shell and most of the water inside is

then poured out. As the freezing progresses water is poured into the shell a little at a time until a solid block of ice is produced. By this method only a few cans are required.

"About the same method is employed when special paper bags are used, altho they do not last so long as the cans. The advantage of the bags over the metal cans is mainly in cheapness, for they are not so convenient to handle.

Another method that can be used in very cold sections of the United States is to run water into the ice house and let a layer freeze. This is done by first constructing a dam of snow around the floor of the house 10 or 12 inches from the walls in order to allow sawdust insulation next to the walls. The interior of the house is then flooded with a few inches of water, which soon freezes, the procedure being repeated until the house is filled with ice. It is then covered with sawdust and closed up until ice is needed. A great disadvantage of this method is that in order to remove ice it must be cut or chopped out with an ax, which results in uneven and irregular pieces."



Bray Studios

Three of the flakes that you brush carefully from your coatsleeve or clear from your front walk with a shovel

## Nature's Formal Art By Jerome Lachenbruch

When man seeks models for design, he invariably turns to nature. And so faithfully has he copied her that we often refer to the copy rather than to the original when we suddenly come upon a thing of beauty. "As pretty as a picture" came into the language after someone had seen nature and painted her truly.



Bray Studios

The spider makes a lovely web for dew crystals to thread themselves upon

Snowflakes and frost crystals are an endless source of design. In the accompanying photographs, taken by the Bray Studios, dew, frost and snow crystals have been many times enlarged to show the intricacies of their pattern. And by studying these crystal forms, one may tell whether a snowflake on one's coat sleeve is from a local or a "great" storm.

All crystals are hexagonal in form, and their detail varies according to the altitude in which they are found. The lacy, open-work crystals are the product of local storms, whereas the solid ones sometimes fall from as great a height as eight miles.

The phenomenon of crystallization is very much like plant growth. If a crystal breaks an arm, it grows another to replace the missing member. In the formation of snow and dew crystals, the nucleus, or center, forms first. This determines the shape of the full-grown crystal.

In these exquisite, variegated patterns designers are continually finding suggestions for brocades, wall papers, silks and tapestries.

## The Movie Aristocracy

The Motion Picture Magazine has done its bit in solving the pressing problems of the day by taking a poll of its readers on the most popular moving picture actors and actresses.

The ten table of those ranking highest is just announced as follows:

Actresses	Votes
Mary Pickford	117,387
Norma Talmadge	74,812
Pearl White	35,174
Mme. Nazimova	19,003
Constance Talmadge	13,195
Bebe Daniels	7,040
Mary Miles Minter	6,762
Viola Dana	5,944
Theda Bara	5,715
Lillian Gish	5,604
Actors	Votes
William S. Hart	58,157
Wallace Reid	48,319
Richard Barthelmess	32,004
Douglas Fairbanks	15,165
Eugene O'Brien	10,123
William Farnum	9,802
J. Warren Kerrigan	5,616
Tom Mix	5,210
Thomas Meighan	5,090
Charles Ray	5,065

Elsie Ferguson, Marguerite Clark, Anita Stewart, Dorothy Gish, Dorothy Dalton and Geraldine Farrar are left freezing out in the cold, and Charlie Chaplin can only hold down sixteenth place with a muster of 2901 votes.



# A Number of Things

By Edwin E. Slosson

I am baffled by a theological problem. I wonder if any of my readers are expert enough to solve it for me. The case is this:

Last November the army of Baron Wrangel, together with a host of Russian refugees, pursued by the Bolsheviks, escaped into the Crimean peninsula. The isthmus of Perekop, connecting the Crimea to the mainland, is less than three miles wide and it had been strongly fortified with trenches and barbed wire by French engineers and was defended with ten and twelve inch cannon as well as machine guns. On the left of this causeway was an arm of the Black Sea, protected by the French and British fleets. On the right the shallower but impassable Putrid Sea, a branch of the Sea of Azov. General Wrangel announced to the world that his army was now safe and could hold out all winter. He might have said like Horatius at the bridge:

In yon strait path a thousand  
May well be stopped by three.  
Now who will stand on either hand  
And keep the bridge with me?

But that night occurred one of those events which our legal documents, inheriting their phraseology from the age of faith, call "an act of God," meaning generally by that a calamity of nature. The Siwash or Putrid Sea very rarely freezes over altogether, even in the dead of winter, and this was early in November. The Crimea is the Riviera of Russia, where the nobility have their winter homes. But there came a severe freeze and when the Bolsheviks woke they found an ice bridge had been placed across the waters that separated them from their foes. It was strong enough to hold the army and artillery so they crossed quickly, took the White forces in the rear and defeated them with great slaughter. The fortress of Sevastopol fell into the hands of the Reds a few days later and with it the food and military supplies that had been stored there for the winter. The French and British ships could carry away only a part of the hundred thousand men, women and children who had sought safety in the Crimea from the Bolsheviks.

Now this is the sort of unprecedented occurrence that would formerly have been called "providential"—if it had happened on the other side. I used to hear of such special providences in Wednesday night prayer meetings and there are many of them recorded in American, English and Jewish history. If now the Siwash Sea had frozen over to let pass the Russian refugees, mostly members of the Orthodox Church, doubtless praying as hard as they could, and then broken up just in time to engulf the wicked Bolsheviks, that would seem all right and afford a good illustration for a sermon. But nobody can imagine the Lord's in-

tervening in behalf of Bolsheviks who openly flout him and violate all the commandments, especially the tenth. The Moscow wireless does not say that Trotsky, like his historic ancestor, stood on the shore and stretched out his hand over the sea and caused it to become dry so all his host could pass over in safety. There is no reason to think that any of the Bolsheviks prayed to have their enemies delivered into their hands by a miracle. We might suppose they swore when they found their quarry had escaped and swearing is said to be a form of prayer. But the Bolsheviks, being officially atheists, could not even swear without making hypocrites of themselves, and we should not accuse them of that without proof.

If now the devil had a kind of special providence of his own—that might help us out of the dilemma. It seems a sort of devilish trick, but I'm not sure that Satan possesses the power to upset the customary order of nature to help out or rather on his disciples. Besides flame rather than frost is his special weapon—tho we have Dante's testimony to the contrary.

But I have not heard anything about the devil for years, that is, in church. The preachers seem to have forgotten him, altho he used to be considered an important personage, not safely to be ignored. I miss him. There are some theological problems that I can't seem to solve without him. The older I get the more puzzled I become. Things seemed simpler when I was young.

My appeal for relief from my perplexity brought a quicker response than I anticipated, for as soon as the galley proof came in due course to the desk of my colleague, Preston Slosson, he turned in the following commentary. But it would shatter the tradition of paternal omniscience to accept the solution of my son as entirely satisfactory, so I still hold the question open to the reader.

The devil may easily have great power over the weather, for is he not "Prince of the Power of the Air"? Is he not in all ages credited with the power to raise storms and other untoward meteorological conditions? Would this not be especially true in a hellish country like Russia near a place with the sinister name of the "Putrid Sea"?

Robinson, it is true, says in "The New History" that "there are few events which can nowadays be ascribed with certainty to the devil," but he is perhaps unduly sceptical.

Of course, the question might be asked why God permitted the devil to send inappropriate weather since, in all legends, divine miracles are supposed to affect climatic conditions also (sinners struck by lightning, etc.). But that would raise the prior question of why God permitted the Bolsheviks to exist at all or any evil to exist at all, which would raise the

whole problem of the existence of evil which is not to be settled in a footnote.

And then there is another hypothesis; the Wranglers may have been sinners also. If not so much as the Bolsheviks, at least enough to require divine "chastisement." From what I know of the white Russians this seems at least plausible.

My own view is that whether other things be predestined or no, the weather (being a material and natural phenomenon) is quite thoroly predestined and that until the human race has devised apparatus to make weather at will we must adapt our prayers and our military strategy to the weather as we find it instead of adapting the weather to our prayers and strategy. God does not temper the wind to the shorn lamb; the shorn lamb had better move south or get a coat.<sup>1</sup>

P. S.

\* \* \*

Two insoluble feminine problems of the drama:

Where Melisande came from.  
Where Nora went to.

\* \* \*

Charlie Chaplin declares that his wife is wrong when she says he is a Bolshevik. But why then does he act like one, smashing up the furniture, bothering everybody with his stupidity and bobbing up again whenever he gets knocked down?

\* \* \*

If your house is infested by relatives perhaps you will be interested in the following advertisement that appeared in the Sydney, Australia, *Daily News*:

WHITE AUNTS positively destroyed for £2 2s. No charge while any remain alive on your property. White Aunt Chemical Coy.

\* \* \*

At this season it is meet that our minds should revert to our heroic ancestors who starved and died three hundred years ago that we might enjoy freedom and plenty. Captain Roger Clay in his *Memoirs*, written about 1676, gives a distressing picture of the pioneer days at Plymouth:

In our beginning many were in great straits for want of provision for themselves and their little ones. Oh, the hunger that many suffered, and saw no hope in an eye of reason to be supplied, only by clams, mussels and fish. . . . In those days God did cause his people to trust in him and to be contented with mean things. It was not accounted a strange thing in those days to drink water, and to eat samp or hominy without butter or milk.

Such were the privations of the Puritans. But the chief change in the three subsequent centuries seems to be that things have got scarcer and dearer. Clams, which they had for the digging, are now seventy-five cents for six of the size of the dime. Mussels are hardly to be had and fish of the boniest kind costs \$1.50 per plank. As for the spirits that our spiritual forefathers missed so much, it is not accounted a strange thing in these days to drink water. So let us trust in God and keep our country dry.

<sup>1</sup>The Wrangel army was moving south as fast as it could. E. E. S.



# Here are Books—and Books

## The Real Carnegie

*The Autobiography of Andrew Carnegie* is an extraordinary book. The romance of an unknown immigrant boy who became one of the richest men of the world is a demonstration that in business—as in life itself—honesty is the best policy and character is the only thing that counts. The old-fashioned virtues of thrift, faithfulness, courtesy and perseverance, thank God, still lead in America to fame and fortune.

The autobiography is naturally divided into two main sections: the period in which the author amassed his fortune and the period in which he put his wealth to public use. The first period is much more complete than the second. It was written some twenty years before the latter part of the book and shows a unity of design that the latter lacks. What Mr. Carnegie tells about the last part of his life is largely anecdotal. He does not divulge the triumphs and trials of giving away money as he does the making of it. Carnegie the business statesman we see pretty clearly, but Carnegie the philanthropist does not come out in clear relief. Yet Mr. Carnegie's ultimate fame will rest on his practice and theory of benevolence. Mr. Carnegie scarcely mentions his big foundations and then in only the most casual way. Most of the latter part of the book is devoted to his friendships with Lord Bryce, John Maley, Matthew Arnold, John Hay, Viscount Bryce, Herbert Spencer and others. All this is interesting enough, but he could have told us more about Peace and Libraries, and hero funds, and his religious belief. Mr. Carnegie's personality, however, which is after all the essence of any autobiography, is revealed in every page. We see a man who was never too old to learn, who knew poetry, who loved music, who adored his mother, his wife and his daughter. We come to love this vital, high-minded, generous American who looks out upon the world with such a kindly and optimistic but whimsical and sometimes mischievous glance.

The volume is as entertaining as it is inspiring. It will undoubtedly rank high among the world's lasting autobiographies.

Happily Dr. Lynch's little volume of personal recollections of Mr. Carnegie admirably supplements the autobiography. Dr. Lynch only knew Carnegie the philanthropist, and his book therefore deals with Mr. Carnegie during that period of life which is hurried over in the autobiography when the iron master was at his wisest and mellowest. Here we see Mr. Carnegie in the intimacy of his household and about his daily avocations. Mr. Carnegie always declared he owed his success in life more than anything else to the young men of promise whom he picked for partners and associates. Dr. Lynch's interest in the peace and in other humanitarian movements was

the reason that Mr. Carnegie made him a trusted friend. Mr. Carnegie would talk to him like a junior partner and Dr. Lynch gives many "close ups" of Mr. Carnegie's views on peace, education, literature, and religion. If Dr. Lynch is more of a eulogist than critic, we forgive him. He even would make out Mr. Carnegie to be a very religious man. But in this Dr. Lynch is not far wrong for tho Mr. Carnegie seldom went into a church, he did know his Bible like a true Scot and for the real essence of religion he had only the deepest reverence.

Dr. Lynch also tells us, as the autobiography does not, how some of the great foundations took their inception, for Dr. Lynch was one of the three or four who suggested to Mr. Carnegie his \$10,000,000 endowment for peace and he more than anyone else was the one who induced Mr. Carnegie to endow the Church Peace Union with \$2,000,000.

The envious, the thoughtless, have said many harsh things about Mr. Carnegie. The Socialists have held him up as the type of man that only a wicked capitalist system could produce. Whether in the good days to come society will permit future Carnegies to enjoy the prestige and power that comes with amassing and distributing millions we do not have to express an opinion here.

But considering the times in which he lived and the business and economic standards prevailing, Andrew Carnegie lived a great and good life and has served his day and generation as have few men.

These two fascinating books taken together will explain the real Carnegie to his countrymen. We cordially recommend them to the public.

*The Autobiography of Andrew Carnegie*, by Andrew Carnegie. Houghton, Mifflin Co.  
*Personal Recollections of Andrew Carnegie*, by Dr. Frederick Lynch, Fleming H. Revell & Co.

## Russian People

An interesting contribution to America's increasing collection of first-hand impressions of the Russian revolution is *Russian People*, by Princess Cantacuzène, the grand daughter of General U. S. Grant. For twenty years or more Princess Cantacuzène has lived in Russia; she describes from intimate knowledge the attitude of the mass of Russian peasants, outside the cities, toward the fall of the aristocratic régime and the establishment of the Bolshevik government. Because Prince Cantacuzène was a leading officer in the campaigns in the south of Russia and the Ukraine his wife writes authoritatively, too; of "The Crimea's Effort," "The Ukrainian Movement" and "Kolchak."

These "revolutionary recollections" are, as their author implies, only side-lights on the general trend in Russia during the last three years, but they present readable and accurate impres-

sions of events on which full information is still hard to get.

*Russian People*, by Princess Cantacuzène, Charles Scribner's Sons.

## Things Eternal

An excellent book for leisurely reading on a Sunday afternoon is *Things Eternal* by the Rev. John Kelman, D. D., pastor of the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church. In the preface Dr. Kelman stresses the point that this collection from his sermons is but "fugitive glimpses of eternal things." And because of their somewhat fragmentary presentation these "glimpses" are more stimulating than well-rounded addresses with no loose ends to serve as starting points for further reflection. "An old author, speaking of the journey of life, has described Sundays as the inns where the traveler rests for a little while and collects his thoughts, both of the road he has traveled and of the destination whither it is leading him," says Dr. Kelman. "Such is the intention of these studies."

*Things Eternal*, by Rev. John Kelman, D. D. George H. Doran Co.

## When You're Not in a Hurry

"The reading public in America and England get so few good sketches, indeed so few volumes of sketches at all, that even the best work of this kind has unfairly little chance," says John Galsworthy in his introduction to *The Golden Bird*, a volume of sketches by a young English writer, Dorothy Easton. I wonder if the chief reason does not lie in the speed at which most of us do our reading. Books of sketches and essays are not meant to be gulped in huge mouthfuls but picked up casually from time to time; casually and leisurely, not between trains. If you can ever manage to be leisurely and casual there are several new books you will very much enjoy.

One of them is *The Golden Bird*, already mentioned, which is made up of little pictures of people, some of them country people of southern England, some of them French. They are simple, vivid and effective in their simplicity. There is real insight and real skill in putting down what the author has seen. There is also a certain youthful insistence on the irony of fate and the blindness of most of the rest of the world.

Very different in form and tone is E. Temple Thurston's *Sheepskins and Grey Russet*. It is not exactly a series of sketches, neither is it exactly a novel tho a thread of story runs thru it. It is a record of a delightfully impractical couple's experiment in farming, but a situation at which the average person would look with hilarious humor Temple Thurston regards with whimsical philosophy, a touch of pathos, and a very charming smile. In the end it is the story of the love of a man and his wife, quietly, delicately and intimately told.

Again very different in tone, tho



likewise not intended to be read thru in a hurry, are Katharine Fullerton Geroulds' *Modes and Morals*. Mrs. Gerould is infinitely more agreeable as an essayist than as a short story writer and her discussions of current problems, social, spiritual and literary, are not only clever but stimulating. She reaches no very definite conclusions, but then how definite a conclusion do you reach when you discuss the affairs of the universe over the dinner table with a brilliant, well read and entertaining friend?

All Gaul, according to Dennis and Marion Chatham, the authors of *Cape Coddities*, is divided into "those who claim for the State of Maine the exclusive right to the title of 'God's Own Country,' those who think of the North Shore and Paradise as synonymous, and those other fortunates whose regard for Cape Cod places it second only to heaven itself." If you belong to the "fortunates" you will take great joy in this slender volume of amusing, informal essays on scallops and tea-houses, sailboats, fish, marshes and motors. Even if you do not know The Cape you will find them agreeable reading. I hesitate to say it for "gift book" is such a damning term, but this is the sort of volume, attractive in form as well as substance, which would make an ideal Christmas present for a Cape loving friend.

Speaking of New England, if I wanted to teach a foreigner, or even perhaps a Westerner, to love it and to know what it really looks like, I should make him look at pictures by Walter King Stone. Even when he is drawing a chipmunk on a wall or a chickadee balancing on a bare bough Mr. Stone slips into the background the curve of a little hill or a bit of plowed field that never could be anywhere else in the world except New England, and when he paints a landscape it breathes atmosphere which is to places what personality is to people. In *Berkshire Fields*, which is illustrated by Walter King Stone, is written by Walter Prichard Eaton and if you find "delight and stimulation—in the personalities and the retreats of wild flowers" or in "the imaginative realization—of how the world looked last night to the animal which tracked warily here, searching for its prey," you will find pleasant reading in these ramblings of an informal naturalist.

There are not many people in the world who enjoy life so thoroly as E. V. Lucas. He seems always to have plenty of time and, rare trait in an Anglo-Saxon, not to feel ashamed of it. He wanders slowly and pleasantly about London, Paris, New York, little towns in Devonshire, discovering books and pictures, gateways and inns and people which the ordinary traveler has sped by unseeing. He writes of them, and of all sorts of ordinary, everyday things like aunts and telephones and punctuality, with pleasant leisureliness, with whimsicality and with deep enjoyment. *Adventures and Enthusiasms* is well named; it arrives at the same conclusion that Stevenson drew

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When you add to an artistic temperament a thoroly good sense of humor you get a delightful result, in other words Robert Haven Schaufler. His *Fiddler's Luck* is the adventures of a 'cellist who "spent his spare time roaming to and fro and up and down seeking what he might devour in the way of musical fun." How he learned to play the 'cello in his youth; the dangers and difficulties of traveling with a 'cello; how the 'cello entangled itself in his love affair; the adventures, agreeable or amusing or both, of a "fiddler militant" at Plattsburg, in a base hospital in France, with a friendly French family in Paris, in occupied Germany; of all these he tells in a style as original as it is charming. Many of the chapters appeared in the form of essays in the *Atlantic Monthly* and now, strung on a gay thread of story they make one of the most thoroly enjoyable books—whether you are a musician or not—that you have read in a long, long while.

*The Golden Bird*, by Dorothy Easton. Alfred A. Knopf. *Sheepskins and Grey Russet*, by E. Temple Thurston. G. P. Putnam's Sons. *Modes and Morals*, by Katharine Fullerton Gerould. Charles Scribner's Sons. *Cape Cod-dities*, by Dennis and Marion Chatham. Houghton Mifflin Co. *In Berkshire Fields*, by Walter Prichard Eaton. Harper & Brothers. *Adventures and Enthusiasms*, by E. V. Lucas. George H. Doran Co. *Fiddler's Luck*, by Robert Haven Schaufler. Houghton Mifflin Co.

## Tales of a Vanishing River

When you establish yourself in front of a wood fire in an easy chair with an hour or two of leisure to look forward to, an excellent book to have at hand is *Tales of a Vanishing River*, by Earl H. Reed. The author of "The Dune Country" presents in it another collection of sketches and essays of outdoors, the text enlivened by a dozen or more drawings of unusual charm. The scene is laid in the region south-east of Lake Michigan; the characters are dry-humored, weather-seasoned natives whose shrewd philosophy and provincial customs Mr. Reed catches with genial sympathy and real literary skill.

*Tales of a Vanishing River*, by Earl H. Reed, John Lane Co.

## The Fallen Ulysses

*Venizelos*, by Herbert Adams Gibbons, is more than the biography of a man. It is also the story of a nation, for the career of Venizelos was so inseparably bound up with that of Greece that biography inevitably becomes history. Mr. Gibbons, moreover, has packed into his 376 stirring pages not only biography and history but a prophecy and a plea. The prophecy is that Greece will continue to expand to its full ethnographic limits, including Constantinople. The plea is that, instead of accusing Venizelos of imperialism, the American people should sustain with their moral support his ideal of a "Greater Greece." The book was written before the downfall of Premier Venizelos, but it will be none the less useful to show how great has been the

loss of both Greece and Europe in the defeat (tho perhaps but a temporary one) of the greatest Greek statesman of modern times.

*Venizelos*, by Herbert Adams Gibbons. Houghton Mifflin Co.

## The Case Against Venizelos

In *Constantine I and the Greek People*, by Paxton Hibben, we get the other side of the Greek story. While the author adheres strictly to a faithful and accurate recounting of the events which took place in Greece between the beginning of the Great War and the abdication of Constantine in 1917—events of which he as a special correspondent of the Associated Press had first-hand knowledge—his sympathies are very frankly with the deposed king. Constantine, he declares, was at all times loyal to the cause of the Allies and maintained his neutrality only because he believed that an alliance with the Entente under the conditions which they set down would mean ruin for Greece, whose interests he was bound to defend before everything else. On three distinct occasions, however, he is said to have offered to join with the Allies, but was prevented from doing so by the political machinations of Venizelos and the Allied representatives.

*Constantine I and the Greek People*, by Paxton Hibben. Century Co.

## Once Upon a Time

James Stephens' writing has the gift of everlasting youth. Arthur Rackham's drawings have inherent magic. Wherefore the two are fortunately met in a new book, primarily for children, but also full of appeal to grown-ups with a sense of humor—*Irish Fairy Tales*, wherein is narrated the folk lore of the origin of the Fenians. Mr. Stephens tells these fairy legends of second-century Ireland with the same whimsical humor that flavored "The Crock of Gold," and with the same delicate charm of style. The book is one that any young person from eight to eighty would like to own.

*Irish Fairy Tales*, by James Stephens. The Macmillan Co.

## Present Pilgrims in Boston

There could hardly be a pleasanter guide book for a devout explorer than *The Crooked and Narrow Streets of Boston*, by Annie Haven Thwing. By numerous beautiful illustrations and intelligible maps it lures the reader to follow with increasing interest the story of how the town of Boston grew up, and it makes possible a hundred or more informal pilgrimages that may be made in Boston today to comparatively unknown points of historic interest.

*The Crooked and Narrow Streets of Boston*, by Annie Haven Thwing. Marshall Jones Co.

## Galsworthy Limited

Illustrations and text fit together with unusual charm in *Awakening*, a short story by John Galsworthy, which is published in "gift book" style. The hero of the tale is young Jon, the most

recent representative of the Forsythe family whose annals were recorded in "A Man of Property" and "In Chancery." Jon is a lovable, alert youngster, somewhat over-idealized in this story of Mr. Galsworthy's. But R. H. Sauter's accompanying drawings accentuate Jon's human idiosyncrasies and portray with remarkable insight the inner workings of the "young idea." Perhaps there never was a better picture of a small boy's nightmare!

*Awakening*, by John Galsworthy. Charles Scribner's Sons.

## The World Remade

Four books of exceptional value at this time have appeared on the political situation of the world arising out of the Great War and the Great Peace. *The Making of the Reparation and Economic Sections of the Treaty*, by Bernard Baruch, is the most authentic account of just what these clauses are, what they were intended to mean by the men who framed them and what will be their method of working. The only widely circulated book dealing exclusively with this phase of the peace-making which has yet appeared in English is Keynes's "Economic Consequences of the Peace"; and Mr. Baruch's book is far more valuable. It is straight history, instead of being, like Keynes's book, a blend of history, literary satire and propaganda. *The League of Nations at Work*, by Arthur Sweetser of the League of Nations Secretariat, is an almost indispensable account not only of the organization of the League, with which the country is by now fairly familiar, but of the work which it did during the first few months of its existence; a subject not so well known as it should be, or we would not find responsible public men referring to this very lively organization as "dead."

*The New World Order*, by Mr. Hicks, law librarian of Columbia University, is a useful reference manual on various types and forms of international association, including not only the League of Nations and The Hague conventions, but minor cases such as the Central American Court of Justice, the condominium of the New Hebrides and the international Danube Commission. The book is heavily documented and contains a long bibliography. *Political Systems in Transition*, by Professor Fenwick of Bryn Mawr, deals with the changes in internal administration of the most important governments as a consequence of the war; including not only such countries as Russia and Germany, which were fundamentally revolutionized, but countries such as the United States and Great Britain where the administrative system was expanded without formal change of the constitutional basis.

*The Making of the Reparation and Economic Sections of the Treaty*, by Bernard Baruch. Harper Bros. *The League of Nations at Work*, by Arthur Sweetser. Macmillan Co. *The New World Order*, by Frederick C. Hicks. Doubleday, Page & Co. *Political Systems in Transition*, by Charles G. Fenwick. Century Co.



## Where Do You Come In?

(Continued from page 422)

lack strength to destroy. If you yell back at them you merely add to the din and disorder. The thing for you to do is to justify this system by clean administration of it. That is easy to say, but it is a creed and it is a lifetime of work. You are not worried about the stability of the United States Government nor the system of private property. What you want to do is bring this yelling to a close as soon as possible. Very well, then, let's up and at it!

In trying times some men are certain to "lose their heads." They are dazzled by opportunity to take a quick profit. They forget that there is tomorrow and tomorrow and tomorrow. The men who do this are usually a small minority. Otherwise the whole edifice would crumble. We have not only the duty to crush them by sounder methods but we have the opportunity to profit off their bad management. They are without the pale. They have excommunicated themselves. They have turned wolf. It is absolutely fair for you to rob them of tomorrow and tomorrow and tomorrow. How?

By remaining on the main track. Remember that a grocer's job is to distribute groceries to the largest number possible and with the greatest efficiency possible. Remember that the job of the manufacturer of bricks is to make the best bricks and the cheapest bricks possible and to deliver them to the largest number of persons. Remember that the purpose of a bank is to oil the wheels of commerce by holding the faith of depositors and lending for constructive purposes which advance the welfare of the community.

You must pin your faith to the proposition that there are too many sound men in this country for a few fools to ruin it. It follows then that the yelling will be over within twelve months. The men who first get on the main track will be leading the procession twelve months from now. This isn't a time to yell. It is a time of great opportunity.

New York

## The Americans in Belgium

(Continued from page 423)

Bosschen. Beyond the ridge the 91st Division would descend upon the Scheldt at Audenarde, one of the most ancient cities of Belgian Flanders.

The Ohio troops attacked on the morning of October 31 with Colonel F. C. Gerlach's 145th Infantry on the right and Colonel G. W. Stewart's 148th Infantry on the left, the former followed in support by the 146th Infantry, Colonel J. M. Pickering, and the latter by the 147th Infantry, Colonel F. W. Galbraith. The 112th Engineers also held a support position in the center, while the artillery preparation of five minutes and the rolling barrage were delivered by the guns of the 112th French Division, and French air-

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## Journalism As An Aid To History Teaching

By EDWIN E. SLOSSON Ph.D.

Literary Editor of The Independent

Associate in the School of Journalism, Columbia University

This address, which was given before the History Section of the New York State Teachers' Association at Rochester, November 23, 1915, has been published in pamphlet form and will be furnished free to teachers.—Write to The Independent, 311 Sixth Avenue, New York.

planes and balloons cared for overhead protection and observation.

Moving forward from the railroad embankment on a front about 3500 meters in length the Americans immediately met with vigorous enemy artillery fire and machine gun resistance from the farmsteads, hedges and fences. A part of the storm of high explosive shells speedily wrecked the village of Olsene, on the river bank just in rear of the division, killing a number of Belgian civilians, while the fumes from the German gas projectiles were carried by the wind as far back as division headquarters at Denterghem, four kilometers further to the northwest. But despite the resistance the Americans continued to advance steadily until 8:30 a. m., when a brief halt was made on the line of the first objective. The 12th French Division, on the left, was somewhat behind. But the Ohio troops immediately pushed on and approached the crest between 10 and 11 o'clock in the morning, having gained about 3½ kilometers of ground since the beginning of the attack.

The artillery now took the ridge under destructive fire, following which, early in the afternoon, the advance was resumed, Colonel Gerlach's men and, shortly after, those of Colonel Pickering, attaining the summit, where they could look down upon Cruyshautem and toward the still distant Scheldt River. The line of these positions had been thoroly consolidated by dusk and here the troops were ordered to remain during the night, their flanks drawn back for liaison with the adjoining divisions, which had not progressed so far.

More than 300 prisoners had been taken during the day, representing the German 207th Infantry, 21st Infantry, 3rd Landwehr, 6th Dismounted Cavalry and Guard Ersatz Divisions. General Von Arnim has been warmly commended by General von Ludendorff, in the latter's memoirs, for his skilful conduct of the German retreat in Belgium, and with justice.

While General Farnsworth's troops had been forcing their way up Cruyshautem Ridge those of General Johnston, further to the south, had been meeting with success also, at the cost of still hotter fighting. The 91st Division attacked in dispositions especially designed to overcome the wooded hill of Spitaals Bosschen. Two battalions of Colonel J. B. Woolnough's 362nd Infantry were placed in line on the right to advance along the southern edge of the woods, one battalion of Colonel L. C. Bennett's 364th Infantry in the center and one of the 363rd Infantry, Colonel H. L. T. Cavanaugh, on the left. The 361st Infantry, Colonel A. D. Cummings, supported Colonel Woolnough, while the left was supported by the remainder of the 363rd Infantry. Colonel Bennett's battalion in the center, having within supporting distance behind it the two remaining battalions of its own regiment as well as the 346th Machine Gun Battalion and the greater part of the 316th Engineers, was to make a hold-

ing attack only direct on Spitaals Bosschen until 7:10 o'clock a. m., at which time it was expected that the flanks of the division would have so far enveloped the woodland that the enemy would be obliged to retreat from it.

The anticipated result occurred, but not so early in the day as was hoped. When the attack went over, the batteries of the 53rd Field Artillery Brigade, besides delivering the usual rolling barrage along the division front, laid a screen of smoke shells on the edge of the woods while each front line battalion commander had two 75 millimeter sniping guns at his disposal for point-blank firing in close coöperation with the infantry. With this powerful assistance, the battalion on the left was able gradually to overcome the fierce machine gun resistance in the northern part of Spitaals Bosschen and by noon had attained the first objective, just beyond the woods. Colonel Woolnough's men on the right, however, were unable to make as much progress, partly because of the difficult ground and partly because the 41st Division, their flank, was held up by machine gun fire from the village of Steenbrugge and the sunken roads in the vicinity. But the men of the holding battalion in the center, eventually reinforced by Colonel Bennett with another battalion of the 364th Infantry and some 37-millimeter trench guns, retrieved the situation by forcing their way thru Spitaals Bosschen, capturing many machine gun nests, and reaching its eastern edge by nightfall. Here the front lay until daybreak excepting the right flank.

At 6:30 o'clock on the morning of November 1 the attack was renewed all along the line. General Farnsworth's division, descending into the crooked streets of Cruyshautem, encountered but light rear guard resistance and it soon became evident that the enemy, having lost the day before his line of resistance behind the Lys, was retreating to take up similar positions behind the Scheldt. By 7 o'clock the advance battalion of Colonel Stewart's regiment had Cruyshautem in possession and before 8 a. m. Wancgem-Lede, the next village down the valley, was also occupied. Belgian inhabitants of the thickly peopled countryside, wild with joy over the advent of their deliverers from the hated German rule, turned out in crowds, their waving handkerchiefs making it difficult for aeroplane observers to keep track of the front line, which marked its progress with panels of white cloth. But by 11 o'clock in the morning the line was nearly at the Scheldt, having advanced about eight kilometers in 4½ hours. By 6 o'clock that evening the front was holding the west bank of the Scheldt from Heurne to Eyne, Colonel Stewart's 148th Regiment occupying the former village, on the left, and Colonel Gerlach's 145th Infantry having possession of Eyne, on the right.

In these positions the Americans were treading the exact ground on



which the Anglo-Dutch army under the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene of Savoy defeated the French under Marshal Vendome in the great battle of Audenarde, July 11, 1708.

Starting forward from the eastern edge of Spitaals Bosschen at the same moment in the morning as the 37th Division, General Johnston's troops found no stronger opposition than the Americans further north. The enemy was in full retreat and it was not until the front line attained the crest of the last long slope looking down to the Scheldt, with the steep roofs of Audenarde rising on its nearer shore, that lively resistance again commenced. Southeast of Audenarde, directly across the Scheldt, a massive hill, the highest in the region, rises to an elevation of more than 200 feet above the level of the river. Here the Germans had massed their artillery and, with strong holding detachments in the intricate streets of Audenarde itself, were prepared to resist to the utmost the passage of the Scheldt. Colonel Cummings' men on the right and those of Colonel Cavanaugh on the left of the American line worked down the slopes and into the outskirts of Audenarde. But the shell fire from beyond the river and the fierce opposition of the German rear guards in the houses and streets forbade the penetration of the city itself without more elaborate preparation. With outposts established just beyond the edge of the town, a line of resistance for the night was organized along the crest of the ridge between Petegemstraat and Oycke, some five kilometers northwest of Audenarde.

The problem now confronting the Allied armies was that of forcing the crossing of the Scheldt, the most considerable watercourse between the sea-coast and Brussels. The retreating enemy had destroyed all the permanent bridges and, not only at Audenarde but in the sector of the 37th Division, his artillery fire from the hills east of the river swept the breadth of the marshy valley, the lines of the canal and the Ghent-Audenarde railroad grade, west of the river, and the low but steep bluff on whose crest stand Heurne and Eyne. On the morning of November 2 detachments of the 37th Division undertook to pass the river, closely supported by the light batteries of the 132d French Division while from further back the heavier guns bombarded the German artillery positions on the hills. After a protracted struggle some men of the 148th Infantry succeeded in crossing in front of Heurne on bridges thrown together of felled trees and house wreckage and by 10:30 o'clock in the morning about 300 men were over at this point. But they could not be reinforced owing to the intense shell fire which was sweeping Heurne and the exposed bluff face below it and, indeed, it required much of the fire power of the French artillery of the 128th Division and that of the 91st U. S. Division, firing diagonally across the river from their own sectors, to protect the men already over the Scheldt from an enemy flank attack.

It became clear that no pontoons could be laid at Heurne and so the bridge material was moved to Eyne, in the sector of the 145th Infantry, where after nightfall a pontoon bridge was finally thrown. A second pontoon bridge and a foot bridge were completed near Eyne before midnight and on these during the night two battalions of the 148th and one battalion of the 145th went over, deploying in their proper sectors east of the river.

The morning of November 3, therefore, found the American bridgehead well begun. But at daylight the enemy assailed it so furiously that it seemed that it might have to be relinquished. A tremendous shell fire was poured upon the troops of Colonel Gerlach and Colonel Stewart which had crossed over, while squadrons of low flying German planes swept the bridges with machine gun fire. Nevertheless, troops of the 12th French Division, to the left of the 37th, began filtering over early in the morning, with more American units, and later in the day the French supporting batteries got the upper hand of the German batteries in the artillery duel so that by evening six machine gun companies and nearly fourteen companies of infantry of the two divisions were holding the line on the eastern bank.

Meantime, in the sector of the 91st Division, Colonel Cummings' regiment on the morning of November 2 had mopped up the western part of Audenarde and coming to the bank of the river where it winds thru the city had placed the demolished stone bridges under machine gun fire. But they could get no further and a regiment was therefore made ready to march to the bridges at Eyne, cross during the night and make a flank attack on the morning of November 3 on the high hill opposite Audenarde. These troops, however, arrived at Eyne too late to cross under cover of darkness on the morning of the 3rd and the plan, deferred until the following night, was abandoned on receipt of orders for withdrawal.

The relief was effected during the night of November 3-4 by the 41st French Division, General Farnsworth's troops being relieved on the same night by the 12th French Division. The Americans, thoroly tired out by the pursuit of between twelve and fourteen kilometers and four days of constant fighting, retired, the 91st Division to Vive-St.-Elloi, on the Lys, and the 37th to Thielt, for a short period of rest. General Farnsworth's troops had lost about 1600 men in casualties and those of General Johnston, 969. The former had forced the Scheldt and left the troops which relieved it well established on the other side; the latter had captured Audenarde, the largest city taken by American arms during the war, unless Chateau-Thierry be excepted.

The two American divisions remained out of action only five days, during which time no advance was attempted by the 6th Army. They were then, on November 9, placed back in

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line, the 91st in its former sector at Audenarde, extended northward to include Eyne, and the 37th in the Syngem sector, directly north of its former sector with its right flank approximately where its left flank had been in the earlier operations. The 37th Division was now in General Nudant's 34th Corps and the 91st Division in the 30th Corps of General Penet and the order of battle in this vicinity stood, from left to right: 5th (later 11th) French, 37th American, 12th French, 91st American and 41st French Divisions. From right to left opposite these units stood the German 3rd Landwehr Division, then the 21st, the 49th Reserve, the 39th and the 12th Bavarian Divisions.

The 6th Army command had issued orders for a general attack to sweep the enemy back over the watershed between the Scheldt and the Dendre River, twenty-five kilometers distant over a hilly country, very thickly peopled even for Belgium. The Americans were scheduled to participate in this attack on the morning of November 10. During the afternoon of the 9th, however, while General Johnston's division was on the march to the front, the 12th and 41st French Divisions, already in the Audenarde sector, found that the enemy was already beginning to retreat. They pushed across the Scheldt and scaled the heights east of Audenarde where on the morning of the 10th the Northwesterners began relieving them while advancing, Colonel Cavanaugh's and Colonel Bennett's regiments of General V. A. Caldwell's 182nd Infantry Brigade, supported by one regiment of field artillery, going into position between the two French divisions above mentioned.

The pursuit continued uninterruptedly until night, when the line halted eight kilometers directly east of Audenarde, in front of Roosebeke Ridge, where some machine gun resistance developed. Here the 91st Division, which had sustained only one casualty during the day, completed the relief of the French. More artillery having been brought across the Scheldt at Audenarde, orders were received to resume the advance at 10 o'clock on the morning of November 11 but before that time the order was countermanded and notice given that an armistice would come into effect at 11 o'clock. At that hour, therefore, General Johnston's front lay before Roosebeke Ridge on a line between the villages of Boucler, St. Blaise and Bonteveld.

In the Syngem sector General Farnsworth's troops experienced greater difficulty in crossing the Scheldt, which here stretched toward the enemy in a deep convex bend bordered on the further side by a marshy bottom, enabling the Germans to maintain a searching cross fire on the possible bridge sites. The left of the 12th French Division and the division on its left flank, which were relieved on this ground during the night of November 9-10 by Colonel Pickering's 146th and Colonel Galbraith's 147th regiments, had not succeeded in laying bridges nor in cross-

ing the river. During the following morning, however, the 146th Infantry, on the right, began crossing up stream at Heuvel, near Heurne and by the middle of the afternoon had advanced and taken Nederswalm and Hermelgem, prolonging the front of the 12th French Division on the high ground east of the river. The supporting artillery, meanwhile, so effectively bombarded the Germans opposite to the American left that Colonel Pickering's men were enabled to lay a foot bridge on which before midnight most of the regiment had crossed.

Orders now came from General Nudant for the 34th Corps to resume the advance at 10 o'clock a. m. of the 11th; orders which were later modified, in view of the advent of the armistice at 11, by the provision that the advance should cease if resistance were encountered. But strong patrols thrown out at 10 o'clock encountered no opposition and they had advanced nearly three kilometers into the hills and stood, at the moment when hostilities ceased, on a line between the villages of Zwartebroek and Kerken, nearly at their second objective.

As was the case during the last few days of the war with the American armies from the Moselle to Sedan and with the 2nd American Corps east of Bellicourt, the divisions in Belgium, in common with all the Allied hosts on the Western front, were pushing forward toward the borders of Germany with ever increasing momentum and only the advent of the armistice prevented them, in conjunction with the Belgians and the French, from pursuing the defeated and disorganized Germans thru the streets of Brussels. In the redemption of outraged Belgium the 37th and 91st American Divisions had worthily done their share.

Nearly two years have elapsed since the last cannon shot of the Great War. Only the hundreds of thousands of graves scattered over what was the Western front remain to attest the permanent blood sacrifice offered by the Allied nations for principles of freedom and justice which are eternally right and by those opponents of theirs for ambitions which are eternally wrong.

Among those graves are many thousands which contain the dust of gallant sons of America, and among the memories of the Great War none loom more significantly than the decisive entry of America into the death grapple of the nations in the summer of 1918. If those graves in the soil of republican France shall pledge to her people and those of her Allies that so long as they remain true to the ideals for which they fought from 1914 to 1918, America will remain true to them; if those ominous memories harbored by the peoples of the former Teutonic Alliance shall continue to warn them that American friendship is contingent upon their avoidance of future breaches of international faith and wars of brutal ambition, no sacrifice will have been in vain.

Yankton, South Dakota



## Perhaps this is the Country Home You've Been Looking For

By Hamilton Holt

Having just inherited the Old Homestead in which my great-grandparents set up housekeeping and where my grandfather was born, I desire to sell to some good citizen my present country home situated in the ancient and historic town of Woodstock, Connecticut.

Woodstock is one of the most beautiful and unspoiled hill towns in all New England. It is situated in the extreme northeastern corner of Connecticut—one hour and forty minutes by train from Boston and less than five hours from New York. It is by automobile (over perfect state roads) within an hour of Worcester, Mass., an hour and a half of Providence, R. I., and two hours of New London and Hartford, Conn.

The pretty summer resort towns of Pomfret and Thompson are but four and seven miles away, while Putnam, five miles distant, is the thriving railroad center where Woodstock people do most of their shopping and marketing.

My home is the last one on the village street before you strike the open country. It consists of three acres, which include, besides the buildings, lawn, vegetable and flower gardens, an orchard of twenty or thirty varieties of apple, pear, peach, cherry, plum, and quince trees.

From the front porch is a delightful view of the valley between Woodstock, Thompson and Dudley, checkerboarded with woods, streams, fields, and farm houses. In the center of the valley is Woodstock Lake, a mile and a half long and half a mile wide.

From the little hill behind the barn where I have laid out the tennis court, one of the most beautiful and extensive views in Connecticut can be had. On a clear day one can see the faint purple of Mt. Wachusett and Mt. Holyoke in Massachusetts, fifty miles away. There are several trout streams within walking distance of my place, but I can hardly be expected to indicate publicly in which one I caught my 21 "sparklers" that red-letter morning last May.

The cottage consists of nine living rooms, besides two bath rooms, three toilets, and a huge sleeping porch large enough for all the family. I have installed water and electricity in both house and barn. The house is one of those old-fashioned, low-ceilinged affairs with a Dutch oven beside the fire place in the living room. Additions have been built in all directions from time to time to accommodate the expanding needs and family of the village postmaster who owned it before me.

The outbuilding which used to be the Post Office, I have turned into a study, but of course it could be used for a hundred and one other purposes.

Besides the barn for two horses, two cows, and the pair of swallows who nest in the eaves, is a garage (with running water and concrete floor), an ice house, a chicken house and a pump house.

The pump house is over the best artesian well in Woodstock. When I dug it several years ago, I tested it with a pump that registered as high as 40 gallons a minute. But the pump could make no impression on the water level. There is evidently enough pure water in that well to supply the whole township.

In addition to the orchard there are a number of mature shade trees on the place. Along the road (the old Buffalo trail of Indian days) runs a fine row of ancient elms.

In fact my home is just the kind that is found only in New England—one that you can hardly refrain from planting about with old-fashioned perennial flowers and furnishing with treasures from the neighboring attics. (Yes, there are lots of pieces of antique furniture still waiting to be picked up round about. I speak with knowledge.)

There is a free academy in Woodstock which prepares boys and girls for college, and on any pleasant afternoon after school you can see the pupils playing games on the village "Common." There is a famous and fashionable private school for boys in the neighboring town of Pomfret and one for girls in Thompson. At Putnam there is a vocational high school and one of the best hospitals in the state.

On the shores of Woodstock Lake, a mile from "the Hill" is Roseland Park, famous for its 4th of July celebrations a generation ago and today a very popular resort for picnic parties from the neighboring towns. The lake affords excellent boating and bathing in season.

I once caught a bass weighing over five pounds just off the inlet, and have caught many in the lake over three pounds.

Connected with the Park is a sporty little natural golf links that has the most delicious spring of crystal cold water down the ravine next to the 7th hole that I have ever tasted.

In short, anybody who is looking for a New England country place—nothing elegant or pretentious, but homelike, charming, thoroughly comfortable, and all in perfect condition—has here an opportunity that is worth investigating.

I am asking \$8,000 for the property. I believe the price is fair and represents its true market value. I shall of course be delighted to supply any further information.

HAMILTON HOLT,

311 Sixth Ave., N. Y. City

(Advertisement)

## Confessions of a Movie Educator

(Continued from page 425)

vowed that never, never by means of "Educational Magazine" or other device would this very much pushing and too aggressive automobile enter their film gates again!

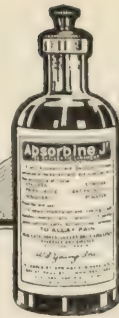
There was but one thing to be done.

To remove the boycotts, the company pledged the exhibitors that the Magazine would henceforth be free from all forms of advertising, direct or indirect. Other movie concerns followed suit as regards their mediums. Theatre film was thus rid of advertising. Mr. Exhibitor breathed a heavy sigh of relief and sank back to sleep again.

The Educational Department survived the smashup of its industrial-theatrical circulation about two months. And my industrials, the things we sweated blood to make and fondly thought were science-on-the-screen. What of them? Yes, they are being distributed—by the Y. M. C. A. and other agencies that take business films to business folk.

Looking back over the activity of nine months and comparing the conditions with the present, I cannot find that our so-called Educational Department changed the status of things in the slightest. The trouble is not with educational movies (in which I firmly believe), but with the brand of commercialism that misuses the name to camouflage quite other aims. Most educational departments are organized merely to sell or rent film production service. Such organizations, managed by such executives as I have described, have no vision of classroom needs. Provide men of vision with the necessary capital, and how different would be the result. Suppose for example that our movie president had handed his \$100,000 educational appropriation to a film-wise school expert and told him to make film textbooks and report back in five years. Probably even now the classroom rentals would be repaying interest on the sums expended to date, and by the end of five years the enterprise would be flourishing and prosperous. Let me cite just two facts tending to prove this: men like Foster, Hugon and Herm are now producing film highly useful in the classroom, and on the other hand the City of New York alone is expending \$10,000 for school film rentals this season. It can be done and it is being done. And the business man can help. He should be big enough and broad enough to desire the universal picturization of knowledge, including his own little corner of applied knowledge, as a public service and not as a sales vehicle. The example of Ford's Screen Weekly, publishing every year 52,000 feet of useful visualized knowledge without a line of sales advertising, shows that Henry Ford is alive to the opportunity, and others will follow in his footsteps as they realize what direct teaching by the eye means to humanity.

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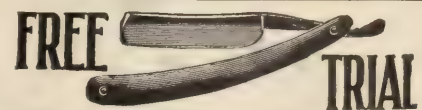
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ARTHUR C. HARE, Cashier  
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A dividend of Two Dollars per share will be paid on Saturday, January 15, 1921, to stockholders of record at the close of business on Monday, December 20, 1920.

G. D. MILNE, Treasurer.

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G. D. MILNE, Treasurer.

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NOTICE OF DIVIDENDS ON NEW PREFERRED AND NEW COMMON STOCK.

The Board of Directors of The American Brake Shoe and Foundry Company has this day declared a quarterly dividend of one and three-quarters per cent. (1 3/4%) upon the new preferred stock of the company and a quarterly dividend of One Dollar (\$1.00) per share upon the new common stock of the company, said dividends to be payable, in the case of each class of stock, on December 31, 1920 to stockholders of record at 3 o'clock P. M. on December 21, 1920, and thereafter to the holders of all such new preferred and new common stock of the company as may be issued and exchanged for preferred and common stock of the company authorized prior to and outstanding at the time of the amendment to the certificate of incorporation of the company. Checks will be mailed.

GEORGE M. JUDD, Secretary.

Dated, New York, December 14, 1920.

**THE ELECTRIC STORAGE BATTERY CO.**

Allegheny Avenue &amp; 19th Street,

Philadelphia, December 1, 1920.

The Directors have declared a quarterly dividend of three dollars (\$3.00) per share from the net earnings of the Company on both Common and Preferred Stocks, payable January 3, 1921, to stockholders of record at the close of business on December 15, 1920. Checks will be mailed.

WALTER G. HENDERSON, Treasurer.

**THE NEW YORK CENTRAL RAILROAD CO.**

New York, December 15, 1920.

A Dividend of One Dollar and Twenty-five cents (\$1.25) per share, on the Capital Stock of this Company has been declared payable February 1, 1921, at the office of the General Treasurer, to stockholders of record at the close of Business, January 3, 1921.

For the purpose of the Annual Meeting of Stockholders of this Company, which will be held January 26, 1921, the stock transfer books will be closed at 3 P. M., January 3, 1921, and reopened at 10 A. M., January 27, 1921.

MILTON S. BARGER, General Treasurer.

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The coupons on this Company's Twenty-year Debenture 5% Bonds, due on January 1st next, will be paid on January 2nd and upon presentation at the Company's office, 1115 Trinity Building.

ALBERT E. HADLOCK, Treasurer.

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**How to Study This Number**

## THE INDEPENDENT LESSON PLANS

English, Literature and  
CompositionHistory, Civics and  
Economics

## I. The Americans in Belgium.

1. Compare the last paragraph in Captain Hanson's article with Mr. Holt's analysis, in the last number of The Independent, of the German attitude toward the war.

## II. Peace on Earth.

1. Reduce Mr. Hoover's appeal to personal terms; that is, write a letter from a child in Europe or its mother to some person or organization in America.

## III. Confessions of a Movie Educator.

1. What do you think is really the best thing that the movies do in the educational line? Give examples from your personal experience of the ways in which the attempts of the moving picture to educate fail or are successful.
2. Write an essay about the capacities and limitations of the moving picture as a dramatic medium, describing the type of play that you think is best adapted to such a production. If possible, take some picture, or pictures, that you have actually seen, as basis for your discussion.
3. Write a scenario for an educational movie, on any subject, in any form—that is, fiction, or frank instruction, or a mixture—providing only that whatever you do is interesting. Notice the illustration, in A Little of Everything, from an industrial film.
4. Discuss examples that you have seen of plays for the stage that have later been given by the movies.
5. Discuss the list of moving picture actors and actresses in the list in A Little of Everything, giving carefully critical reasons for your opinion as to where various ones should be placed in the scale.

## IV. Where Do You Come In?

1. How do you like Mr. Crowell best—in one of his frankly humorous articles, or in this one with its serious subject? Why?

## V. A Little of Everything.

1. Telephoning Pictures. Discuss this as a piece of expository writing. Can you give an explanation of the process described in your own words? Try writing it.
2. Nature's Formal Art. (a) For one day, observe and take notes on all the examples you can find of natural design. Spider webs and snow crystals are not the only ones. Notice the traceries of tree branches, the arrangements of flights of birds, clouds, any number of other things. (b) In the course of a week see how many natural designs you can find that you could use in some specific way for decoration for houses, clothes, book-covers, etc. (c) Write a poem or a passage of description about one of your examples.

## VI. Editorials.

1. England and Ireland. Discuss the plan in the next to the last paragraph of Mr. Holt's editorial.
2. The Anti-Semite Scare. (a) "Such prejudice as the Hebrews in America have had to endure is due to social snobbishness, business rivalry, and personal antipathies. There has been no concerted political and literary anti-Jewish agitation, no deliberate attempt to inflame the mob-mind as in continental Europe." How can you explain the different race conditions in America and on the Continent? (b) Can you think of any other case in which a superstitious panic has grown up about a class or group of people. If you can, tell the story of it.

## VII. Hymn to the Stars.

1. Criticize this as poetry.
2. Compare it with Shelley's "West Wind" or "To a Cloud," for point of view. Explain the difference in as many ways as you can. Do you think the fact that Shelley was an Englishman, and Whittier an American has anything to do with it?
3. Compare the poem with other poems by Whittier. In what ways is it characteristic and in what ways not? If you were not told that this was by Whittier, do you think you would know it?
3. What poets contemporary with Whittier do you think of when you think of him? Why do you connect them? Compare two or three early American poets for likenesses and differences. If they all have something in common, try to explain how that came about.
4. Write an appreciation of your favorite Whittier poem.

## I. International Relief Work—Peace on Earth, Good Will to Men. Relief for China.

1. Study Mr. Hoover's appeal for relief work in Central Europe and President Wilson's appeal for relief work in China. On what grounds is the appeal in each case made to the American people? Mention reasons why no other nation is in a position to do as much as the United States to fight world famine.
2. Indicate on a map of the world those countries where there are famine conditions and give a particular reason in each case why conditions are worse there than in nearby countries (for example, Poland is worse off than Czechoslovakia for a variety of reasons one of which is the recent Bolshevik invasion of Poland). Why is overcrowded Japan better off than overcrowded China and India?

## II. The Irish Question—England and Ireland. Civil War in Ireland. The Burning of Cork.

1. What do you think of Mr. Holt's proposal with regard to Irish Home Rule? You can use it as subject for a debate if you wish.
2. Look over the following list of words and phrases, and check those which you think apply accurately to the Irish situation, leaving blank or striking out those which seem to you inaccurate: Riot, rebellion, revolution, civil war, international war, guerrilla warfare, agrarian outrages, state of belligerency, *de facto* republic, insurrection, reprisals, repression, vindication of the law, treason, religious conflict, racial conflict, nationalism, sectionalism, party strife, self-determination, domestic question. This little exercise is not so silly as it seems. All of these words are used freely about the Irish situation, without much examination into their meaning, in newspaper accounts. It is well to examine just what meaning we attach to them and to what cases we would apply them.

## III. Industrial Policy—Where Do You Come In?

1. Comment on the following statements by Mr. Crowell: (a) "Private property is simply the possession of a job"; (b) "The men who do not operate the system but are operated by it have lost faith in the men who operate it"; (c) "The corporation is one of the cleverest contrivances the human mind has produced."
2. After reading the article write an editorial on any one of the following topics: (a) "What the Business Man Should Do in Hard Times"; (b) "The Responsibility of the Property Owner to the Community"; (c) "How Can We Vindicate the System of Private Property?"

## IV. American History—The Americans in Belgium.

1. Look up the back numbers of Captain Hanson's articles; read them all; then write a brief summary of America's part in the Great War. Do not exaggerate the dimensions of the military contribution made by this country, but assess it fairly, as a historian would in writing about the extent of England's aid to Prussia in the Seven Years' War or the extent of France's aid in bringing about the independence of Italy from Austrian domination.

## V. The Near East—The Near East Tangle.

1. Show how and why each of the factors in the situation mentioned in the first paragraph has delayed the restoration of peace in the region of the old Turkish Empire.
2. Why do the Allied Powers object to the restoration of King Constantine of Greece?

## VI. National Problems—Sword or Olive Branch? Immigration Bill Passes House. Houston's Horrible Hints. On the Listening Porch.

1. Do you agree with Secretary Daniels that disarmament is impossible until agreed on by the League of Nations, or with Senator Borah that naval limitation, at any rate, can be brought about by direct agreement with Britain and Japan?
2. Why did the House of Representatives adopt a bill for the exclusion of all immigrant labor? Why did it limit the period of exclusion to one year?
3. Why is heavy taxation still necessary now that the war is over, in fact if not in form? Why does a great war always burden the next generation with expense?














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